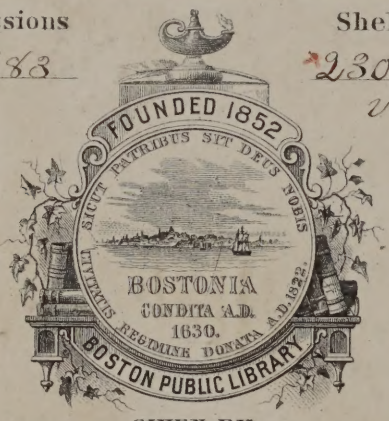
Accessions
4483

Shelf No.
2300.8
v. 2



GIVEN BY
John P Bigelow
Oct. 25, 1853.

*230.8
v.2
John P. Bigelow
4.488
Feb 25, 1853

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XVI.

Containing an Interval of Twelve Years.

FROM THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD, TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS.

CHAP. I.

OF A LAW ENACTED BY HEROD AGAINST THIEVES; AND A CALUMNY RAISED AGAINST ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS, UPON THEIR RETURN FROM ROME, BY SALOME AND PHERORAS.

AS king Herod was very zealous in the administration of his government, and desirous to put a stop to particular acts of injustice, which were committed by criminals about the city and country; he made a *law, no way like our original laws, and which he enacted of himself, to expose house-breakers to be ejected out of his kingdom. This punishment was not only grievous to be borne by the offenders, but contained in it a dissolution of the customs of our forefathers. For this slavery to foreigners, and such as did not live after the manner of the Jews; and this necessity that they were under to do whatsoever such men should command, was an offence against our religious settlement, rather than a punishment to such as were found to have offended: such a punishment being avoided in our original laws. For those laws ordain, that the thief shall restore fourfold: and that if he have not so much, he shall be sold, but not to foreigners, nor so that he be under perpetual slavery; for he must have been released after six years. But this law, thus enacted, in order to introduce a severe and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of insolence in Herod; when he did not act as a king, but as a tyrant; and thus contemptuously, and without any regard to his subjects, did he venture to introduce such a punishment. Now this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like Herod's other actions; and became a part of his accusation, and an occasion of the hatred he lay under.

About this time he sailed to Italy; being very desirous to meet with Cæsar, and to see his sons who lived at Rome. And Cæsar was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but delivered him his sons again; that he might take them home with him; as having already completed their studies in the sciences. But as soon as the young men were come from Italy, the multitude were very desirous to see them; and they became conspicuous among them all; as adorned with great blessings of fortune, and having the countenances of persons of royal dignity. So they soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome, the king's sister; and to such as had raised calumnies against Mariamne. For they were suspicious, that when these came to the government, they should be punished for the wicked-

* This seems to be the first law pretended to be enacted by any Jewish king, that was not an idolater.

ness they had been guilty of against their mother. So they made this fear of theirs a motive to raise calumnies against them also. They gave it out that they were not pleased with their father's company, because he had put their mother to death; as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear to converse with their mother's murderer.* Now by carrying these stories, that had indeed a true foundation in the fact, but were only built on probabilities, as to the present accusation; they were able to do them mischief; and to make Herod take away that kindness from his sons, which he had before borne to them. For they did not say these things to him openly; but scattered abroad such words among the rest of the multitude. From which words, when carried to Herod, he was induced at last to hate them; and which natural affection itself, even in length of time, was not able to overcome. Yet was the king at that time in a condition to prefer the natural affection of a father before all the suspicions and calumnies his sons lay under. So he respected them as he ought to do; and married them to wives, now they were of an age suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for a wife Bernice, Salome's daughter: and to Alexander, Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

CHAP. II.

AGRIPPA, AT THE REQUEST OF HEROD, VISITS JUDEA; AND AFTERWARDS, UPON THE COMPLAINT OF THE JEWS IN IONIA AGAINST THE GREEKS, HE CONFIRMS THEM IN THEIR PRIVILEGES.

WHEN Herod had despatched these affairs, and understood that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again out of Italy, into Asia, he hastened to him; and besought him to come into his kingdom, and to partake of what he might justly expect from one that had been his guest, and was his friend. This request he greatly pressed; and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judea. Whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new built cities, and shewed him the edifices he had built; and provided all sorts of the most costly dainties for him and his friends; and that at Sebaste, and Cæsarea, about that port that he had built; and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expenses, Alexandrium, and Herodium, and Hyrcania. He also conducted him to the city Jerusalem; where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered a hecatomb of sacrifices to God, and feasted the people; without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be purchased. He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with them; and would willingly have staid longer, but that the season of the year made him hasten away. For, as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to go to sea later; and yet he was of necessity to return to Ionia.

So Agrippa went away,† when Herod had bestowed on him, and on the principal of those that were with him, many presents. But king Herod, when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to go to him again in the spring; when he knew he designed to go to a campaign at the Bosphorus. So when he had sailed by Rhodes, and by Cos, he touched at Lesbos; as thinking he should have overtaken Agrippa there, but he was impeded by a north wind, which hindered his ship from going to the shore. So he continued many days at Chios; and there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts. And when he saw that the portico of the city was fallen down; which, as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was a very large and fine building, so was it not so easy to rebuild that, as it was the rest; yet did he furnish a sum more than sufficient to finish the building; and ordered them not to overlook that portico, but to rebuild it quickly; that so the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were abated, he sailed to Mitylene, and thence to Byzantium: and when he heard that Agrippa was sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks, he made all the haste possible to overtake him; and came up with him about Sinope, in Pontus. He was seen sailing by the mariners most unexpectedly; but appeared to their great joy; and many friendly salutations took place between them. Insomuch that Agrippa thought he had received the greatest possible marks of the king's kindness; since the king had come so long a voyage, and at a very proper season for his assistance; and had left the government of his own dominions, and thought it more worth his while to come to him. Accordingly Herod was all in all to Agrippa in the management of the war; and a great assistance in civil affairs, and in giving him counsel as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for him, when he relaxed himself; and a joint partaker with him in all things: in troubles, because of his kindness; and in prosperity, because of the respect Agrippa had for him.

* Murder is, in every instance, a most atrocious crime, and deserving of signal vengeance. But it becomes peculiarly aggravated in the degree of guilt attached to it, when its victim is allied by nature to the wretch who imbrues his hands with human blood. Justly, therefore, should such be avoided and shunned, as well as abandoned to the punishment awarded to the crime. B.

† An. 14.

Now as soon as those affairs of Pontus were finished, for whose sake Agrippa was sent thither, they did not think fit to return by sea, but passed through Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia. They then travelled over great Phrygia, and came to Ephesus: and then they sailed from Ephesus to Samos. And indeed the king bestowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to, according as they stood in need of them. For as for those that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them; but supplied the former himself, out of his own expenses: he also became an intercessor with Agrippa for all such as sought after his favour; and he brought things so about, that the petitioners failed in none of their suits: Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of a great generosity; and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioners; provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of the king was also of great weight, and still excited Agrippa, who was himself ready to do good. For he made a reconciliation between the people of Ilium, at whom he was angry; and paid what money the people of Chios owed to Cæsar's procurators, and discharged them of their tributes; and helped all others, according as their several necessities required.

But when Agrippa and Herod were *in Ionia, a great multitude of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, came to them; and embracing the opportunity and the liberty now given them, laid before them the injuries which they suffered: while they were not permitted to use their own laws; but were compelled to prosecute their law-suits, by the ill usage of the judges, upon their holidays; and were deprived of the money they used to lay up at Jerusalem; and were forced into the army, and upon such other offices as obliged them to spend their sacred money; from which burdens they always used to be exempted by the Romans, who had still permitted them to live according to their own laws. When this clamour was made, the king desired Agrippa that he would hear his cause; and assigned Nicolaus, one of his friends, to plead for their privileges. Accordingly when Agrippa had called the principal of the Romans, and such of the kings and rulers as were there, to be his assessors, Nicolaus stood up, and pleaded for the Jews, as follows:—

"It is of necessity incumbent on such as are in distress, to have recourse to those that have it in their power to free them from those injuries they lie under. And for those that now are complainants, they approach you with great assurance. For as they have formerly often obtained your favour, so far as they have even wished to have it; they now only entreat that you, who have been the donors, will take care that those favours you have already granted, may not be taken away from them. We have received these favours from you, who alone have power to grant them; but have them taken from us by such as are no greater than ourselves; and by such as we know are as much subjects as we are. And certainly, if we have been vouchsafed great favours, it is to our commendation, who have obtained them; as having been found deserving. And if those favours be but small ones, it would be barbarous for the donors not to confirm them to us. And for those that are the hindrance of the Jews, and use them reproachfully, it is evident that they affront both the receivers, while they will not allow those to be worthy men to whom their excellent rulers themselves have borne their testimony; and the donors, while they desire those favours already granted may be abrogated. Now if any one should ask these Gentiles, which of the two things they would choose to part with; their lives, or the customs of their forefathers, their solemnities, their sacrifices, and their festivals, which they celebrated in honour of those they suppose to be gods? I know very well, that they would choose to suffer any thing, rather than a dissolution of the customs of their forefathers: for a great many of them have rather chosen to go to war on that account, as very solicitous not to transgress in those matters. And indeed, we take an estimate of that happiness which all mankind now enjoy by your means from this very thing; that we are allowed every one to worship as our own institutions require, and yet to live in peace. And although they would not be thus treated themselves, yet do they endeavour to compel others to comply with them; as if it were not as great an instance of impiety, profanely to dissolve the religious solemnities of any others; as to be negligent in the observance of their own toward their gods. And let us now consider the one of these practices. Is there any people, city, or community of men, to whom your government, and the Roman power, does not appear to be the greatest blessing? Is there any one that can desire to make void the favours they have granted? No one is certainly so mad: for there are no men, but such as have been partakers of their favours, both public and private. And indeed those that take away what you have granted, can have no assurance, but every one of their own grants made them by you may be taken from them also. Which grants of yours can yet never be sufficiently valued. For if they consider the old governments under kings, together with your present government; besides the great number of benefits which this government hath bestowed on them, in order to their happiness; this is instead of all the rest, that they appear to be no longer in a state of slavery, but of freedom. Now the privileges we desire, even

* At the island Lesbos.

when we are in the best circumstance, are not such as deserve to be envied. For we are indeed in a prosperous state by your means; but this is only in common with others: and it is no more than this which we desire, to preserve our religion, without any prohibition; which as it appears not in itself a privilege to be envied us, so it is for the advantage of those that grant it to us. For if the Divinity delight in being honoured, it must delight in those that permit it to be honoured. And there are none of our customs which are inhuman; but all tending to piety, and devoted to the preservation of justice. Nor do we conceal those injunctions of ours, by which we govern our lives; they being memorials of piety, and of a friendly conversation among men. And *the seventh day we set apart from labour; it is dedicated to the learning of our customs and laws, we thinking it proper to reflect on them, as well as on any good thing else, in order to our avoiding of sins. If any one, therefore, examine into our observances, he will find, they are good in themselves, and that they are ancient also; though some think otherwise. Insomuch that those who have received them cannot easily be brought to depart from them, out of that honour they pay to the length of time they have religiously enjoyed and observed them. Now our adversaries take these privileges away unjustly; they violently seize upon that money of ours which is offered to God, and called sacred money; and this openly, after a sacrilegious manner. They also impose tributes upon us, and bring us before tribunals on holy days; and then require other like debts of us, not because the contracts require it, and for their own advantage; but because they would put an affront on our religion; of which they are conscious as well as we, and have indulged themselves in an unjust hatred. For your government over all is one; tending to the establishing of benevolence, and abolishing of ill-will among such as are disposed to it. This is, therefore, what we implore from thee, most excellent Agrippa, that we may not be ill-treated; that we may not be abused; that we may not be hindered from making use of our own customs; nor be despoiled of our goods, nor be forced by these men to do what we ourselves force nobody to do. For these privileges of ours are not only according to justice, but have formerly been granted us by you. And we are able to read to you many decrees of the senate, and the tables that contain them, which are still extant in the capitol, concerning these things: which, it is evident, were granted after you had had experience of our fidelity towards you; which ought to be valid, though no such fidelity had been. For you have hitherto preserved what people were in possession of, not to us only, but almost to all men; and have added greater advantages than they could have hoped for: and thereby your government is become a great advantage to them. And if any one were able to enumerate the prosperity you have conferred on every nation, which they possess by your means, he could never put an end to his discourse. But that we may demonstrate that we are not unworthy of all those advantages we have obtained, it will be sufficient for us to say nothing of other things, but to speak freely of this king who now governs us, and is now one of your ancestors. And indeed in what instance of good will as to your house hath he been deficient? What mark of fidelity to it hath he omitted? What token of honour hath he not devised? What occasion for his assistance of you hath he not regarded at the very first? What hindereth therefore, but that your kindnesses may be as numerous as his benefits to you have been? It may also perhaps be fit not here to pass over in silence the valour of his father Antipater; who, when Cæsar made an expedition into Egypt, assisted him with two thousand armed men; and proved inferior to none, neither in the battles at land, nor in the management of the navy. And what need I say any thing of how great weight those soldiers were at that juncture? or how many, and how great presents they were vouchsafed by Cæsar? And truly I ought before now to have mentioned the epistles which Cæsar wrote to the senate: and how Antipater had honours and the freedom of the city of Rome bestowed upon him. For these are demonstrations both that we have received these favours by our own deserts, and do on that account petition for your confirmation of them; from whom we had reason to hope for them, though they had not been given us before: both out of regard to our king's disposition towards you, and your disposition towards him. And farther, we have been informed by those Jews that were there, with what kindness thou camest into our country; and how thou offeredst the most perfect sacrifices to God, and honouredst him with remarkable vows: and how thou gavest the people a feast, and acceptedst of their own hospitable presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these kind entertainments made both by our nation and our city, to a man who is the ruler and manager of so much of the public affairs, as indications of that friendship which thou hast returned to the Jewish nation; and which hath been procured them by the family of Herod. So we remind thee of these things in the presence of the king, now sitting by thee; and make our request for no more but this; that what you have

* We may here observe the ancient practice of the Jews, of dedicating the sabbath day, not to idleness, but to the learning their sacred rites and religious customs; and to the meditation on the law of Moses.

given us yourselves, you will not see taken away by others."

When Nicolaus had made this speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks. For this was not an inquiry made, as in a court of justice; but an intercession to prevent violence to be offered to the Jews any longer. Nor did the Greeks make any defence of themselves: or deny what it is supposed they had done. Their pretence was no more than this, that while the Jews inhabited in their country, they were entirely unjust to them, in not joining in their worship. But they demonstrated their generosity in this; that though they worshipped according to their own institutions they did nothing that ought to grieve them. So when Agrippa perceived that they had been oppressed by violence, he made answer, that on account of Herod's good will and friendship, he was ready to grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask: and that their requests seemed in themselves just: and that if they requested any thing farther, he should not scruple to grant it them; provided they were no way to the detriment of the Roman government. But that, while their request was no more than this, that what privileges they had already given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observance of their own customs, without any one offering them the least injury. And when he had said thus, he dissolved the assembly. Upon which Herod stood up, and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he shewed to them. Agrippa also took this in a very obliging manner, and saluted him again, and embraced him in his arms. After which he went away from Lesbos. But the king determined to sail from Samos to his own country: and when he had taken leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage, and landed at Cæsarea in a few days; as having favourable winds. He then went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people to an assembly; not a few being there out of the country also. So he came to them, and gave them a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia; how by his means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of the good fortune he had met with; and how he had administered the government; and had not neglected any thing which was for their advantage. And as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. Accordingly they were so pleased with his favour and speech to them, that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the king all manner of happiness.

* An. 13.

CHAP. III.

OF THE DISTURBANCES WHICH AROSE IN HEROD'S FAMILY ON HIS PREFERRING ANTIPATER, HIS ELDEST SON, BEFORE THE REST.

BUT the affairs in Herod's family were more and more in disorder, and became more severe upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young men Alexander and Aristobulus: which descended as it were by inheritance, from their mother Mariamne. And as she had fully succeeded against their mother; so she proceeded to that degree of madness and insolence, as to endeavour that none of her posterity might be left alive, who might have it in their power to revenge her death. The young men had also somewhat of a bold and uneasy disposition toward their father; occasioned by the remembrance of what their mother had unjustly suffered; and by their own ambition of governing. The old grudge was also renewed; and they cast reproaches on Salome and Pheroras: who requitted the young men with malicious designs, and actually laid treacherous snares for them. Now this hatred was equal on both sides; but the manner of exerting it was different. For the young men were rash; reproaching and affronting the others openly: and were inexperienced enough to think it most generous to declare their minds in that undaunted manner. But the others made use of calumnies after a subtle and spiteful manner: still provoking the young men, and imagining that their boldness might in time turn to the offering violence to their father. For inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, nor thought she suffered justly; these supposed that might at length exceed all bounds, and induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father; though it were by despatching him with their own hands. At length the whole city was full of these discourses: and, as is usual in such contests, the unskilfulness of the young men was pitied: but the contrivance of Salome was too hard for them, and what imputations she laid upon them came to be believed, by means of their own conduct. For they were so deeply affected with the death of their mother, that while they said both she and themselves were in a miserable case, they vehemently complained of her pitiable end: which indeed was truly such; and said that they were themselves in a pitiable case also; because they were forced to live with those that had been her murderers, and to be partakers with them.

These disorders increased greatly: and the king's absence had afforded a fit opportunity for that increase. But as soon as Herod was returned, *and had made the aforementioned speech to the multitude, Pheroras and

Salome immediately dropped some hints as if he were in great danger; and as if the young men openly threatened, that they would not spare him any longer, but would revenge their mother's death upon him. They also added another circumstance, that their hopes were fixed on Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; that they should be able by his means to come to Cæsar, and accuse their father. Upon hearing these things, Herod was greatly disturbed; and indeed was the more astonished because the same things were related to him by some others also. He then called to mind his former calamity, and considered, that the disorders in his family had hindered him from enjoying any comfort with those that were dearest to him, or with his wife whom he loved so well. And suspecting that his future troubles would soon be heavier and greater than those that were past, he was in great confusion of mind; for Divine Providence had in reality conferred upon him a great many outward advantages for his happiness, even beyond his hopes. But the troubles he had at home were such as he never expected to have met with; and rendered him unfortunate. Nay both sorts came upon him to such a degree, as no one could imagine; and made it a doubtful question, whether, upon the comparison of both, he ought to have exchanged so great a success of outward good things for so great misfortunes at home; or whether he ought not to have chosen to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had, for a compensation, never been possessed of the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

As he was thus disturbed and afflicted, in order to depress these young men, he brought to court another of his sons, named Antipater, that was born to him when he was a private man.* Yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterwards, when he was quite overcome by him, and let him do every thing as he pleased; but rather with a design of depressing the insolence of the sons of Mariamne, and managing this evelation of his, so that it might be for a warning to them. For this bold behaviour of theirs would not be so great, if they were once persuaded that the succession to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone; or must of necessity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their antagonist; and imagined, that he made a good provision for discouraging their pride: and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a proper season for expecting these to be of a better disposition. But the event proved otherwise than he intended. For the young men thought he did them a very great injury. And as Antipater was a shrewd man, when he had once obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one single design in his head; and that was to distress his brethren; and not at all to yield them the pre-eminence; but to keep close to his father, who was already alienated from them by the calumnies he had heard about them; and so ready to be wrought upon in any way his zeal against them should advise him to pursue; that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly all the reports that were spread abroad, came from him; while he avoided himself the suspicion as if those discoveries proceeded from him. But he rather chose to make use of those persons for his assistants that were unsuspected, and such as might be believed to speak truth by reasons of the good will they bore to the king. And indeed there were already not a few who cultivated a friendship with Antipater in hopes of gaining somewhat by him: and these were the men who most of all persuaded Herod; because they appeared to speak thus out of their good will to him. And while these joint accusations, from various foundations, supported one another's veracity, the young men themselves afforded farther occasions to Antipater also. For they were observed to shed tears often, on account of the injury that was offered them; and spake of their mother; and among their friends they ventured to reproach their father, as not acting justly by them. All which things were with an evil intention reserved in memory by Antipater, against a proper opportunity: and when they were told to Herod, with aggravations, increased the disorders so much, that it brought a great tumult into the family. For while the king was very angry at the imputations that were laid upon the sons

* This Antipater was Herod's eldest son by Doris, a woman of no quality, whilst himself was a private man; for which reason he kept him and his mother, for some time at a distance from court: but when he began to take offence at Alexander and Aristobulus, his two sons by Mariamne, he thereupon treated him with a great deal of distinction, and, in a full assembly of the people, declared him his immediate heir to the crown. After the death of Mariamne's sons, he had nothing that stood in his way, but only the life of his father Herod: and, to get rid of him, he formed a conspiracy with his uncle Pheroras, (who, at this time, was in some disgrace with his brother the king,) to have him poisoned. But, that there might be no suspicion of his being concerned in the thing, he procured some of his friends to send for him to Rome, (where he had been before under Agrippa's protection,) on pretence of waiting upon Augustus. Herod, however, having found out the whole plot, wrote to his son, without giving him the least hint of it, to hasten his journey home, lest something should happen in his absence to his great disadvantage; whereupon he returned into Palestine, without the least suspicion of what had passed. When he came to Jerusalem, his friends, who attended him, were not permitted to enter the palace; and when he went to embrace the king, the king thurst him from him, upbraiding him with the murder of his brothers Alexander and Aristobulus; and with the parricide which he intended to have committed on his person, and whereof he accused him the next day, before Quintilius Varus, the governor of Syria. The proof was so plain against him, that Antipater, having nothing to say in his justification, was loaded with irons, and put in prison. But while he was there, a false report being spread, that Herod was dead, he begged of his keeper to set him at liberty, and made him large promises if he would do it, which being brought to his father's ear, as weak as he was, (for he died in a few days after,) he raised himself upon his elbow, and, calling one of his guards, sent him that moment to despatch his son. B.

of Mariamne, and was desirous to humble them; he still increased the honour that he had bestowed on Antipater; and was at last so overcome by his persuasions, that he brought his mother to court also. He also wrote frequently to Cæsar in favour of him, and more earnestly commended him to his care particularly. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome, after he had finished his *ten years' government in Asia, Herod sailed from Judea: and when he met with him he had none with him but Antipater; whom he delivered to Agrippa; that he might take him along with him, together with many presents; that so he might become Cæsar's friend: insomuch that things already looked as if he had all his father's favour; and that the young men were already entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.

CHAP. IV.

OF HEROD'S ACCUSATION OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS BEFORE CÆSAR; ALEXANDER'S DEFENCE, AND RECONCILIATION TO HIS FATHER.

NOW what happened during Antipater's absence, augmented the honour to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brethren. For he made a great figure in Rome; because Herod had sent recommendations of him to all his friends there. Only he was grieved that he was not at home, nor had proper opportunities of perpetually calumniating his brethren. And his chief fear was, lest his father should alter his mind, and entertain a more favourable opinion of the sons of Mariamne. And as he had this in his mind, he did not desist from his purpose; but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brethren: under pretence, indeed, of a deep concern for his preservation; but in truth such as his malicious mind dictated to him, in order to purchase a greater hope of his succession; which yet was already great in itself. And thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he was already become very ill-disposed towards the young men. But still, while he delayed to exercise so violent a disgust against them, and that he might either be too remiss, or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome,† and there accuse his sons before Cæsar; and not to indulge himself in any such crime as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impiety. But as he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to meet with Cæsar at the ‡city of Aquileia. So when he came to Cæsar, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, wherein he thought himself very miserable: and presented his sons there; and accused them of their mad actions, and of their attempts against him. He said, that they were enemies to him; and, by all the means they were able, did their endeavours to shew their hatred to their own father; and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom, after the most barbarous manner. That he had power from Cæsar to dispose of it, not by necessity, but by choice, to him who should exercise the greatest piety towards him: while these his sons were not so desirous of ruling, as they were, upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their own life; if so be they might but deprive their father of his life, so wild and polluted was their mind become out of their hatred to him. That whereas he had a long time borne this misfortune, he was now compelled to lay it before Cæsar; and to pollute his ears with such language. While he himself wished to know, what severity they had ever suffered from him? or what hardship he had ever laid upon them to make them complain of him: and how they could think it just that he should not be lord of that kingdom which he, in a long time, and with great dangers, had gained; and not allow him to keep it, and dispose of it to him that should deserve it best: and this, with other advantages, he proposed as a reward for the piety of such a one as might hereafter imitate the care he had taken of it: and that such a one might gain so great a requital. And that it was an impious thing for them to pretend to meddle with it beforehand. For he who had ever the kingdom in his view, at the same time reckoned upon procuring the death of his father: because otherwise he could not obtain the government. That as for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, and what was agreeable to such as are subject to royal authority, and the sons of a king; what ornaments they wanted, with servants and delicate fare, and had married them into the most illustrious families; the one, Aristobulus, to his sister's daughter; but Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus. And, what was the greatest favour of all, when their crimes were so very bad, and he had author-

* This interval of ten years for the duration of Marcus Agrippa's government in Asia, seems to be true, and agreeable to the Roman history. See Usher's Annals at A. M. 3892.

† An. 11.

‡ Although Herod met Augustus at Aquileia, yet was this accusation of his sons deferred till they came to Rome, as we are particularly informed in the History of the War, I. 23. Though what he there says belonged distinctly to Alexander, the eldest brother; I mean his being brought to Rome; is here justly extended to both the brothers: and that not only in our copies, but in that of Zonaras, also. Nor is there reason to doubt, but they were both at this solemn hearing by Augustus: although the defence was made by Alexander alone, who was the elder brother, and one that could speak very well.

ity to punish them, yet had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them before Cæsar their common benefactor, and not used the severity which either as a father who had been impiously abused, or as a king who had been treacherously assaulted, he might have done, he made them stand upon the level with him in judgment. That, however, it is necessary that all this should not be passed over without punishment, nor himself live in the greatest fears. Nay that it was not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they had done, and they would certainly suffer the greatest punishments that ever were known among mankind.

These were the accusations which Herod laid with great vehemency against his sons before Cæsar. Now the young men, both while he was speaking, and chiefly at his concluding, wept, and were in confusion. As to themselves, they knew in their own conscience they were innocent: but because they were accused by their father they were sensible, as the truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology. Since though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely, as the occasion required, and might with force and earnestness refute the accusation; yet was it not now decent so to do. There was, therefore, a difficulty how they should be able to speak; and tears, and at length a deep groan, followed: while they were afraid that if they said nothing, they should seem to be in this difficulty from a consciousness of guilt. Nor had they any defence ready, by reason of their youth, and the disorder they were under. Yet was not Cæsar unapprised, when he looked upon them in the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defence did not arise from any consciousness of great enormities; but from their unskilfulness and modesty. They were also commiserated by those that were there in particular: and they moved their father's affections in earnest, till he had much difficulty to conceal them.

But when they saw there was a kind disposition arisen both in him and in Cæsar, and that every one of the rest did either shed tears, or at least did all grieve with them; one of them, whose name was Alexander, called to his father, and attempted to answer his accusation, and said,

"O father! the benevolence thou hast shewn to us is evident, even in this very judicial procedure. For hadst thou had any pernicious intentions about us, thou hadst not produced us here before the common saviour of all. For it was in thy power, both as a king, and as a father, to punish the guilty. But by thus bringing us to Rome, and making Cæsar himself a witness to what is done, thou intimatest a design to save us. For no one that hath an intention to slay a man, will bring him to the temples, and to the altars. Yet are our circumstances still worse. For we cannot endure to live any longer, if it be believed that we have injured such a father. Nay, perhaps it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die without such guilt. And if our open defence may be taken to be true, we shall be happy both in pacifying thee, and in escaping the danger we are in. But if this calumny so prevail, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day. Which why should we see, if this suspicion be fixed upon us? It is easy to say of young men, that they desire to reign; and to say farther, that this evil proceeds from the case of our unhappy mother. This is abundantly sufficient to produce our present misfortune out of the former. But consider well, whether such an accusation does not suit all such young men, and may not be said of all promiscuously? For nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and their mother be dead, but the father may have a suspicion upon all his sons; as intending some treachery to him. But a suspicion is not sufficient to prove such an impious practice. Now let any man say, whether we have actually and insolently attempted any such thing, whereby actions, otherwise incredible, used to be made credible? Can any body prove that poison hath been prepared? or prove a conspiracy of our equals, or the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? Though indeed there are none of those things but have sometimes been pretended in way of calumny, when they were never done. For a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing: and that which thou callest a reward of piety, often becomes, among very wicked men, such a foundation of hope, as makes them leave no sort of mischief untried. Nor does any one lay any wicked practices to our charge. But as to calumnies by hearsay, how can he put an end to them, who will not hear what we have to say? Have we talked with too great freedom? yes: but not against thee: for that would be unjust: but against those that never conceal any thing that is spoken to them. Have either of us lamented our mother? yes: but not because she is dead, but because she was evil spoken of by those that had no reason so to do. Are we desirous of that dominion which we know our father is possessed of? For what reason can we do so? If we already have royal honours, as we have, should not we labour in vain? And if we have them not, are not we in hopes of them? Or supposing we had killed thee, could we expect to obtain thy kingdom, while neither the earth would let us tread upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, after such an action as that? Nay, the religion of all thy subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, would have prohibited parricides from assuming the government; and

*from entering into that most holy temple which was built by thee. But suppose we had made light of other dangers, can any murderer go unpunished while Cæsar is alive? We are thy sons: and not so impious, or so thoughtless, as that comes to; though perhaps more unfortunate than is convenient for thee. But in case thou neither findest any cause of complaint, nor any treacherous design; what sufficient evidence hast thou to make such a wickedness of ours credible? Our mother is dead indeed. But then, what befell her might be an instruction to us to caution, and not an incitement to wickedness. We are willing to make a larger apology for ourselves; but actions never done, do not admit of discourse. Nay we will make this agreement with thee, and that before Cæsar, the lord of all, who is now a mediator between us: if thou, O father! canst bring thyself, by the evidence of truth, to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us, let us live: though even then we should live in an unhappy way; for to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing. But if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou in thy pious life: we will give this reason for our own conduct. Our life is not so desirable to us, as to desire to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us."

When Alexander had spoken thus, Cæsar, who did not before believe so gross a calumny, was still more moved by it: and looked intently upon Herod, and perceived he was a little confounded: the persons there present were also under an anxiety about the young men; and the fame that was spread abroad made the king hated. For the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commiseration which the flower of youth and beauty of body which were in the young men, pleaded for assistance. And the more so on this account, that Alexander had made their defence with dexterity and prudence. Nay, they did not themselves any longer continue in their former countenances; which had been bedewed with tears, and cast downwards to the ground: but now there arose in them hope of the best. And the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon; he having no real evidence wherewith to convict them. Indeed he wanted some apology for making the accusation. But Cæsar, after some delay, said, "that although the young men were thoroughly innocent of that for which they were calumniated, yet had they been so far to blame, that they had not demeaned themselves towards their father, as to prevent the suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them." He also exhorted Herod to lay all such suspicions aside, and to be reconciled to his sons; for that it was not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children: and that this repentance on both sides might still heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve their good will to one another, whereby those on both sides excusing the rashness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of affection towards each other than they had before. After Cæsar had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men. When, therefore they were disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up, and embraced them, as they were in tears; and took each of them distinctly in his arms: till not one of those that were present, whether freeman or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw.

Then did they return thanks to Cæsar, and went away together; and with them went Antipater, with a hypocritical pretence that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And in the last days they were with Cæsar, Herod made him a present of three hundred talents; as he was then exhibiting shews and largesses to the people of Rome. And Cæsar made him a present of half the copper mines in Cyprus; and committed the care of the other half to him; and honoured him with other gifts and incomes. And as to his own kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor; or to distribute it in parts to every one: that the dignity might thereby come to them all. But when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately, Cæsar said, he would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom or over his sons.

After this, Herod returned to Judea again. But during his absence, no small part of his dominions about Trachon had revolted; whom yet the commanders he left there had vanquished, and compelled to a submission again. Now as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to the island Eleusa, which has now changed its name for Sebaste; he met with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly; as rejoicing that he was reconciled to his sons; and that the accusation against Alexander, who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became kings to make.

* Since some prejudiced men have indulged a wild suspicion, as we have supposed already, XV. 11, that Josephus's history of Herod's rebuilding the temple is no better than a fable; it may not be amiss to take notice of this occasional clause, in the speech of Alexander before his father Herod, in his and his brother's vindication: which mentions the temple, as known by every body to have been built by Herod. See John ii. 20. See also another speech of Herod's own, to the young men that pulled down his golden eagle from the front of the temple; where he takes notice, "that the building of the temple cost him a vast sum; and that the Asmoneans, in those 125 years they held the government, were not able to perform so great a work, to the honour of God, as this was." XVII. 6.

From thence Herod came to Judea, and to the temple: where he made a speech to the people, concerning what had been done in his journey; he also discoursed to them about Cæsar's kindness to him, and about as many of the particulars he had done, as he thought for his advantage other people should be acquainted with. At last he turned his speech to the admonition of his sons: and exhorted those that lived at court, and the rest of the multitude, to concord: and informed them, that his sons were to reign after him. Antipater first: and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne. But he desired that at present they should all have regard to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all: since he was not yet hindered by old age; but was in that period of life when he must be the most skilful in governing: and that he was not deficient in other arts of management that might enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children also. He farther told the rulers under him, and the soldiery, that in case they would look upon him alone, their life would be led in a peaceable manner: and they would make one another happy. And when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly. This speech was acceptable to the greatest part of the audience, but not so to them all. For the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovations among them.

CHAP. V.

OF HEROD'S CELEBRATION OF THE GAMES THAT WERE TO RETURN EVERY FIFTH YEAR, UPON THE BUILDING OF CÆSAREA; AND OF HIS BUILDING AND ADORNING MANY OTHER PLACES.

ABOUT this time it was that Cæsarea Sebaste, which he had built, was finished. The entire building being accomplished in *the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell into the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign; and in the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad. There was accordingly a great festival and most sumptuous preparations made in order to its dedication. For he had appointed a contention in music, and games to be performed naked. He had also gotten ready a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose. Horse races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shews as used to be exhibited at Rome and in other places. He consecrated this combat to Cæsar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent all sorts of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent. Nay †Julia, Cæsar's wife, sent a great part of her most valuable furniture from Rome: insomuch that he had no want of any thing. The sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now when a great multitude was come to that city, to see the shews; as well as the ambassadors whom other people sent, on account of the benefits they had received from Herod; he entertained them all in the public inns, and at public tables; and with perpetual feasts: this solemnity having in the day time the diversions of the sights, and in the night time such merry meetings as cost vast sums of money, and publicly demonstrated the generosity of his soul. For in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exhibit what exceeded whatsoever had been done before of the same kind. And it is related that Cæsar and Agrippa often said, that the dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul; for that he deserved to have both all the kingdom of Syria, and that of Egypt also.

After this solemnity and these festivals were over, Herod erected another city in the plain called Capharsaba: where he chose out a fit place, both for plenty of water and goodness of soil: and proper for the production of what was there planted; a river encompassing the city itself, and a grove of the best trees for magnitude being round about it. This he named Antipatris, from his father Antipater. He also built upon another spot of ground above Jericho, of the same name with his mother, a place of great security, and very pleasant for habitation; and called it Cypros. He also dedicated the finest monuments to his brother Phasaelus; on account of the great natural affection there had been between them; by erecting a tower in the city itself, not less than the tower of Pharos, which he named Phasaelus: which was at once a part of the strong defences of the city, and a memorial for him that was deceased; because it bare his name. He also built a city of the same name in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward: whereby he rendered the neighbouring country more fruitful, by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced. And this also he called Phasaelus.

But as for his other benefits, it is impossible to enumerate them: those which he bestowed on cities, both in Syria, and in Greece; and in all the places he came to in his voyages. For he seems to have conferred, and that after a most plentiful manner, what would minister to many necessities; and the building of public works;

* These famous shews and sports seem to have been truly exhibited at Cæsarea in this 28th year of Herod, or A. 10, before the Christian æra: as Abp. Usher determines at A. M. 3994, which was in the 3d year also of the 192d Olympiad: and perfectly agrees with Josephus's determination.

† The wife of Augustus, whom the Roman authors generally style Livia, is by Josephus and some others, called Julia: especially by those that wrote after Augustus had in his will adopted her into the Julian family: as both Hudson and Spanheim here informs. See also Dean Aldrich's notes on the History of the War, I. 28. and II. 9.

and gave them the money that was necessary to such works as wanted it; to support them upon the failure of their other revenues. But what was the greatest and most illustrious of all his works, he erected Apollo's temple at Rhodes, at his own expense; and gave them a great number of talents of silver for the repair of their fleet. He also built the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of *Nicopolis, at Actium. And for the Antiochians, the inhabitants of the principal city of Syria, where a broad street cuts through the place lengthways, he built cloisters along it on both sides; and laid the open road with polished stone; and was of very great advantage to the inhabitants. And as to the Olympic games, which were in a very low condition, by reason of the failure of their revenue, he recovered their reputation; and appointed revenues for their maintenance; and made that solemn meeting more venerable, as to the sacrifices and other ornaments. And by reason of this vast liberality, he was generally declared in their inscriptions to be one of the perpetual managers of those games.

Now some there are who stand amazed at the diversity of Herod's nature, and purposes.† For when we have respect to his magnificence, and the benefits which he bestowed on all mankind; there is no possibility for even those that had the least respect for him, to deny, or not openly to confess, that he had a nature vastly beneficent. But when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his nearest relations; and takes notice of his severe and unrelenting disposition there; he will be forced to allow, that it was brutish, and a stranger to all humanity. Insomuch that these men suppose his nature to be different, and sometimes at contradiction with itself. But I am of another opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sorts of actions was one and the same. For being a man ambitious of honour, and quite overcome by that passion, he was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared any hopes of a future memorial, or of reputation at present. And as his expenses were beyond his abilities, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects. For the persons on whom he expended his money were so many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it. And because he was conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them; he thought it not an easy thing to amend his offences: for that was inconvenient for his revenue: he, therefore, strove on the other side to make their ill will an occasion of his gains. As to his own court, therefore, if any one were not very obsequious to him in his language, and would not confess himself to be his slave, or but seemed to think of any innovation in his government; he was not able to contain himself; but prosecuted his very kindred and friends; and punished them as if they were enemies. And this wickedness he undertook out of a desire that he might be himself alone honoured. Now for my assertion about that passion of his, we have the greatest evidence, by what he did to honour Cæsar, and Agrippa, and his other friends. For the honours he paid to them who were his superiors, the same did he desire to be paid to himself. And what he thought the most excellent present he could make another, he discovered an inclination to have the like presented to himself. But now the Jewish nation is by their law a stranger to all such things, and accustomed to prefer righteousness to glory; for which reason that nation was not agreeable to him; because it was out of their power to flatter the king's ambition with statues, temples, or other such performances. And this seems to me to have been at once the occasion of Herod's crimes as to his own courtiers, and counsellors: and of his benefactions to foreigners, and those that had no relation to him.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE AMBASSAGE OF THE JEWS IN CYRENE AND ASIA TO CÆSAR, CONCERNING THE COMPLAINTS THEY HAD TO MAKE AGAINST THE GREEKS; ALSO COPIES OF THE EPISTLES WHICH CÆSAR AND AGRIPPA WROTE TO THE CITIES FOR THEM.

NOW ‡the cities ill treated the Jews in Asia, and all those also of the same nation who lived in §Libya, which joins to Cyrene; while the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks affronted them at this time: and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do

* Dr. Hudson gives us here the words of Suetonius, concerning this Nicopolis, when Augustus rebuilt it. "And that the memory of the victory at Actium might be celebrated the more afterward, he built Nicopolis at Actium; and appointed public shews to be there exhibited every fifth year." In August. § 18.

† The disposition of man is discovered by the different circumstances in which he is placed, and the events in which he takes an active part. So that the same individual will, at different times, appear, and really act different from, and even inconsistent to himself. B.

‡ An. 9.

§ Take here Reland's remarkable note: "Libya which joins to Cyrene. That many Jews were there, we also learn, Acts ii. 10. In Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene. For which cause the Libyan, and Cyrenian, and Alexandrian Jews, are often joined together. Thus says Syncellus Chronograph. p. 347. Of what happened in the reign of Trajan: the Jews that were in Libya, and Cyrene, and Egypt, and Alexandria. Wherefore when Acts vi. 9, the synagogues of Libystine and Alexandrian and Cyrenian Jews are joined together, I do not doubt but that those are understood; and that the reading Libertines in the Acts of the Apostles, is a corrupt reading. It is known that Libystine is formed from Libya, as well as Libyan; as in Catullus; A lioness on the Libystine mountains; i. e. on the Libyan mountains." I shall here add also, that the Armenian version has here Libyans, instead of Libertines; which is a strong confirmation of Reland's determination.

them mischief on other particular occasions. When therefore they were thus afflicted, and found no end of the barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Cæsar on those accounts. He gave them the same privileges as they had before: and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces: copies of which I subjoin here; as testimonials of the ancient favourable disposition the Roman emperors had towards us.

"Cæsar Augustus, high-priest and tribune of the people, ordains thus. Since the nation of the Jews hath been found grateful to the Roman people not only at this time, but in time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high-priest, under *my father Cæsar the emperor. It seemed good to me and my counsellors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their fathers, as they made use of them under Hyrcanus the high-priest of Almighty God; and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem; and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem: and that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the sabbath day, nor on the †day of the preparation to it, after the ninth hour. But if any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money; whether it be out of the synagogue, or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order, that the testimonial which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise toward all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, together with the present decree be proposed in that most eminent place which hath been consecrated to me by the community of Asia at Ancryna. And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished." This was inscribed upon a pillar, in the temple of Cæsar.

"Cæsar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting. Let those Jews, how many soever they be, who have been used according to their ancient custom, to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same freely." These were the decrees of Cæsar.

Agrippa also wrote after the following manner, on behalf of the Jews. "Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate and people, of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. I will, that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem, be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom: and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and flee to a sanctuary, shall be ‡taken thence and delivered to the Jews: by the same law that the sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus the prætor, that no one compel the Jews to come before a judge on the sabbath day."

"Marcus Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent order to Flavius, then prætor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely; as hath been their custom from their forefathers. They complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and under pretence of taxes which were not due, are hindered from sending them: which I command to be restored without any diminution or disturbance given to them. And if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I farther enjoin that the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place."

"Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates of the Sardians, sendeth greeting. Cæsar hath written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many soever they be, from assembling together, according to the customs of their forefathers: nor from sending their money to Jerusalem. I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both Cæsar and I would have you act accordingly."

Julius Antonius, the proconsul, also wrote to the same effect:—"To the magistrates, senate and people, of the Ephesians. As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, on the ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia demonstrated to me, that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs; and to offer those first-fruits, which every one of them freely offers to the Deity, on account of piety; and to carry them in a company together, to Jerusalem, without disturbance. They also petitioned me, that I would confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own sanction. I would therefore, have you take notice, that according to the will of Augustus and Agrippa I permit them to do according to the customs of their forefathers, without disturbance."

I have been obliged to set down these decrees, because the present history of our own acts will go generally among the Greeks; and I have hereby demonstrated to them, that we have formerly been in great esteem, and have not been prohibited by those gover-

* Augustus here calls Julius Cæsar his father, though by birth he was only his uncle; on account of his adoption by him. See the same XIV. 14, and the like XVIII. 6.

† This is authentic evidence that the Jews, in the days of Augustus, began to prepare for the celebration of the sabbath at the ninth hour on Friday; as the tradition of the elders, it seems, then required.

‡ This decree of Marcus Agrippa, for taking sacrilegious persons out of a sanctuary, is of kin to the law of Moses, Exod. xxi. 14. "If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die."

nors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers: nay, that we have been supported by them, while we followed our own religion, and the worship we paid to God. And I frequently make mention of these decrees, in order to reconcile other people to us; and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear to us. As for our *customs, there is no nation which always makes use of the same: and in every city almost we meet with them different from one another. But natural justice is most agreeable to the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and Barbarians. To which our laws have the greatest regard: and thereby render us, if we abide in them after a pure manner, benevolent and friendly to all men. On this account we have reason to expect the like return from others: and to inform them that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions a sufficient cause of alienation: but join with us in the pursuit of virtue and probity. For this belongs to all men in common: and of itself alone is sufficient for the preservation of human life.

CHAP. VII.

OF HEROD'S VIOLATION OF DAVID'S SEPULCHRE; IN CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH THE SEDITION IN HIS FAMILY GREATLY INCREASED.

HEROD, in the mean time, had spent vast sums about the cities, both without and within his own kingdom. And as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had †opened David's sepulchre, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, ‡and that there was still a greater number left behind: he opened that sepulchre by night, and went into it; and endeavoured that it should not be known in the city; but took only his most faithful friends with him. As for money, he found none; but that furniture of gold, and those precious goods that were laid up there: all of which he took away. However, he had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon: but two of his guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in; as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out; and built a propitiatory monument of white stone, at the mouth of the sepulchre: and that at a great expense also. And even §Nicolaus his historiographer makes mention of this monument built by Herod; though he does not mention his going down into the sepulchre: as knowing that action to be of ill repute. And many other things he treats of in the same manner in his book. For he wrote in Herod's life time, and so as to please him; touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory: and either concealing, or openly excusing, many of his notorious crimes. And as he was desirous to put handsome colours on the death of Mariamne, and her sons; which were barbarous actions in the king; he tells falsehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne, and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him: and thus he proceeded in his whole work: making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done; but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. Indeed a man may have a great deal to say by way of excuse for Nicolaus. For he did not so properly write this as a history for others: as somewhat that might be subservient to the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly allied to the Asmonean kings, and on that account having an honourable place, which is the priesthood, we think it indecent to say any thing that is false about them: and accordingly we have described their actions after an unblemished and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Herod's posterity, who still reign, yet do we pay a greater regard to truth than to them: and this though it sometimes happens that we incur their displeasure by so doing.

And indeed Herod's troubles in his family seemed to be augmented, by reason of this attempt he made upon David's sepulchre. Whether divine vengeance increased the calamities he lay under, in order to render them incurable; or whether fortune made an assault upon him in those cases, wherein the seasonableness of the cause made it strongly believed that the calamities came upon him for his impiety. For the tumult was like a civil war in his palace: and the hatred towards one another was like that where each one strove to exceed another in calumnies. However, Antipater used stratagems perpetually against his brethren; and that very cunningly. While abroad he loaded them with accusations; but still took upon him frequently to apolo-

* The remaining part of this chapter is remarkable; as justly distinguishing natural justice, religion, and morality, from positive institutions in all countries; and evidently preferring the former before the latter: as did the true prophets of God always under the Old Testament; and Christ and his Apostles, under the new. Whence Josephus seems to have been, at this time, nearer Christianity than were the Scribes and Pharisees of his age: who as we know from the New Testament, were entirely of a different opinion and practice.

† See Book XIII. chap. 8.

‡ An opinion universally prevails throughout the East, that vast treasures are hid in the earth; and especially entombed with the dead. This has induced many avaricious persons to violate the sanctuary of the grave; and likewise induce the oriental people to be very jealous of the visits of travellers. B.

§ It is here worthy observation, how careful Josephus was as to the discovery of truth in Herod's history; since he would not follow Nicolaus of Damascus himself, so great an historian, where there was reason to suspect that he flattered Herod. Which impartiality in history Josephus here solemnly professes: and of which impartiality he has given more demonstrations than almost any other historian. But as to Herod's taking great wealth out of David's sepulchre, though I cannot prove it, I strongly suspect it from this very history.

gize for them; that this apparent benevolence to them might make him be believed, and forward his attempts against them; by which means he after various manners, deceived his father: who believed that all he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolemy who was a great director of the affairs of his kingdom to Antipater; and consulted with his mother about the public affairs also. And indeed these were all in all; and did what they pleased; and made the king angry against any other persons, as they thought it might be to their own advantage. But still the sons of Mariamne were in a worse condition perpetually. And while they were thrust out, and set in a more dishonourable rank, who yet, by birth, were the most noble; they could not bear the dishonour. And for the women, Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Archelaus, hated Salome; both because of her love to her husband, and because Glaphyra seemed to behave herself somewhat insolently towards Salome's daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus.

Now besides this second contention, that had fallen among them, neither did the king's brother Pheroras keep himself out of trouble; but had a particular foundation for suspicion and hatred. For he was overcome with the charms of his wife, to such a degree of madness, that he despised the king's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed; and wholly bent his mind to the other, who had been but a servant. Herod was also grieved by the dishonour that was done him: because he had bestowed many favours upon him, and had advanced him to that height of power, that he was almost a partner with him in the kingdom, and saw that he had not made him a due return for his favours; and esteemed himself unhappy on that account. So upon Pheroras's unworthy refusal, he gave the damsel to Phasaelus's son. But after some time, when he thought the heat of his brother's affection was over, he blamed him for his former conduct, and desired him to take his second daughter, whose name was Cypros. Ptolemy also advised him to leave off affronting his brother, and to forsake her whom he had loved; for that it was a base thing to be so enamoured of a servant, as to deprive himself of the king's good will to him, and become an occasion of his trouble, and make himself hated by him. Pheroras knew that this advice would be for his own advantage; particularly because he had been accused before, and forgiven. So he put his wife away, although he already had a son by her; and engaged to the king, that he would take his second daughter, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage; and sware that he would have no farther conversation with her whom he had put away. But when the thirty days were over, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed any thing he had promised; but continued still with his former wife. This occasioned Herod to grieve openly, and made him angry; while the king dropped one word or other against Pheroras perpetually, and many made the king's anger an opportunity for raising calumnies against him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or hour; but occasions of a fresh quarrel arose among his relations, and those that were dearest to him. For Salome was of a harsh temper, and ill-natured to Mariamne's sons: nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men, to bear good will to her husband; but persuaded her to tell her, if he said any thing to her in private: and when any misunderstanding happened, she raised a great many suspicions out of it. By which means she learned all their concerns; and made the damsel ill-natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother she often said, that the young men used to mention Mariamne when they were by themselves: and that they hated their father; and were continually threatening, that if they had once got the kingdom, they would make Herod's sons by his other wives country schoolmasters; for that the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning, fitted them for such an employment. And as for the women, whenever they saw them adorned with their mother's clothes, they threatened that instead of their present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were presently carried by Salome to the king; who was troubled to hear them, and endeavoured to make up matters, but these suspicions afflicted him; and, becoming more and more uneasy, he believed every thing against every body. However, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing the defence they made for themselves, he was easier for a while: though a little afterward much worse accidents came upon them.

Pheroras came to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, and said, he had heard from Salome, that Herod was enamoured of Glaphyra; and that his passion for her was incurable. When Alexander heard that, he was all on fire, from his youth and jealousy; and he interpreted the instances of Herod's obliging behaviour to her which were very frequent, for the worse; which came from those suspicions he had on account of that word which fell from Pheroras. Nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but informed him what words Pheroras had said. Upon which Herod was in a greater disorder than ever. And not bearing such a false calumny, which was to his shame, he was much disturbed at it; and often lamented the wickedness of his domestics, and the ill requitals they had made him. So he sent for Phe-

roras, and reproached him, and said:—Thou vilest of all men! art thou come to that unmeasurable and extravagant degree of ingratitude, as not only to suppose such things of me, but to speak of them? I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are. It is not thy only aim to reproach me, when thou usest such words to my son; but thereby to persuade him to plot against me, and get me destroyed by poison. And who is there, if he had not a good genius at his elbows, as hath my son, but would not bear such a suspicion of his father; but would revenge himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only dropped a word for him to think of; and not rather hast put a sword into his hand for him to slay his father? And what dost thou mean, when thou really hatest him and his brother, to pretend kindness to them, only in order to raise a reproach against me, and talk of such things as no one but such an impious wretch as thou art could either devise in their mind, or declare in their words. Begone thou that art such a plague to thy benefactor, and thy brother; and may that evil conscience of thine go along with thee: while I still overcome my relations by kindness; and am so far from avenging myself of them, as they deserve; that I bestow greater benefits upon them than they are worthy of."

Hereupon Pheroras, who was caught in the very act of his villany, said that it was Salome who was the framer of this plot; and that the words came from her. But as soon as she heard that (for she was at hand,) she cried out, like one that would be believed, that no such thing ever came out of her mouth; that they all earnestly endeavoured to make the king hate her, and to make her away; because of the good will she bore to Herod; and because she was always foreseeing the dangers that were coming upon him; and that at present there were more plots against him than usual, for while she was the only person who persuaded her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she were hated by him. As she said this, and tore her hair, and beat her breast, her countenance made her denial to be believed; but the perverseness of her manners declared at the same time her dissimulation in these proceedings. But Pheroras was caught between them, and had nothing plausible to offer in his own defence. While he confessed that he had said what was charged upon him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome. So the confusion among them was increased, and their quarrelsome words one to another. At last the king, out of his hatred to his brother and sister, sent them both away: and when he had commended the moderation of his son, and that he had himself told him of the report, he went in the evening to refresh himself. After such a contest as this had fallen out among them, Salome's reputation suffered greatly: since she was supposed to have first raised the calumny. And the king's wives were grieved at her, as knowing she was a very ill-natured woman, and would sometimes be a friend, and sometimes an enemy, at different seasons. So they perpetually said one thing or other against her; and somewhat that now happened made them bolder in speaking against her.

There was one Obodas, king of Arabia, an inactive and slothful man in his nature. But Sylleus managed most of his affairs for him. He was a shrewd man, although but young; and was handsome withal. This Sylleus, upon some occasion, coming to Herod, and supping with him, saw Salome; and set his heart upon her: and understanding that she was a widow, he discoursed with her. Now because Salome was at this time less in favour with her brother, she looked upon Sylleus, with some passion; and was very earnest to be married to him. And on the following days there appeared many indications of their agreement together. Now the women carried this news to the king, and laughed at the indecency of it. Accordingly Herod inquired about it of Pheroras, and desired him to observe at supper, how their behaviour was towards each other: and he learnt, that by the signals which came from their heads and their eyes, they both were evidently in love. After this, Sylleus, the Arabian, being suspected, went away; but came again two or three months afterward; as it were on that very design, and spake to Herod about it, and desired that Salome might be given him in marriage; for that this affinity might not be disadvantageous to his affairs, by an union with Arabia; the government of which country was already in effect under his power, and more evidently would be his hereafter. Accordingly when Herod discoursed with his sister about it, and asked her, whether she were disposed to this match? she immediately agreed to it. But when Sylleus was desired to come over to the Jewish religion, and then he should marry her; and that it was impossible to do it on any other terms; he would not hear that proposal, but went his way. For he said that, if he should do so, he should be stoned by the Arabs. Then did Pheroras reproach Salome for her incontinency; as did the women much more: and said, that Sylleus had debauched her. As for that damsel, whom the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, but he had not taken her, as I have before related, because he was enamoured of his former wife; Salome desired of Herod she might be given to her son by Costobarus: but he was dissuaded from it by Pheroras: who pleaded, that this young man would not be kind to her, since his father had been slain by him, and that it was more just that his son, who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy, should have her.

Accordingly the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposed of to this young man, the son of Pheroras: the king giving, for her portion, an hundred talents.

CHAP. VIII.

OF FRESH DISTURBANCES WHICH AROSE IN HEROD'S FAMILY; THE HARSH TREATMENT OF ALEXANDER, AND HIS SUBSEQUENT RECONCILIATION TO HIS FATHER.

THE affairs of Herod's family were no better; but perpetually became more troublesome. And an accident happened, which proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There were certain eunuchs whom the king had: and, on account of their beauty, he was very fond of them: and the care of bringing him drink was entrusted to one of them; of bringing him his supper to another; and of putting him to bed to a third, who also managed the principal affairs of the government. Now some person told the king that these eunuchs were corrupted by his son Alexander, with great sums of money. And when they were asked whether Alexander had had criminal conversation with them, they confessed it: but said, they knew of no farther mischief of his against his father. But when they were more severely tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, and the tormentors, out of compliance with Antipater, stretched the rack to the very utmost; they said, that Alexander bore great ill will and innate hatred to his father; and that he told them, that Herod despaired to live much longer; and that in order to cover his great age, he coloured his hair black; and endeavoured to conceal what would discover how old he was. But that if he would apply himself to him, when he should attain the kingdom; which, in spite of his father, could come to no one else; he should quickly have the first place in that kingdom under him. For that he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birth-right; but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it: because a great many of the rulers and a great many of his friends, were on his side, and those, ready both to do and suffer whatsoever should come on that account.

Herod heard this confession, with mingled emotions of rage and fear: some parts of it seeming to him reproachful, and some making him suspicious of dangers which attended him, insomuch that on both accounts he was provoked; and bitterly afraid lest some more heavy plot was laid against him than he should be then able to escape. He, therefore, sent about spies to watch such as he suspected. For he was now overwhelmed with suspicion and hatred against all about him: and indulging abundance of those suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continued to suspect those that were guiltless. Nor did he set any bounds to himself: but supposing that those who stayed with him had the most power to hurt him, they were to him very frightful. And for those that did not use to come to him, it seemed enough to name them to make them suspected: and he thought himself safer when they were destroyed. And at last his domestics were come to that pass, that, being no way secure of escaping themselves, they began accusing one another: imagining that he who first accused another was most likely to save himself. Yet when any had overthrown others, they were hated: and they were thought to suffer justly, who unjustly accused others; and they only thereby prevented their own accusation. Nay, they now executed their own private enemies by this means, and when they were caught they were punished in the same way. Thus these men contrived to make use of this opportunity, as an instrument, and a snare, against their enemies: yet when they tried it, were themselves caught also in the same snare which they laid for others. And the king soon repented of what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain. And yet, what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance in order to leave off doing the like again; but in order to inflict the same punishments upon their accusers.

In this state of disorder were the affairs of the palace: and Herod had already told many of his friends directly, that they ought not to appear before him, nor come into the palace: and the reason of this injunction was, that when they were there he had less freedom of acting, or a greater restraint on himself on their account. For at this time it was that he expelled Andromachus and Gemellus; men who had of old been his friends; and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom; and been of advantage to his family by their ambassages, and counsels; and had been tutors to his sons; and had, in a manner, the first degree of freedom with him. He expelled Andromachus, because his son Demetrius was a companion to Alexander; and Gemellus, because he knew that he wished him well: having been with him in his youth, when he was at school, and absent at Rome. These he expelled out of his palace; and was willing enough to have done worse by them. But, that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with depriving them of their dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

Now the author of all these mischiefs was Antipater; who, when he knew what a mad and licentious way of acting his father was in, he hurried him on; and then thought he should bring him to do somewhat to purpose, when every one that could oppose him was taken away. When, therefore, Andromachus and his friends

were driven away, and had no discourse nor freedom with the king any longer; the king in the first place examined by torture all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander, whether they knew of any of his attempts against him: but these died without having any thing to say to that matter. This, however, only made the king more zealous after discoveries; when he could not find out what evil proceedings he suspected them of. As for Antipater, he was very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent; as if their denial were only their constancy and fidelity to Alexander; and thereupon provoked Herod to discover, by the torture of great numbers, what attempts were still concealed. Now there was a certain person among the many that were tortured, who said, that he knew the young man had often said, that when he was commended as tall in stature, and a skilful marksman; and that in his other commendable exercises he exceeded all men; these qualifications given him by nature, though good in themselves, were not advantageous to him; because his father was grieved at them, and envied him for them: and that when he walked along with his father, he endeavoured to depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall: and that when he shot at any thing, as he was hunting, when his father was by, he missed his mark on purpose; for he knew how ambitious his father was of being superior in such exercises.* So when the man was tortured about his saying, and had ease given his body after it, he added, that he had his brother Aristobulus for his assistance; and contrived to lie in wait for their father, as they were hunting, and kill him; and when they had done so, to flee away to Rome, and desire to have the kingdom given them. There were also letters of the young man found, written to his brother; wherein he complained, that his father did not act justly in giving Antipater a country whose yearly revenues amounted to two hundred talents. Upon these confessions Herod presently thought he had somewhat to depend on, in his own opinion, as to his suspicion about his son. So he took up Alexander and bound him. Yet did he still continue to be uneasy, and was not quite satisfied of the truth of what he had heard. And when he came to recollect himself, he found that they had only made juvenile complaints, and contentions; and that it was an incredible thing, that when his son should have slain him, he should openly go to Rome to beg the kingdom. So he was desirous to have some surer mark of his son's wickedness; and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison too rashly. So he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting any of those things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble, one of the younger sort, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed, that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and desired that he might be quickly invited thither by Cæsar; and that he could discover a plot against him; that Mithridates, king of Parthia, was joined in friendship with his father against the Romans, and that he had a poisonous potion ready prepared to Ascalon.

To these accusations Herod gave credit; and enjoyed hereby, in his miserable case, some sort of consolation, in excuse of his rashness; as flattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition. But as for the poisonous potion, which he laboured to discover, he could find none. As for Alexander, he was very desirous to aggravate the vast misfortunes he was under. So he pretended not to deny the accusations, but punished the rashness of his father with a greater crime of his own; and perhaps he was willing to make his father ashamed of his easy belief of such calumnies; he aimed especially, if he could gain belief to his story, to plague him, and his whole kingdom. For he wrote four letters, and sent them to him, saying, that he need not torture any more persons, for he had plotted against him; and that he had for his partners Pheroras, and the most faithful of his friends; and that Salome came into him by night, and that she lay with him whether he would or no; and that all men were come to be of one mind, to make away with him as soon as they could; and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him. Among these were accused Ptolemy, and Sapinnius; who were the most faithful friends to the king. And what more can be said? but that those who before were the most intimate friends, were become wild beasts to one another; as if a certain madness had fallen upon them: while there was no room for defence or refutation, in order to the discovery of the truth; but all were at random doomed to destruction. So that some lamented those that were in prison; some those that were put to death; and others lamented that they were in expectation of the same miseries. And a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed, and quite the reverse of that happy state it was formerly in. Herod's own life also was entirely disturbed; and because he could trust nobody, he was sorely punished by the expectation of farther misery. For he often

* Ambition is not more despicable in itself, and in the eyes of others, than it is tormenting to the person in whose breast it reigns; especially if it invade the minds and destroy the peace of such near relatives. B.

fancied in his imagination, that his son had fallen upon him, or stood by him with a sword in his hand. And thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and he revolved it over and over, no otherwise than if he were under a distraction.

But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, he was in great distress about his daughter, and the young man her husband; and grieving with Herod, as with a man that was his friend, on account of so great a disturbance as he was under, he came to Jurasalem,* on purpose to compose their differences. And when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unseasonable to reprove him, or to pretend that he had done any thing rashly; for that he should thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point; and, by still more and more apologizing for himself, to be the more irritated. He went, therefore, another way to work in order to correct the former misfortunes; and appeared angry at the young man and said, that Herod had been so very mild, that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander: nor could in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of any thing, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared to be of this temper, and otherwise than Herod expected or imagined; and, for the main, took Herod's part, and was angry on his account; the king abated of his harshness, and took occasion from his appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father; and was on both sides to be pitied. For when some persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he was thrown into a passion; but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow, after an affectionate manner. Accordingly he desired, that he would not dissolve his son's marriage; and became not so angry as before for his offences. So when Archelaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he transferred the calumnies to his friends; and said it must be owing to them, that so young a man, and one unacquainted with malice, was corrupted; and he supposed that there was more reason to suspect the brother, than the son. Upon which Herod was very much displeased at Pheroras; who, indeed, had now no one that could make a reconciliation between him and his brother. So when he saw that Archelaus had the greatest power with Herod, he betook himself to him, in the habit of a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of an undone man. Upon this Archelaus did not overlook the intercession he made to him, nor yet did he undertake to change the king's disposition towards him immediately. And he said that it was better for him to come himself to the king, and confess himself the occasion of all; that this would make the king's anger not to be so extravagant towards him; and that then he would be present, and assist him. When he had persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them: and the calumnies raised against the young man were, beyond all expectation, wiped off. And Archelaus, as soon as he had made the reconciliation, went away to Cappadocia; having proved, at this juncture of time, the most acceptable person to Herod in the world. On which account he gave him the richest presents, as tokens of his respect; and, being on other occasions magnanimous, he esteemed him one of his dearest friends. He also made an agreement with him, that he would go to Rome, because he had written to Cæsar about these affairs. So they went together as far as Antioch; and there Herod made a reconciliation between Archelaus, and †Titius, the president of Syria, who had been greatly at variance; and so returned back to Judea.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE REVOLT OF THE TRACHONITES; AND THE ACCUSATION LAID AGAINST HEROD AT ROME.

WHEN Herod had been at Rome, and was come back again, a war arose between him and the Arabians,‡ on the following occasion. The inhabitants of Trachonitis,§ after Cæsar had taken the country from Zenodorus, and added it to Herod, had not now power to rob; but were forced to plough the land, and to live quietly, which was a thing they did not like. And when they did take that pains, the ground did not produce much fruit. However at the first the king would not permit them to rob; and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbours; which procured Herod a great reputation for his care. But when he was sailing to

* An. 8.

† This Titius is mentioned by Strabo, XVI. page 515, whence Dr. Hudson corrected the common reading of Titus. Which reading of Strabo is so fully confirmed by one Greek, and the greatest part of the Latin copies of Josephus, that it may justly be preferred before the other.

‡ An. 7.

§ This country, which is so called by the Greeks from its rough and craggy mountains, together with Ituræa, made in our Saviour's time one tetrarchy, i. e. one fourth part, or rather division, (for they were not equal parts,) of the kingdom of Herod the Great when he died. It was anciently called Argob, Deut. iii. 13, and, according to the best account, is bounded to the east by Arabia Deserta; to the west, by Batanæa; to the south, by Ituræa; and to the north by the country of Damascus: and as it was a province full of rocky hills, which served for a harbour to a great number of thieves and robbers, it often found employment for Herod the Great, (as we may see in the history of Josephus,) to expel them. *Wells's Geography of the New Testament*; and *Whitby's Table*. B.

Rome, in order to accuse his son Alexander, and to commit Antipater to Cæsar's protection; the Trachonites spread a report as if he were dead; and revolted from his dominion, and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbours. At which time the king's commanders subdued them during his absence. But about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by those that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia: Sylleus entertaining them, after he had missed of marrying Salome, and giving them a place of strength, in which they dwelt. So they overran not only Judea, but all Cœlesyria also, and carried off the prey; while Sylleus afforded them places of protection and quietness during their wicked practices. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had greatly suffered by them: and since he could not reach the robbers themselves, because of the secure retreat they had in that country, and which the Arabian government afforded them; and yet being very uneasy at the injuries they had done him, he went all over Trachonitis, and slew their relations. Hereupon these robbers were more angry than before: it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all possible means. So they continued to tear and rend every thing under Herod's dominion, with impunity. Then did he discourse about these robberies *with Saturninus and Volumnius, and required that they should be punished. Upon which occasion they still the more confirmed themselves in their robberies: and became more numerous, and made very great disturbances; laying waste the countries and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and killing those men whom they caught: till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war: for the robbers were now become about a thousand. At which Herod was sore displeased; and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas, by Sylleus, which was sixty talents; and since the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him. But Sylleus, who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money. About which there was a hearing before Saturninus and Volumnius, who were the presidents of Syria. At last he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty days Herod should be paid his money; and that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects reciprocally. Now as to Herod, there was not one of the other's subjects found in his kingdom, either as doing any injustice, or on any other account. But it was proved, that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

When the day appointed for payment was past, without Sylleus's performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the money; and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be delivered up: and, by the permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, he executed the judgment himself upon those that were refractory. He took an army into Arabia; and when he came to the garrison wherein the robbers were, he made an assault upon them, and took them all, and demolished the place, which was called Raepta; but did no harm to any others. But as the Arabians came to their assistance, under Naceb their captain, there ensued a battle, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Naceb, the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his soldiers fell; while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when he had brought these to punishment, he placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account to the captains that were about Phœnicia, and demonstrated that he had done nothing but what he ought to do, in punishing the refractory Arabians; which upon an exact inquiry, they found to be no more than what was true.

However, messengers were hastened away to Sylleus to Rome, and informed him what had been done; and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Sylleus had already insinuated himself into the knowledge of Cæsar, and was then about the palace. And, as soon as he heard of these things, he put on a mourning habit, and went in an told Cæsar, that Arabia was afflicted with war; and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, upon Herod's laying it waste with his army: and he said, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had been destroyed; and that their captain Naceb, his familiar friend and kinsman, was slain; and that the riches that were at Raepta were carried off; and that Obodas was despised, whose infirm state of body rendered him unfit for war; on which account neither he, nor the Arabian army, were present. He also added invidiously, that he would not himself have come out of the country, unless he had believed that Cæsar would have provided that they should all have peace one with another: and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod's advantage. Cæsar was provoked when this was said; and asked no more than this one question, both of Herod's friends that were there, and one of his own friends who were come from Syria, whether Herod had led an army thither? and when they were forced to confess so much, Cæsar, without staying to hear for what reason he did it, and how it was done, grew very

* These joint presidents of Syria, Saturninus and Volumnius, were not, perhaps, of equal authority; but the latter like a procurator under the former: as the learned Norris, and Dr. Hudson, determine.

angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this, that "Whereas of old he had used him as his friend: he should now use him as his subject." Sylleus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians: who were so elevated with it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that fled to them, nor paid the money that was due: they retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent: and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Cæsar's anger at him. Those of Trachonitis also made use of this opportunity, and rose up against the Idumean garrison, and followed the same way of robbing with the Arabians, who had pillaged their country; and were more rigid in their unjust proceedings, not only in order to get by it, but by way of revenge also.

Now Herod was forced to bear all this; that confidence of his being quite gone, with which Cæsar's favour used to inspire him: for Cæsar would not admit so much as an ambassage from him, to make an apology; and when they came again, he sent them away without success. So he was cast into sadness and fear; and Sylleus's circumstances grieved him exceedingly; who was now believed by Cæsar, and was present at Rome; nay, sometimes aspiring higher. Now it came to pass, that Obodas was dead; and Eneas, whose name was afterwards changed to *Aretas, took the government. For Sylleus endeavoured by calumnies to get him turned out of his principality, that he might himself take it. With which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Cæsar: who, indeed, was angry that Aretas had not sent to him first, before he took the kingdom. Yet did Eneas send an epistle and presents to Cæsar; and a golden crown, of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Sylleus, as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obodas by poison; and that, while he was alive, he had governed him as he pleased; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain the dominion for himself. Yet did not Cæsar give heed to these accusations; but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents.

But, in the mean time, the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse; partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because, as bad as they were, nobody had power to govern them. For of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom; and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil-doers. And as for Herod, Cæsar was angry at him, for having avenged him; and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him, he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome again: to see whether his friends had prevailed; and to address themselves to Cæsar himself. And the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolaus of Damascus.

CHAP. X.

HEROD'S SONS ARE CONFINED ON THE FALSE ACCUSATION OF EURYCLES: SYLLEUS IS ACCUSED BY NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS.

THE disorders about Herod's family and children about this time grew much worse: for it now appeared, that fortune threatened the greatest and most insupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Its progress and augmentation at this time arose on the following occasion: One Eurycles, a Lacedæmonian, (a person of note there; but a man of a perverse mind, and so cunning in his ways of voluptuousness and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet seem to indulge neither of them;) came in his travels to Herod, and made him presents; but so that he received more presents from him. He also took such proper seasons for insinuating himself into his friendship, that he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He had his lodging in Antipater's house; but he had not only access, but free conversation with Alexander; as pretending to him, that he was in great favour with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Whence he pretended much respect to Glaphyra; and, in an occult manner, cultivated a friendship with them all: but always attending to what was said and done; that he might be furnished with calumnies to please them all. In short, he behaved himself so to every body in his conversation, as to appear to be his particular friend: and he made others believe, that his being any where was for that person's advantage. So he won upon Alexander, who was but young; and persuaded him, that he might open his grievances to him with assurance. So he declared to him how his father was alienated from him. He related to him also the affairs of his mother, and of Antipater; that he had driven them from their proper dignity, and had the power over every thing himself; that no part of this was tolerable, since his father was already come to hate them; and he added, that he would neither admit them to his table, nor to his conversation. Such were the complaints of Alexander about the things that troubled him. And these discourses Eurycles carried to Antipater; and told him, he did not inform him

* This Aretas was now become so established a name for the kings of Arabia, at Petra and Damascus, that when the crown came to this Eneas, he changed his name to Aretas; as Havercamp here justly observes. See the note on XIII. 15.

of this on his own account, but, that being overcome by his kindness, the great importance of the thing obliged him to do it; and he warned him to have a care of Alexander: for that what he had said was spoken with vehemence; and that, in consequence of what he said, he would certainly kill him with his own hand. Hereupon Antipater, thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him presents upon all occasions; and at length persuaded him to inform Herod of what he had heard. So when he related to the king Alexander's ill temper, as discovered by the words, he had heard him speak, he was easily believed by him: and he thereby brought the king to that pass, turning him about by his words, and irritating him, till he increased his hatred to him, and made him implacable; which he shewed at that very time; for he immediately gave the informer a present of fifty talents. Eurycles then went to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander before him; and told him that he had been many ways of advantage to him, in making a reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out. But when Eurycles was returned to Lacedæmon, he did not leave off doing mischief: and so, for his many acts of injustice, he was banished from his own country.

But the king of the Jews was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus; when he had been content with hearing their calumnies when others told him of them. But he was now come to that pass as to hate them himself, and to urge men to speak against them; though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said, and put questions, and gave ear to every one that would but speak, if they could but say any thing against them; till at length he heard, that Euaratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander; which thing to Herod was the most agreeable news imaginable.

But still a greater misfortune came upon the young men, while the calumnies against them were continually increased; and, as a man may say, one would think it was every one's endeavour to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which might appear to be for the king's preservation. There were two of Herod's body-guards, who were in great esteem for their strength and tallness, Jucundus and Tyrannus. These men having been cast off by Herod, who was displeased at them, now used to ride along with Alexander; and, for their skill in their exercises, were in great esteem with him; and had some gold and other gifts bestowed on them. Now the king, having an immediate suspicion of these men, had them tortured. They endured the torture courageously for a long time; but at last confessed, that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod, when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts; that it might be said, he fell from his horse, and was run through with his own spear: for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. They also shewed where there was money hidden in the stable under ground; and they convicted the king's chief hunter, that he had given the young men the royal hunting spears, and weapons to Alexander's dependents, at Alexander's command.

After these the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium was caught and tortured. For he was accused of having promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king's which was laid up there. Yet did not he acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son came in, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing; which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these: "When we have finished by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you. But do your endeavours, as you have promised to receive us into your fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous designs of his sons against him. But Alexander said, that Diophantus, the scribe, had imitated his hand: and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater. For Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices; and, as he was afterward convicted of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

The king then produced those that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to have them accuse the young men. These accusers many of the people stoned to death: and when they were going to kill Alexander and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to do so; but restrained the multitude, by the means of Ptolemy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that nobody might come at them; and all that they did or said was watched: and the reproach and fear that they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals. And Aristobulus was so deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his aunt and his mother-in-law, to lament with him for his calamities, and to hate him who had suffered things to come to that pass: when he said to her, "Art thou not in danger of destruction also; while the report goes that thou hadst disclosed beforehand all our affairs to Sylleus, when thou wast in hopes of being married to him?" But she immediately carried those words to her brother. Upon this he was out of patience, and gave command to bind him; and enjoined them both, now they were kept separate one from the other, to write down the ill things they had done against their father, and bring the writings to him. So when this was enjoined them, they wrote, that they had laid no

treacherous designs, nor made any preparations against their father; but that they had intended to flee away, and that by the distress they were in; their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia, from Archelaus, whose name was Melas. He was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod being desirous to shew Archelaus' ill will to him, called for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning his flight; whither, and how they had resolved to retire? Alexander replied, to Archelaus, who had promised to send them away to Rome; but that they had no wicked nor mischievous designs against their father; and that nothing of that nature, which their adversaries had charged upon them, was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyrannus and Jucundus more strictly; but that they had been suddenly slain by means of Antipater, who put his own friends among the multitude for that purpose.

When this was said, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melas should be carried to Glaphyra, Archelaus's daughter; and that she should be asked, whether she did not know somewhat of Alexander's treacherous designs against Herod? Now as soon as they were come to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she beat her head; and, in a great consternation, uttered a deep and moving groan. The young man also burst into tears. This was so distressing a spectacle to those present, that, for a great while, they were not able to say or to do any thing. But at length Ptolemy, who was ordered to bring Alexander, bade him say, whether his wife were conscious of his actions? He replied, "How is it possible that she whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do?" Upon which she cried out, that she knew of no wicked designs of his; but that yet if her accusing herself falsely would tend to his preservation, she would confess it all. Alexander replied, "There is no such wickedness as those, who ought the least of all so to do, suspect; which either I have imagined, or thou knowest of; but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome." This she also confessed: upon which Herod supposing that Archelaus's ill will to him was fully proved, sent a letter by Olympus and Volumnius, and bade them, as they sailed by, to touch at Eleusa of Cilicia, and give Archelaus the letter. And that when they had expostulated with him, that he had a hand in his sons' treacherous design against him, they should thence sail to Rome. And that, in case they found Nicolaus had gained any ground, and that Cæsar was no longer displeased at him, he should give him his letters, and the proofs which he had ready to shew against the young men. As to Archelaus, he made this defence for himself, that he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father's advantage so to do; lest some too severe procedure should be gone upon in that anger and disorder they were in on occasion of the present suspicions. But that still he had not engaged to send them to Cæsar; and that he had not promised any thing else to the young men, that could shew any ill will to him.

When these ambassadors were come to Rome,* they had a favourable opportunity of delivering their letters to Cæsar; because they found him reconciled to Herod. For the circumstances of Nicolaus's ambassage had been as follows: as soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first of all set about what he was come for only, but he thought fit also to accuse Sylleus. Now the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another; and some of them left Sylleus's party, and joining themselves to Nicolaus, informed him of all the wicked things that had been done; and produced to him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Obodas's friends by Sylleus. For when these men left Sylleus, they had carried off with them those letters, whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus saw such an opportunity afforded him, he gladly embraced it in order to gain his own point afterward; and endeavoured immediately to effect a reconciliation between Cæsar and Herod. For he was fully satisfied, that if he should desire to make a defence for Herod directly, he should not be allowed that liberty; but that if he desired to accuse Sylleus, an occasion would present itself of speaking on Herod's behalf. So when the cause was ready for a hearing, and the day was appointed, Nicolaus, while Aretas's ambassadors were present, accused Sylleus, and said, that he imputed to him the destruction of the king Obodas, and of many other of the Arabians; that he had borrowed money for no good design; and he proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not only with the Arabian, but with Roman women also. And he added, that above all the rest he had alienated Cæsar from Herod; and that all that he had said about the actions of Herod were falsities.

When Nicolaus was come to this topic, Cæsar stopped him from going on; and desired him only to speak to this affair of Herod's; and to shew that he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country. Nicolaus replied: "I shall principally demonstrate, that either nothing at all, or but a very little of those imputations, are true, of which thou hast been

---

An. 6.

informed: for if they had been true, thou mightest justly have been still more angry at Herod." At this strange assertion, Cæsar was very attentive: and Nicolaus said, "There was a debt due to Herod of *five hundred talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time appointed for payment were elapsed, it should be lawful to make a seizure out of any part of his country. As for the pretended army, it was no army, but a party sent out to require the just payment of the money: this was not sent immediately, nor so soon as the bond allowed; but Sylleus had frequently come before Saturninus, and Volumnius, the presidents of Syria; and at last he had sworn to Berytus, †by thy fortune, that he would certainly pay the money within thirty days, and deliver up the fugitives that were under his dominion. And when Sylleus had performed nothing of this, Herod came again before the presidents; and upon their permission to make the seizure for his money, he with difficulty, went out of his country with a party of soldiers for that purpose. And this is all the war which these men so tragically describe; and this is the affair of the expedition into Arabia. And how can this be called a war, when thy presidents permitted it, the covenants allowed it; and it was not executed till thy name, O Cæsar, as well as that of the other gods, had been profaned? And now I must speak in order about the captives. There were robbers that dwelt in Trachonitis: at first their number was no more than forty, but they became more numerous afterwards; and they escaped the punishment Herod would have inflicted on them, by making Arabia their refuge. Sylleus received them, and supported them with food; that they might be mischievous to all mankind: and gave them a country to inhabit; and himself received the gains they made by robbery. Yet did he promise that he would deliver up these men; and that by the same oaths, and by the same time, that he sware and fixed for payment of his debt. Nor can he by any means shew that any other persons have at this time been taken out of Arabia, besides these; and indeed not all these neither; but only so many as could not conceal themselves. And thus does the calumny of the captives, which hath been so odiously represented, appear to be no better than a fiction, invented on purpose to provoke thy indignation. For I venture to affirm, that when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two of Herod's party fell, he then only defended himself, and there fell Nacebus their general, and, in all, about twenty-five others, and no more. Whence Sylleus, by multiplying every single soldier to a hundred, reckons the slain to have been two thousand five hundred."

This provoked Cæsar more than ever. So he turned to Sylleus, full of rage, and asked him, how many of the Arabians were slain? Hereupon he hesitated, and said, he had been imposed upon. The covenants also were read about the money he had borrowed; and the letters of the presidents of Syria; and the complaints of the several cities, so many as had been injured by the robbers. The result was, that Sylleus was condemned to die; and that Cæsar was reconciled to Herod, and owned his repentance for what severe things he had written to him, occasioned by calumny. Insomuch, that he told Sylleus that he had compelled him, by his lying account of things to be guilty of ingratitude against a man that was his friend. At the last all came to this: Sylleus was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed; and after that to be punished with death. But still Cæsar was offended with Aretas, that he had taken upon himself the government, without his consent first obtained. For he had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod; but that the letters he had sent hindered him from so doing. For Olympus and Volumnius, perceiving that Cæsar was now become favourable to Herod, thought fit immediately to deliver him the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him, concerning his sons. When Cæsar had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another government to him, now he was old, and in an ill state with relation to his sons. So he admitted Aretas's ambassadors: and after he had reproved him for his rashness, in not tarrying till he received the kingdom from him, he accepted of his presents, and confirmed him in his government.

CHAP. XI.

OF THE ACCUSATION OF HEROD'S SONS BEFORE AN ASSEMBLY OF JUDGES AT BERYTUS; ALSO CONCERNING THEIR DEATH AND BURIAL.

CÆSAR was now reconciled to Herod, and wrote thus to him; that he was grieved for him, on account of his sons: and that, in case they had been guilty of any profane and insolent crime against him, it would be proper to punish them as parricides, for which he gave him power accordingly. But if they had only contrived to flee away, he would have him give them an admonition, and not proceed to extremity. He also advised him to get an assembly together, and to appoint

* Or sixty talents; see chap. 9.

† This oath by the fortune of Cæsar, was put to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, by the Roman governor, to try whether he were a Christian; as they were then esteemed who refused to swear that oath. Martyr Polycarp. § 9.

some place near *Berytus, which is a city belonging to the Romans; and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought to be illustrious, for their friendship to him, and the dignities they were in, and determine what should be done by their approbation. Accordingly Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was very glad of Cæsar's reconciliation to him; and very glad also that he had a complete authority given him over his sons. And it strangely came about, that whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed shewed himself severe, yet had he not been very rash, nor hasty in procuring the destruction of his sons; he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had to exercise his hatred against them after an unheard of manner. He, therefore, sent and called as many as he thought proper to this assembly; excepting Archelaus; for he either hated him, so that he would not invite him, or he thought he would be an obstacle to his designs.

When the presidents, and the rest that belonged to the cities, were come to Berytus, he kept his sons in a certain village, belonging to Sidon, called Platana, but near to this city; that if they were called he might produce them: for he did not think fit to bring them before the assembly. And when there were one hundred and fifty assessors present, Herod came by himself, and accused his sons; and that in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and not made but out of necessity, and upon the misfortunes he was under: indeed in such a way as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons. For he was very vehement and disordered, when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of: and exhibited the greatest signs of passion and barbarity. Nor would he suffer the assessors to consider the weight of the evidences: but asserted them to be true by his own authority, after a manner most indecent in a father against his sons: and read himself what they themselves had written. Wherein there was no confession of any plots or contrivance against him; but only how they had contrived to flee away; and containing withal certain reproaches against him, on account of the ill will he bare them. And when he came to those reproaches, he cried out, and exaggerated what they said; as if they had confessed the design against him: and took his oath that he had rather lose his life, than hear such reproachful words. At last he said, that he had himself sufficient authority both by nature, and by Cæsar's grant to him, to do what he thought fit. He also added an allegation of a law of their country which enjoined that, †if parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accused, the bystanders were obliged to cast stones at him, and thereby to slay him. Which, though he were ready to do in his own country and kingdom, yet did he wait for their determination: that yet they came thither not so much as judges to condemn them for such manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished by his sons' means; but as persons, that had an opportunity of shewing their detestation of such practices, and declaring how unworthy a thing it must be in any, even the most remote, to pass over such treacherous designs without punishment.

When the king said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defence for themselves, the assessors perceived that there was no room for equity, and reconciliation: so they confirmed his authority. And in the first place, Saturninus, a person that had been consul, and one of great dignity pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation, and said, that he condemned Herod's sons, but did not think they should be put to death. He had sons of his own: and to put a son to death seemed a greater misfortune than any other that could happen by their means. After him Sarturninus's sons, (for he had three sons that followed him, and were his legates,) pronounced the same sentence with their father. On the contrary, Volumnius's sentence was, to inflict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father: and the greatest part of the rest said the same. Insomuch that the conclusion seemed to be, that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately after this, Herod came away from thence, and took his sons to Tyre; where Nicolaus met him in his voyage from Rome. Of whom he inquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berytus, what his sentiments were about his sons, and what his friends at Rome thought of that matter? His answer was, "What they had determined to do to thee was impious; and thou certainly oughtest to keep them in prison; and if thou thinkest any farther necessary, thou mayest indeed so punish them that thou mayest not appear to indulge thy anger, more than to govern thyself by judgment. But if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayest absolve them; lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable. And this is the opinon of the greatest part of thy friends at Rome also." Hereupon Herod was silent, and in great thoughtfulness; and bade Nicolaus sail along with him.

Now as they came to Cæsarea, every body was there talking of Herod's sons; and the kingdom was in

* What Josephus relates Augustus to have here said, that Berytus was a city belonging to the Romans, is confirmed by Spanheim's note here. "It was," says he, "a colony placed there by Augustus." Whence Ulpian, De Cens. Bel. L. T. XV. The colony of Berytus was rendered famous by the benefits of Cæsar. And thence it is that, among the coins of Augustus, we meet with some having this inscription, "The happy colony of Augustus at Berytus."

† See Deut. xxi. 19, 20.

suspense, and the people in great expectation what would become of them. For a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion; and they were in great trouble about their sufferings. Nor was it without danger to say any thing about this matter; nor even to hear another saying it. But men's pity was forced to be shut up within themselves; which rendered the excess of their sorrow very irksome, but very silent. Yet was there an old soldier of Herod's, whose name was Tero, who had a son of the same age with Alexander, and his friend, who was so very free, as openly to speak out, what others silently thought about that matter: and was forced to cry out often among the multitude, and said, in the most unguarded manner, that "Truth was perished, and justice taken away from men: while lies and ill will prevailed, and brought such a mist before public affairs, that the offenders were not able to see the greatest mischiefs that could befall men." And as he was so bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of danger by speaking so freely. But the reasonableness of what he said induced men to regard him; as having behaved himself with great manhood, and this at a proper time. For which reason every one heard what he said with pleasure: and although they took care of their own safety, by keeping silent themselves; yet did they kindly receive the great freedom he took. For the expectation they were in of so great an affliction, put a force upon them, to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased.

This man thrust himself into the king's presence, with the greatest freedom; and desired to speak with him alone: which the king permitted him to do. He then said, "Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under so great a concern as I feel, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take; which may be for thy advantage, if thou mindest to get any profit by it, before my own safety. Whither is thy understanding gone, and left thy soul empty? Whither is that extraordinary sagacity of thine gone, whereby thou hast performed so many and such glorious actions? Whence comes this solitude, and desertion of thy friends and relations: of whom I cannot but determine, that they are neither thy friends and relations while they overlook such horrid wickedness in thy once happy kingdom. Dost not thou perceive what is doing? Wilt thou slay these two young men, born of thy queen, who are accomplished with every virtue in the highest degree, and leave thyself destitute in thy old age: but exposed to one son, who hath very ill managed the hopes thou hast given him? and to relations, whose death thou hast so often resolved on thyself? Dost not thou take notice, that the very silence of the multitude at once sees the crime, and abhors the fact? The whole army and its officers have commiseration on the poor unhappy youths; and hatred against those that are the actors in this matter." These words the king heard; and for some time with good temper. But when Tero plainly touched upon the bad behaviour and perfidiousness of his domestics, he was moved at it. But Tero went on farther; and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech. Nor was he so well disciplined as to accommodate himself to the time. So Herod was greatly disturbed; and seeming to be rather reproached by this speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage; while he learned hereby, that both the soldiers abhorred the thing he was about, and the officers had indignation at it; he gave order that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

When this was over, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, came and told Herod, that Tero would often have persuaded him, to cut his throat: for that by this means he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had said this, the king gave order that Tero, and his son, and the barber, should be tortured: which was done accordingly. But while Tero bore up himself, his son, seeing his father already in a sad case, and without hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the consequence of his terrible sufferings, said, that if the king would free him and his father from those torments, for what he should say, he would tell the very truth. And when the king had given his word to do so, he said, there was an agreement made, that Tero should lay violent hands on the king: because it was easy for him to come to him when he was alone: and that if, when he had done the thing, he should suffer death for it, as was not unlikely, it would be an act of generosity done in favour of Alexander. This was what Tero's son said; and thereby freed his father from the distress he was in. But uncertain it is, whether he had been thus forced to speak what was true; or whether it were a mere contrivance to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries.

As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about the slaughter of his sons, there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it. But he had banished whatsoever might afford the least suggestion of reasoning better about this matter. So he made haste to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He also brought out three hundred of the officers, that were under an accusation, as also Tero, and his son, and the barber that accused them, before an assembly; and brought an accusation against them all, whom the multitude stoned, with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them. Alexander also and Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste, by their father's command, and there strangled. But their

dead bodies were, in the night time, carried to Alexandrium; where their uncle by their mother's side, and the greatest part of their ancestors, had been deposited.

And now perhaps it may not seem unreasonable to some, that such an inveterate hatred might increase so much on both sides, as to proceed farther, and to overcome nature. But it may justly deserve consideration, whether it be laid to the charge of the young men, that they gave such an occasion to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did: and, by going on long in the same way, put things past remedy, and brought him to use them so unmercifully. Or whether it be to be laid to the father's charge, that he was so hard-hearted, and so very tender in the desire of government, and of other things that would tend to his glory, that he would take no one into a partnership with him; so that whatsoever he would have done himself might continue immovable. Or indeed whether fortune have not greater power than all prudent reasonings. Whence we* are persuaded that human actions are thereby determined beforehand, by an inevitable necessity, and we call her Fate, because there is nothing which is not done by her. Wherefore I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion with that other which attributes somewhat to ourselves; and renders men not unaccountable for the different conduct of their lives: which notion is no other than the philosophical determination of our ancient law. Accordingly of the two other causes of this sad event, any body may lay the blame on the young men, who acted by youthful vanity, and pride of their royal birth; that they should bear to hear the calumnies that were raised against their father: whilst certainly they were not equitable judges of the actions of his life; but ill natured in suspecting, and intemperate in speaking of them; and on both accounts easily caught by those that observed them, and revealed them, to gain favour. Yet cannot their father be thought unworthy of excuse, as to that horrid impiety which he was guilty of; while he ventured, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and without any certain proofs that they had made preparations for such attempt, to kill his own sons;† who were very comely, and the darlings of other men; and no way deficient in their conduct; whether it were in hunting, in warlike exercises, or in speaking upon occasional topics of discourse. For in all these they were skilful; and especially Alexander, who was the eldest. For certainly it had been sufficient, even though he had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds; or to let them live at a distance from his dominions, in banishment: while he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him; whose help would prevent his suffering any thing by a sudden onset, or by open force. But for him to kill them on the sudden, in order to gratify his own passion, was a demonstration of insufferable impiety. He also was guilty of so great a crime in his elder age. Nor will the delays that he made, and the length of time in which the thing was done, plead at all for his excuse. For when a man is on a sudden amazed, and in commotion of mind, and then commits a wicked action; although this be a heavy crime, yet is it a thing that frequently happens. But to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings off, to undertake it at last, and accomplish it, was the action of a murderous mind; and such as was not easily moved from that which is evil. And this temper he shewed in what he did afterward; when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left. Wherein, though the justice of the punishment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal; in that he did not abstain from their slaughter also. But of those persons we shall have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

---

* Josephus here speaks of the Pharisees, as a sect; not of himself, as an individual; as will appear in the sequel.

† Strong indeed ought to be the accusation to justify an action so repulsive of the first and strongest feelings of nature. It can scarcely be apprehended, but that fear and jealousy predominated over affection and duty. B.

BOOK XVII.

Containing an Interval of Fourteen Years.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS, TO THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS.

CHAP. I.

ANTIPATER IS HATED BY ALL THE JEWISH NATION FOR THE SLAUGHTER OF HIS BRETHREN; BUT INGRATIATES HIMSELF WITH THE ROMANS, BY HIS LIBERAL PRESENTS.—ALSO CONCERNING HEROD'S WIVES AND CHILDREN.

WHEN Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and had brought his father into the highest degree of impiety, till he was haunted with furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind, as to the rest of his life. For although he were delivered from his fear of his brethren being his rivals as to the government; yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation against him on that account was become so very great. And besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the affair of the soldiery grieved him still more; who were alienated from him; from which yet these kings derived all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation. And all this danger was drawn upon him by his destruction of his brethren. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father; being, indeed no other than a king already. And he was for that very reason trusted, and the more firmly depended on, for the which he ought to have been put to death: as appearing to have betrayed his brethren out of his concern for the preservation of Herod; and not rather out of his ill will to them, and before them to his father himself. Now all Antipater's contrivances tended to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising; and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him assistance: since they must thereby have Antipater for their open enemy. Insomuch that the very plots he laid against his brethren, were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod: because, if he were once dead, the government would now be firmly secured to him. But if he were suffered to live any longer, he should be in danger upon a discovery of that wickedness of which he had been the contriver; and his father would of necessity become his enemy. And on this account it was, that he became very bountiful to his father's friends, and bestowed great sums on several of them, in order to surprise men with his good deeds, and take off their hatred against him.* And he sent great presents to his friends at Rome particularly, to gain their good will: and above all the rest to Saturninus, the president of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favour of Saturninus's brother, with the large presents he bestowed on him: as also he used the same art to Salome, the king's sister; who had married one of Herod's chief friends. And when he counterfeited

* Liberality may flow, it clearly appears, from this instance, from various motives. It discovers a refinement in hypocrisy to endeavour, by such bribes as these, to varnish a bad character, or to retrieve lost reputation. The preservation of it by continued integrity would be much easier, as well as more honourable. R.

friendship in those with whom he conversed, he was very subtle in gaining their belief; and very cunning to hide his hatred against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who understood him of a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deluded; especially while she had already used all possible caution in preventing his pernicious designs. Although Antipater's uncle, by the mother's side, was married to her daughter; and this by his own contrivance and management; while she had before been married to Aristobulus, and while Salome's other daughter by that husband was married to the son of Calleas. But that marriage was no obstacle to her, who knew how wicked he was, in her discovering his designs: as her former kindred to him could not prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod had compelled Salome, while she was in love with Sylleus the Arabian, to marry Alexas: which match was by her submitted to, at the instance of Julia: who persuaded Salome not to refuse it; lest she should herself be their open enemy: since Herod had sworn, that he would never be friends with Salome, if she would not accept of Alexas for her husband. So she submitted to Julia, as being Cæsar's wife: and besides that, as she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time also it was that Herod sent back king Archelaus's daughter, who had been Alexander's wife, to her father; returning the portion he had with her, out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

Now Herod brought up his sons' children with great care: for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra; and Aristobulus had three sons and two daughters by Bernice, Salome's daughter. And as his friends were once with him, he presented the children before them: and deploring the hard fortune of his own sons, he prayed that no such ill fortune might befall these, who were their children; but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and might make him amends for his care of their education. He also caused them to be betrothed against they should come to the proper age of marriage: the elder of Alexander's sons, to Pheroras's daughter: and Antipater's daughter, to Aristobulus's eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus's daughters to Antipater's son; and Aristobulus's other daughter to Herod, a son of his own; who was born to him by the high-priest's daughter. For it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time. Now the king made these espousals for the children out of commiseration of them, now they were fartherless; as endeavouring to render Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fail to bear the same temper of mind to his brothers' children, which he had borne to his brothers themselves. And his father's concern about them provoked his indignation against them; upon this supposal that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been: while Archelaus, a king, would support his daughter's sons: and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters, as a wife to his son. What provoked him also was this; that all the multitude would so commiserate these fatherless children, and so hate him for making them fatherless; that all would come out: since they were no strangers to his vile disposition towards his brethren. He contrived, therefore, to overturn his father's settlements; as thinking it a terrible thing that they should be so related to him, and be so powerful withal. So Herod yielded to him, and changed his resolution at his entreaty: and the determination now was, that Antipater himself, should marry Aristobulus's daughter: and Antipater's son, should marry Pheroras's daughter. So the espousals for the marriage were changed after this manner; even without the king's real approbation.

Now Herod had at this time nine wives. Antipater's mother; and the high-priest's daughter, by whom he had a son of his own name. He had also one of his wives who was his brother's daughter; and another who was his sister's daughter: which two had no children. One of his wives also was of the Samaritan nation; whose sons were Antipas, and Archelaus; and whose daughter was Olympias; which daughter was afterwards married to Joseph, the king's brother's son. But Archelaus and Antipas were brought up with a certain private man at Rome. Herod had also to wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had his sons Herod and Philip, which last was also brought up at Rome. Pallas also was one of his wives, which bare him his son Phasaelus. And besides these he had for his wives Phedra and Elpis; by whom he had for his daughters Roxana and Salome. As for his elder daughters by the same mother with Alexander and Aristobulus, and whom Pheroras* neglected to marry, he gave the one in marriage to Antipater, the king's sister's son; and the other to Phasaelus, his brother's son. And this was the posterity of Herod.†

* See Book XVI. chap. 7.

† Those who have a mind to know all the family and descendants of Antipater, the Idumean, and of Herod the Great, his son; and have a memory to preserve them all distinctly; may consult Josephus, both here and XVIII. 5, and Of the War, I. 28, and Noldius, in Havercamp's edition, page 336, and Spanheim, ibid. page 402—405, and Reland, Palestin. part I. page 175, 176. I shall content myself with a scheme of his own wives and children; with those that are mentioned or intimated in the New Testament.

CHAP. II.

CONCERNING ZAMARIS, THE BABYLONIAN JEW; THE PLOTS LAID BY ANTIPATER AGAINST HIS FATHER; AND A PREDICTION OF THE PHARISEES.

AND now it was that Herod, being desirous of securing himself on the side of the Trachonites, resolved to build a village as large as a city, for the Jews, in the middle of that country; which might make his own country difficult to be assaulted; and whence he might be at hand to make sallies upon them, and do them a mischief. Accordingly, when he understood that there was a man that was a Jew came out of Babylon, with five hundred horsemen; all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horseback; and, with a hundred of his relations, had passed over Euphrates, and now resided at Antioch by Daphne of Syria; where Saturninus, who was then president, had given them a place for habitation, called Valatha: he sent for this man, with the multitude that followed him, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called *Batanea: which country is bounded by Trachonitis: as desirous to make that habitation a guard to himself. He also engaged to let him hold the country free from tribute; and that they should dwell entirely without paying such customs as used to be paid, and gave it him tax-free.

The Babylonian was induced by these offers to come thither. So he took possession of the land, and built in it fortresses, and a village; and named it Bathyra. Thus this man became a safeguard to the inhabitants against the Trachonites; and preserved those Jews who came out of Babylon, to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem from being hurt by the Trachonite robberies. So that a great number came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed; and the country became populous, by reason of their universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod. But when Philip, who was tetrarch after him, took the government, he made them pay some small taxes, and that for a little while only. But Agrippa the Great, and his son, of the same name, although they harassed them greatly, yet would not take their liberty away. From whom, when the Romans had now taken the government into their own hands, they still give them the privilege of their freedom; but oppress them entirely with the imposition of taxes.

At length Zamaris, the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a possession, died: having lived virtuously, and left children of a good character behind him. One of which was Jacim; who was famous for his valour, and taught his Babylonians how

---

Antipater of Idumea had four sons: Phasaelus, Herodes, Josephus, and Pheroras; and a daughter Salome, Antiq. XIV. 7. Phasaelus killed himself, XIV. 13. Josephus died in battle against Antigonus, XIV. 15. Herod was king of Judea; and Pheroras was tetrarch of Perea. Of the War, I. 29, 30, and died before Herod, in his bed, Antiq. XVII. 3. He had also one daughter, Salome. She outlived Herod, Chap. 8, 11.

Herod's principal wife, or queen, was Mariamne, of the royal blood of the Asmoneans: by whom he had three sons; Alexander, and Aristobulus, and another not named, and two daughters; one of whose names was Salampso, the other Cypros. Besides whom Herod had nine wives: whose names, and the names of whose children, here follow:—

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.
Doris.	Mariamne, daughter of Simon the high-priest.	Malthace, of Samaria.	Cleopatra, of Jerusalem.	Pallas.	Phedra.	Elpis.	Brother's daughter.	Sister's daughter.
Antipater.	1Herod-Philip: whose wife Herod the tetrarch married.	1Archelaus, the king or tetrarch of Judea. 2Herod-Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee.	1Herod the king of Chalcis. 2Philip the tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis.	0	1Roxana and 2Salome.		0	0

Antipater: slain by his father five days before he died, Antiq. XVII. 7 and 8. Of the War, I. 33. He was one of those that sought the young child's life, Matt. ii. 20. The other was Herod himself.

HEROD the Great.

Aristobulus the husband of Bernice; Salome's daughter; and son of the famous Mariamne.

1 Agrippa, or Herod the Great: made by Caius king of Judea: who slew St. James; and sought to slay St. Peter, Acts xii. 1—20. He died miserably, verse 21, 22, 23. Antiq. XIX. 8.
2 Herodias, wife to Herod-Philip. Matt. xiv. 3. Antiq. XVIII. 5, as well as to Herod-Antipas. She, and her daughter Salome, caused John the Baptist to be beheaded, Matt. xiv. 6—12. Antiq. XVIII. 5.

1 Agrippa, jun. king of a country near Judea, Acts xxv. 13, 23. Almost a Christian, Acts xxvi. 28.
2 Bernice, his sister, ib. and wife to his brother Herod, king of Chalcis, Antiq. XIX. 5.
3 Drusilla, his other sister, Acts xxiv. 24, and wife to Felix the Jewish governor.

Archelaus: king or ethnarch of Judea, Matt. ii. 22; Antiq. XVIII. 8—13, the son of Malthace.
Herod-Antipas: tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, Luc. iii. 1, and Passim. Antiq. XVIII. 8, &c. the son of Malthace.
Philip: tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis, Luc. iii. 1; Antiq. XVIII. 8, the son of Cleopatra. He married Salome, the daughter of Herodias; by Herod-Philip, Antiq XVIII. 5, not Herodius herself.
Herod-Philip: the first husband of Herodias; and the father of her daughter Salome: he was the son of Mariamne, the high-priest Simon's daughter, Of the War, I. 28. Of these see also Prideaux at the year 4.

* The Bashan of the Old Testament.

to ride their horses. And a troop of them were guards to the aforementioned kings. And when Jacim was dead in his old age, he left a son, whose name was Philip; one of great strength in his hands, and in other respects also more eminent for his valour than any of his contemporaries. On which account there was a confidence and firm friendship between him and king Agrippa. He had also an army, which he maintained, as great as that of a king: which he exercised, and led wheresoever he had occasion to march.

When the affairs of Herod were in the condition I have described, all the public affairs depended upon Antipater: and his power was such, that he could do good turns to as many as he pleased; and this by his father's concession; and in hopes of his good will and fidelity to him: and this till he ventured to use his power still farther: because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe every thing he said. He was also formidable to all; not so much on account of the power and authority he had, as for the shrewdness of his vile attempts beforehand. But he who principally cultivated a friendship with him was Pheroras; who received the like marks of his friendship; while Antipater had cunningly encompassed him with a company of women, whom he placed as guards about him. For Pheroras was greatly enslaved by his wife, and her mother and sister; and this notwithstanding the hatred he bear them, for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet did he bear them, and nothing was to be done without the women who had got this man into their circle, and continued still to assist each other in all things: insomuch that Antipater was entirely addicted to them, both by himself, and by his mother. For these *four women said all one and the same thing. But the opinions of Pheroras and Antipater were different in some points of no consequence. But the king's sister Salome was their antagonist; who for a good while had looked about all their affairs, and was apprised that this their friendship was made in order to do Herod some mischief; and was disposed to inform the king of it. And since these people knew that their friendship was very disagreeable to Herod; as tending to do him a mischief; they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered. So they pretended to hate one another, and to abuse each other, when times served; and especially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him. But still their intimacy was firmer than ever, when they were private. They could not, however, conceal from Salome their first contrivance, when they set about these their intentions; nor when they had made some progress in them. But she searched out every thing; and, aggravating the relations to her brother, declared to him, as well their secret meetings as their counsels taken in a clandestine manner; which if they were not in order to destroy him, they might well have been open and public. "Now," said she, "to appearance they are at variance, and speak about one another as if they intended one another a mischief; but agree perfectly when they are out of the sight of the multitude. For when they are alone by themselves, they act in concert; and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal their designs." And thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them; and then told her brother of them. He, indeed, understood of himself a great deal of what she said; but still durst not depend upon it; because of the suspicions he had of his sister's calumnies. For there was a second sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and †made men believe they were highly favoured by God, by whom this set of women were inveigled. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees; who are in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were; and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting, and doing mischief. Accordingly when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good will to Cæsar, and to the king's government; these did not swear; being above six thousand. And when the king imposed a fine upon them, Pheroras's wife paid their fine for them. In order to requite which kindness of hers, since they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come, by divine inspiration; they foretold how God had decreed, that Herod's government should cease, and his posterity should be deprived of it; but that the kingdom should come to her, and Pheroras, and to their children. These predictions were not concealed from Salome; but were told the king: as also how they had perverted some persons about the palace. So the king slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and Bagoas the eunuch; and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness; and one that was his catamite. He also slew all those of his own family, who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold. And for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them, as though he should be named the father and benefactor of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed

* Pheroras's wife, with her mother and sister, and Doris, Antipater's mother.

† Great pretensions to the favour of God, is frequently suspicious, and proceeds from bad motives. It is certainly criminal when it is advanced in order to depreciate others. B.

king. For that this king would have all things in his power; and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body.

CHAP. III.

OF THE ENMITY BETWEEN HEROD AND PHERORAS; ANTIPATER'S JOURNEY TO ROME; AND THE DEATH OF PHERORAS.

WHEN Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he convened an assembly of his friends, and accused Pheroras's wife; and ascribing the abuses of the virgins to the impudence of that woman, laid an accusation against her for the dishonour she had brought upon them: saying that she had studiously introduced a quarrel between him and his brother; and, by her natural ill temper, had brought them into a state of war; both by her words and actions: that the fines which he had imposed had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment, by her means; and that nothing of late had been done without her. "For these reasons," said he, "thou Pheroras wilt do well, of thine own accord, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, to put thy wife away; as one that will still be the occasion of war between thee and me. And now, if thou valuest thy relationship to me, put this wife of thine away. For by this means thou wilt continue to be a brother, and wilt abide in thy love to me." Pheroras, although pressed hard by the former words, replied, that although he would not do so unjust a thing as to renounce his brotherly relation, yet would he not leave off his affection for his wife: for he would rather choose to die, than to live and be deprived of a wife that was so dear to him. Hereupon Herod put off his anger against Pheroras on these accounts; although he himself thereby underwent a very uneasy punishment. However, he forbade Antipater and his mother to have any conversation with Pheroras, and ordered them to take care to avoid the assemblies of the women. This they promised to do; but still got together, when occasion served: and both Pheroras and Antipater had their own merry meetings. It was also reported that Antipater had criminal conversation with Preroras's wife; and that they were brought together by Antipater's mother.

Antipater had now a suspicion of his father; and was afraid that the effects of this hatred to him might increase. So he wrote to his friends at Rome, and bade them to send to Herod, that he would immediately send Antipater to Cæsar. Which, when it was done, Herod sent Antipater thither; and sent most noble presents along with him; as also his testament: wherein Antipater was appointed to be his successor. And that, if Antipater should die first, his *son by the high-priest's daughter should succeed. And together with Antipater, there went to Rome Sylleus, the Arabian; although he had done nothing of all that Cæsar had enjoined him. Antipater also accused him of the same crimes of which he had been formerly accused by Herod. Sylleus was also accused by Aretas, that without his consent he had slain many of the chief of the Arabians at Petra; and particularly Sohemus; a man that deserved to be honoured by all men: and that he had slain Fabatus, a servant of Cæsar. These were the things of which Sylleus was accused; and that on the following occasion: There was one Corinthus belonging to Herod, of the king's body guards; and one who was greatly trusted by him. Sylleus had persuaded this man, with the offer of a great sum of money, to kill Herod: and he had promised to do it. When Fabatus had been made acquainted with this, (for Sylleus had himself told him of it,) he informed the king of it; who caught Corinthus, and put him to the torture; and thereby got out of him the whole conspiracy. He also caught two other Arabians, who were discovered by Corinthus; the one the head of a tribe, and the other a friend to Sylleus; who both were brought to the torture, and confessed that they were come to encourage Corinthus not to fail of doing what he had undertaken; and to assist him with their own hands, if need should require their assistance. So Saturninus, upon Herod's discovering the whole to him, sent them to Rome.

At this time Herod commanded Pheroras, that since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, he should retire into his own tetrarchy. This he did very willingly; and sware that he would not come again, till he heard that Herod was dead. And indeed, when upon a sickness of the king, he was desired to come to him before he died, that he might entrust him with some of his injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him. Yet did not Herod so retain his hatred to Pheroras; but remitted of his purpose not to see him, which he before had: and that for such great causes as have been already mentioned: but as soon as he began to be ill, he came to him, and this without being sent for; and when he was dead he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem, and buried there; and appointed a solemn mourning for him. This death of Pheroras became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes; although he was already sailed for Rome; God now being about to punish him for the murder of his brethren. I will explain the history of this matter very distinctly; that it may serve as a warning to mankind that they take care of conducting their whole lives by the rules of virtue.

* Herod-Philip.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE ACCUSATIONS LAID AGAINST THE WIFE OF PHERORAS; AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE DANGEROUS DESIGNS OF ANTIPATER.

AS soon as Pheroras was dead,* and his funeral was over, two of Pheroras's freedmen who were much esteemed by him, came to Herod: and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother without avenging it; but to examine into such an unreasonable and unhappy death. When he was moved with these words, they said, that "Pheroras supped with his wife the day before he fell sick; and that a certain potion was brought him in such a sort of food as he was not used to eat. But that when he had eaten he died of it: that this potion was brought out of Arabia, by a woman, under pretence of being a love potion, but in reality to kill Pheroras. For that the Arabian women are skilful in making such poisons: and the woman to whom they ascribed this, was confessedly a most intimate friend of one of Sylla's mistresses; and that both the mother and the sister of Pheroras's wife had been at the places where she lived, and had persuaded her to sell them this potion, and had come back, and brought it with them the day before this supper."† Hereupon the king was provoked, and put the women slaves to the torture; and some that were free with them. And as the fact did not yet appear because none of them would confess: at length one of them, under her utmost agonies said, she prayed that God would send the like agonies upon Antipater's mother, who had been the occasion of these miseries to all of them. This prayer induced Herod to increase the women's tortures, till thereby all was discovered: their merry meetings, their secret assemblies, and the disclosing of what he had said to his son alone, unto Pheroras's women. (Now what Herod had charged Antipater to conceal was, the gift of a hundred talents to him, not to have any conversation with Pheroras.) And what hatred he bore to his father: and that he complained to his mother, how very long his father lived; and that he was himself almost an old man; insomuch that if the kingdom should come to him, it would not afford him any great pleasure. And that there were a great many of his brothers, or brother's children, bringing up, that might have hopes of the kingdom as well as himself. All which made his own hopes of it uncertain. For that even now, if he should not live, Herod had ordained that the government should be conferred, not on his son, but rather on a brother. He also had accused the king of great barbarity, and of the slaughter of his sons; and that it was out of the fear he was under lest he should do the like to him, that made him contrive his journey to Rome, and Pheroras contrive to go to his own tetrarchy.

These confessions agreed with what Herod's sister had told him; and tended greatly to corroborate her testimony, and to free her from the suspicion of unfaithfulness. So the king having satisfied himself of the spite which Doris, Antipater's mother, as well as himself, bore to him, took away from her all her fine ornaments, which were worth many talents; and then sent her away, and entered into friendship with Pheroras's women. But he who most of all irritated the king against his son, was one Antipater, the procurator of Antipater the king's son; who when he was tortured, among other things said, that Antipater had prepared a deadly potion, and given it to Pheroras: with his desire, that he would give it to his father during his absence, and when he was too remote to have the least suspicion cast upon him thereto relating; that Antiphilus, one of Antipater's friends, brought that potion out of Egypt; and that it was sent to Pheroras by Theudion, the brother of the mother of Antipater, the king's son; and by that means came to Pheroras's wife, her husband having given it her to keep. And when the king asked her about it, she confessed it; and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the house top; yet did she not kill herself, because she fell upon her feet. The king then comforted her and promised her and her domestics pardon, upon condition of their concealing nothing of the truth from him, but threatened her with the utmost miseries if she proved ungrateful, and concealed any thing. So she promised and swore, that she would speak out every thing, and tell after what manner every thing was done; and said what many took to be entirely true.

"The potion," said she, "was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus; and his brother, who was a physician, had procured it; and when Theudion brought it us, I kept it, upon Pheroras committing it to me, and it was prepared by Antipater for thee. When, therefore, Pheroras was fallen sick, and thou camedst to him, and when he saw the kindness thou hadst for him, his mind was agitated thereby. So he called me to him, and said, 'O woman! Antipater hath circumvented me in this affair of his father, and my brother; by persuading me to have a murderous intention against him, and

* An. 4.

† It seems by this whole story that Pheroras was not himself poisoned; as is commonly supposed. For Antipater had persuaded him to poison Herod, chap. 5, which would fall to the ground if he were himself poisoned. Nor could the poisoning of Pheroras serve any design that appears now going forward. It was only the supposal of two of his freedmen that this love potion, or poison, which they knew was brought to Pheroras's wife, was made use of for poisoning him: whereas it appears to have been brought for her husband to poison Herod withal; as the future examinations demonstrate.

procuring a potion to be subservient thereto. Do thou therefore, go and fetch the potion, (since my brother appears to have still the same virtuous disposition towards me which he had formerly, and I do not expect to live long myself, and that I may not defile my forefathers by the murder of a brother;) and burn it before my face.' Accordingly I immediately brought it, and did as my husband bade me; and burnt the greatest part of the potion; but a little of it was left; that if thou, after Pheroras's death, should treat me ill, I might poison myself, and thereby get clear of my miseries." Upon saying thus, she brought out the potion, and the box in which it was, before them all. Nay, there was another brother of Antiphilus, and his mother also, who, by the extremity of pain and torture, confessed the same things, and owned the box to be that which had been brought out of Egypt. The high-priest's daughter also, who was the king's wife, was accused to have been conscious of all this, and had resolved to conceal it. For which reason Herod divorced her, and blotted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one that was to reign after him: and he took the high-priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simon, the son of Boethus; and appointed Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high-priest in his room.

While this was doing, Bathyllus also, Antipater's freedman, came from Rome; and, upon the torture, was found to have brought another potion to give it into the hands of Antipater's mother, and of Pheroras; that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off. There came also letters from Herod's friends at Rome, by the approbation, and at the suggestion, of Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father, on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus; and as if they commiserated their deaths; and as if, because they were sent for home, (for their father had already recalled them,) they concluded they were themselves also to be destroyed. These letters had been procured, for great rewards, by Antipater's friends. But Antipater himself wrote to his father about them; and laid the heaviest things to their charge. Yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt; and said they were but young men: and so imputed their words to their youth. But he said, that he had himself been very busy in the affair relating to Sylleus, and in getting interest among the great men: and on that account had bought splendid ornaments, to present them withal; which cost him two hundred talents. Now one may well wonder how it happened, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea, during seven months before this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them. The causes of which were, that the roads were closely guarded; and that men hated Antipater. For there was nobody who would run any hazard to gain him any advantages.

CHAP. V.

OF ANTIPATER'S RETURN FROM ROME; THE CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST HIM BY NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS; AND THE RESULT OF HIS TRIAL BEFORE QUINTILIUS VARUS, PRESIDENT OF SYRIA.

NOW upon Antipater's sending word, that having done all he was to do, he would suddenly return home, Herod concealed his anger, and wrote back to him, and bade him not to delay his journey, lest any harm should befall him in his absence. At the same time he made some little complaints about his mother; but promised that he would lay those aside when he should return. He also expressed his entire affection for him; as fearing lest he should have some suspicion, and defer his journey; and lest, while he lived at Rome, he should lay plots for the kingdom, and do somewhat against himself. This letter Antipater met with in Cilicia: but had received an account of Pheroras's death before at Tarentum; which affected him deeply. Not out of any affection for Pheroras, but because he was dead, without having murdered his father; which he had promised him to do. And when he was at Celenderis, in Cilicia, he began to deliberate with himself about sailing home; as being much grieved with the ejection of his mother. Now some of his friends advised, that he should tarry a while somewhere, in expectation of farther information; but others exhorted him to sail home without delay: for that, if he were once come thither, he would soon put an end to all accusations; and that nothing afforded any weight to his accusers at present but his absence. He was persuaded by these last, and sailed on, and landed at a haven called Sebastus; which Herod had built at a vast expense in honour of Cæsar. And now was Antipater evidently in a miserable condition: while nobody came to him, nor saluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wishes or joyful acclamations. Nor was there any thing to hinder them from entertaining him on the contrary with bitter curses; while they supposed he was come to receive his punishment, for the murder of his brethren.

Quintilius Varus was at this time at Jerusalem; being sent to succeed Saturninus, as president of Syria: and was come as an assessor to Herod; who had desired his advice in the present affairs. And as they were sitting together, Antipater came into the palace, clothed in purple. The porters, indeed, received him in; but excluded his friends. And now he was in great dis-

order, and presently understood the condition he was in: when, upon going to salute his father, he was repulsed by him, as a murderer of his brethren, and a plotter of destruction against himself; and he was told that Varus should be his auditor and judge the very next day. So he found that what misfortune he now heard of was already upon him: with the greatness of which he went away in confusion. His mother and his wife then met him; (which wife was the daughter of Antigonus, who was king of the Jews before Herod:) from whom he learned all circumstances which concerned him, and then prepared himself for his trial.

On the next day Varus and the king sat together in judgment; and both their friends were also called in; as also the king's relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discover any thing; and such as had been tortured: and besides these, some slaves of Antipater's mother, who were taken up a little before Antipater's coming, and brought with them a written letter: the sum of which was this, that he should not come back, because all was come to his father's knowledge: and that Cæsar was the only refuge he had left, to prevent both his and her delivery into his father's hands. Then did Antipater fall down at his father's feet, and besought him not to prejudge his cause; but that he might be first heard, and that his father should keep himself unprejudiced. So Herod ordered him to be brought into the midst; and then lamented himself about his children, from whom he had suffered such great misfortunes: and because Antipater fell upon him in his old age. He also reckoned up what maintenance and education he had given them; and what seasonable supplies of wealth he had afforded them, according to their own desires. None of which favours had hindered them from contriving plots against him, in order to gain his kingdom after an impious manner, by taking away his life, before the course of nature, their father's wishes, or justice, required that kingdom should come to them. And that he wondered what hopes could elevate Antipater to such a pass, as to be hardy enough to attempt such things; that he had by his testament in writing declared him his successor in the government; and while he was alive he was in no respect inferior to him, either in his illustrious dignity, or in power and authority; he having no less than fifty talents for his yearly income, and had received for his journey to Rome no fewer than thirty talents. He also objected to him the case of his brethren whom he had accused; and if they were guilty, he had imitated their example; and if not, he had brought groundless accusations against his near relations: for that he had been acquainted with all those things by him, and by nobody else: and had done what was done by his approbation; and whom he now absolved from all that was criminal, by becoming the inheriter of the guilt of such their parricide.

When Herod had thus spoken, he began weeping, and was not able to say any more. But at his desire Nicolaus of Damascus, being the king's friend, and always conversant with him, and acquainted him with whatsoever he did, and with the circumstances of his affairs, proceeded to what remained; and explained all that concerned the demonstrations, and evidences, of the facts. Upon which Antipater, in order to make his legal defence, turned himself to his father, and enlarged upon the many indications he had given of his good will to him; and instanced in the honours that had been done him; which yet had not been done, had he not deserved them by his virtuous concern about him: for that he had made provision for every thing that was fit to be foreseen beforehand, as to giving him his wisest advice, and whenever there was occasion for the labour of his own hands, he had not grudged any such pains for him. And that it was almost impossible that he who had delivered his father from so many treacherous contrivances, should be himself in a plot against him; and so lose all the reputation he had gained for his virtue, by this wickedness which succeeded it: and this while he had nothing to prohibit him, who was already appointed his successor, to enjoy the royal honour with his father also at present; and that there was no likelihood that a person who had the one half of that authority without any danger, and with a good character, should seek after the whole with infamy and danger; and this when it was doubtful whether he could obtain it or not; and when he saw the sad example of his brethren before him; and was both the informer and the accuser against them, at a time when they might not otherwise have been discovered: nay he was the author of the punishment inflicted on them, when it appeared evidently that they were guilty of a wicked attempt against their father. And that even the contentions there were in the king's family were indications that he had ever managed affairs out of the sincerest affection to his father. And as to what he had done at Rome, Cæsar was a witness thereto: who yet was no more to be imposed upon than God himself. Of whose opinions his letters afforded sufficient evidence: and that it was not reasonable to prefer the calumnies of such as proposed to raise disturbances, before those letters: the greatest part of which calumnies had been raised during his absence, which gave scope to his enemies to forge them: which they had not been able to do, if he had been there. He also endeavoured to shew the weakness of evidence obtained by torture; which was commonly false: because the distress men are in under such tortures naturally obliges them to say many

things in order to please those that govern them. He also offered himself to the torture.

Hereupon there was a change observed in the assembly: while they greatly pitied Antipater; who, by weeping and putting on a countenance suitable to his sad case, made them commiserate the same. Insomuch that his very enemies were moved to compassion; and it plainly appeared that Herod himself was affected in his own mind; although he was not willing it should be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to prosecute what the king had begun, and that with great bitterness; and summed up all the evidence which arose from the tortures, or from the other testimonies. He principally extolled the king's virtue, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his sons: while he could never gain any advantage thereby; but still fell from one misfortune to another. Although he owned that he was not so much surprised with that thoughtless behaviour of his former sons; who were but young, and were besides corrupted by wicked counsellors, who were the occasions of obliterating from their minds the righteous dictates of nature; and this out of a desire of coming to the government sooner than they ought to do. Yet he could not but justly stand amazed at the horrid wickedness of Antipater, who had benefits bestowed on him by his father, sufficient to tame his reason; yet could not it be more tamed than the most envenomed serpents. "Even those creatures," said he, "admit of some mitigation, and will not bite their benefactors: while Antipater hath not let the misfortunes of his brethren be any hindrance to him; but he hath gone on to imitate their barbarity notwithstanding. Yet wast thou, O Antipater, as thou hast thyself confessed, the informer as to what wicked actions they had done; and the searcher out of the evidence against them; and the author of the punishment they underwent upon their detection. Nor do we say this as accusing thee for being zealous in thy anger against them, but are astonished at thy endeavours to imitate their profligate behaviour: and we discover thereby that thou didst not act thus for the safety of thy father, but for the destruction of thy brethren; that by such pretended hatred of their impiety, thou mightest be believed a lover of thy father: and mightest thereby obtain power enough to do mischief with the greatest impunity. Which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true, thou tookest thy brethren off, because thou didst convict them of their wicked designs: but thou didst not yield up to justice those who were their partners; and thereby didst make it evident to all men, that thou madest a covenant with them against thy father, when thou chosest to be the accuser of thy brethren, as desirous to gain to thyself alone, this advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and so to enjoy double pleasure, which is truly worthy of thy evil disposition, which thou hast openly shewed against thy brethren. And on this account thou didst rejoice, as having done a most famous exploit. Nor was that behaviour unworthy of thee. But if thy intentions were otherwise, thou art worse than they: while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them, not as plotters against thy father, (for in that case thou hadst not thyself fallen upon the like crime;) but as successors of his dominions, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldst kill thy parent after thy brethren, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected; and lest thou shouldest suffer what punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to exact that punishment of thy unhappy father; and didst devise such a sort of uncommon parricide, as the world never yet saw. For thou, who art his son, didst not only lay a treacherous design against him; and didst it while he loved thee, and had been thy benefactor; had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom; and had openly declared thee his successor; while thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already; and hadst the firm hope of what was future by thy father's determination, and the security of a written testament: but, for certain, thou disdt not measure these things according to thy father's virtuous disposition, but according to thine own thoughts and inclinations; and wast desirous to take the part that remained away from thy too indulgent father; and soughtest to destroy him with thy deeds, whom thou in words pretendest to preserve. Nor wast thou content to be wicked thyself, but thou filledst thy mother's head with thy devices, and raised disturbances among thy brethren; and hadst the boldness to call thy father a wild beast: while thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent: whence thou sendest out that poison among thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors; and invitedst them to assist thee and guard thee; and didst hedge thyself in on all sides, by the artifices of both men and women, against an old man; as though that mind of thine were not sufficient of itself to support so great a hatred as thou hadst against him. And here thou appearest after the tortures of freemen, of domestics, of men, and of women, who have been examined on thy account; and after the informations of thy fellow-conspirators, as making haste to contradict the truth; and hast thought of ways, not only how to take thy father out of the world, but to disannul that written law which is against thee; and the virtue of Varus; and the nature of justice. Nay, such is that impudence of thine on which thou confidest, that thou desirest to be put to the torture thyself: whilst thou allegest, that the tortures of those already examined thereby have made them tell lies; that those that have been the deliverers

of thy father, may not be allowed to have spoken the truth; but that thy tortures may be esteemed the discoverers of truth. Wilt not thou, O Varus, deliver the king from the injuries of his kindred? Wilt not thou destroy this wild beast, which hath pretended kindness to his father, in order to destroy his brethren? while yet he is himself alone ready to carry off the kingdom immediately, and appears to be the most sanguinary butcher of them all. For thou art sensible that parricide is a general injury, both to nature and to common life; and that the intention of parricide is not inferior to its perpetration: and he who does not punish it is injurious to nature itself."

Nicolaus added farther, what belonged to Antipater's mother; and whatsoever she had prattled like a woman; as also about the *predictions, and the sacrifices relating to the king; and whatsoever Antipater had done lasciviously in his cups and his amours among Pheroras's women; the examinations upon torture; and whatever concerned the testimonies of the witnesses: which were many, and of various kinds; some prepared beforehand, and others sudden answers; which farther declared and confirmed the preceding evidence. For those men who were not unacquainted with Antipater's practices, but had concealed them out of fear, when they saw that he was exposed to the accusations of the former witnesses; and that his good fortune, which had supported him hitherto, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were indeed insatiable in their hatred, told all they knew of him. And his ruin was now hastened, not so much by the enmity of those that were his accusers, as by his gross, impudent, and wicked contrivances; and by his ill will to his father and his brethren: while he had filled their house with disturbance, and caused them to murder one another; and was neither open in his hatred, nor kind in his friendship; but just so far as served his own turn. Now there was a great number who for a long time beforehand had seen all this, and especially such as were naturally disposed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue; because they were used to determine about affairs without passion; but had been restrained from making any open complaints before; these, upon the leave now given them, produced all that they knew before the public. The demonstrations also of these wicked facts could be no way disproved; because the many witnesses there were did neither speak out of favour to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep what they had to say silent, out of suspicion of any danger they were in; but they spake what they knew, because they thought such actions very wicked; and that Antipater deserved the greatest punishment: and indeed, not so much for Herod's safety, as on account of the man's own wickedness. Many things were also said, by a great number of persons, who were no way obliged to say them. Insomuch, that Antipater, who used generally to be very shrewd in his lies and impudence, was not able to say one word to the contrary. When Nicolaus had left off speaking, and had produced the evidence; Varus bade Antipater make his defence; if he had prepared any thing whereby it might appear that he was not guilty of the crimes he was accused of. For that as he was himself desirous, so did he know that his father was in like manner desirous also, to have him found entirely innocent. But Antipater fell down on his face, and appealed to God, and to all men, for testimonials of his innocence; desiring that God would declare by some evident signals that he had not laid any plot against his father. This being the usual method of all men destitute of virtue; that when they set about any wicked undertakings, they fall to work according to their own inclinations; as if they believed that God was unconcerned in human affairs: but when once they are found out, and are in danger of undergoing the punishment due to their crimes, they endeavour to overthrow all the evidence against them by appealing to God. And this was the thing which Antipater now did: for whereas he had done every thing, as if there were no God in the world; when he was on all sides distressed by justice, and when he had no other advantage to expect from any legal proofs, by which he might disprove the accusations laid against him; he impudently abused the majesty of God; and ascribed it to his power, that he had been preserved hitherto; and produced before them all the difficulties he had ever undergone in his bold endeavours for his father's preservation.

So when Varus, upon asking Antipater what he had to say for himself, found that he had nothing to say, besides his appeal to God; and saw that there was no end of that; he bade them bring the potion before the court; that he might see what virtue still remained in it. And when it was brought, and one that was condemned to die had drank it, by Varus's command, he died presently. Then Varus got up, and departed out of the court; and went away the day following to Antioch, where his usual residence was: because that was the palace of the Syrians. Hereupon Herod laid his son in bonds: but what were Varus's discourses to Herod, was not known to the generality: and upon what words it was that he went away. Though it was also generally supposed, that whatsoever Herod did afterward about his son, was done with his approbation. But when Herod had bound his son, he sent letters to Rome, about him; and such messengers withal as should, by word of mouth, inform Cæsar of Antipa-

* See chap. 2.

ter's wickedness. Now at this time there was seized a letter of Antiphilus's, written to Antipater, out of Egypt, (for he lived there,) and when it was opened by the king, it was found to contain what follows :—

"I have sent thee Acme's letter; and hazarded my own life: for thou knowest that I am in danger from two families, if I be discovered. I wish thee good success in thy affair."

These were the contents of this letter. But the king made inquiry about the other letter also: for it did not appear. And Antiphilus's slave, who brought that letter which had been read, denied that he had received the other. But while the king was in doubt about it, one of Herod's friends seeing a seam upon the inner coat of the slave, and a doubling of the cloth; (for he had two coats on,) he guessed that the letter might be within that doubling; which accordingly proved to be true. So they took out the letter, and its contents were these :—

"Acme to Antipater. I have written such a letter to thy father as thou desiredst me. I also have taken a copy, and sent it, as if it came from Salome to my Lady Livia. Which when thou readest, I know that Herod will punish Salome, as plotting against him."

Now this pretended letter of Salome's to her lady, was composed by Antipater in the name of Salome, as to its real meaning; but in the words of Acme. The letter was this :—

"Acme to king Herod. I have done my endeavour that nothing that is done against thee should be concealed from thee. So upon my finding a letter of Salome's, written to my lady* against thee, I have written out a copy, and sent it thee; with hazard to myself, but for thy advantage. The reason why she wrote it was this, that she had a mind to be married to Sylleus. Do thou, therefore, tear this letter to pieces, that I may not come into danger of my life."

Now Acme had written to Antipater himself, and informed him, that, in compliance with his command, she had both written to Herod, as if Salome had laid a sudden plot entirely against him; and had herself sent a copy of an epistle, as coming from Salome to her lady. Now Acme was a Jewess by birth, and a servant to Julia, Cæsar's wife; and did this out of her friendship for Antipater; as having been corrupted by him with a large present of money, to assist in his pernicious designs against his father, and his aunt.

Hereupon Herod was so amazed at the prodigious wickedness of Antipater, that he was ready to have ordered him to be slain immediately; as a turbulent person in the most important concerns; and as one that had laid a plot, not only against himself, but against his sister also; and even corrupted Cæsar's own domestics. Salome also provoked him to it; beating her breast, and bidding him kill her, if he could produce any credible testimony that she had acted in that manner. Herod also sent for his son, and asked him about this matter; and bade him contradict it if he could, and not suppress any thing he had to say for himself. And when he had not one word to say, he desired, since he was every way caught in his villany, that he would make no further delay, but discover his associates in his wicked designs. So he laid all upon Antiphilus: but discovered nobody else. Hereupon Herod was in such grief, that he was ready to send his son to Rome, to Cæsar, there to give an account of these his wicked contrivances. But he soon became afraid, lest he might there, by the assistance of his friends, escape the danger he was in. So he kept him bound as before: and sent more ambassadors and letters to Rome, with accusations against his son, and an account of the assistance Acme had given him in his wicked designs: with copies of the afore-mentioned epistles.

CHAP. VI.

CONCERNING THE DISEASE WITH WHICH HEROD WAS AFFLICTED; A SEDITION RAISED IN CONSEQUENCE BY THE JEWS, AND THE PUNISHMENT OF THE SEDITIOUS.

NOW Herod's ambassadors hastened to Rome; but went as instructed beforehand what answers they were to make to the questions put to them. They also carried the epistles with them.† But Herod now fell into a distemper; and made his will, and bequeathed his kingdom to Antipas his youngest son: and this out of that hatred to Archelaus and Philip which the calumnies of Antipater had raised against them. He also bequeathed a thousand talents to Cæsar; and five hundred to Cæsar's wife, children, friends, and freed-men. He distributed among his sons and grandsons his money, revenues, and lands. He also made Salome his sister

* Livia.

† It is thought strange by some, that Josephus, who writes the life of Herod in most of its circumstances, should make no manner of mention of the murder of the innocents: but, when it is considered that Josephus was only born in the first year of Caligula, and the thirty-seventh year of Christ: that he wrote his history of the Jewish Wars, (which he extracted from public records,) in the fifty-sixth year of his age: and that it can scarce be supposed an action so inglorious to the memory of Herod, as this massacre was, should be preserved in the Jewish records; it is not so very wonderful that he, who wrote above ninety-three years after the fact was committed, should make no mention of it; nor is it very material that he did not, since we find Macrobius, a Heathen author, about the latter end of the fourth age, not forgetting to acquaint us, that, "Herod the king ordered to be slain in Syria, (which, in Roman authors, is frequently set for Judea,) some children, that were under two years old:" though he is mistaken in the circumstance of the story, when he makes Herod's own son to be one of them. *Saturn.* lib. 2. c. 4. B.

very rich: because she had continued faithful to him in all his circumstances; and was never so rash as to do him any harm. And as he despaired of recovering; (for he was about the seventieth year of his age;) he grew fierce, and indulged the bitterest anger upon all occasions. The cause was that he thought himself despised; and that the nation was pleased with his misfortunes: besides which he resented a sedition excited against him, by some of the lower orders, on the following occasion:—

There was one Judas, the son of Saripheus; and Matthias, the son of Margalothus; two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws; and men well beloved by the people, because of their education of their youth: for all those that were studious of virtue frequented their lectures every day. These men, when they found that the king's distemper was incurable, excited the young men to pull down all those works which the king had erected, contrary to the law of their fathers: and thereby obtained the rewards which the law would confer on them for such actions of piety. For that it was truly on account of Herod's rashness in making such things as the law had forbidden, that his other misfortunes, and this distemper also, which was so unusual among mankind, and with which he was now afflicted, came upon him. For Herod had caused such things to be made, as were contrary to the law: of which he was accused by Judas and Matthias. For the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a large golden eagle, of great value: and had dedicated it to the temple. Now the law forbids those that propose to live according to it, to *erect images or representations of any living creature. So these men persuaded their scholars to pull down the golden eagle: alleging, that although they should incur any danger, which might bring them to their deaths, the virtue of the action now proposed would appear much more advantageous to them, than the pleasures of life: since they would die for the preservation and observance of the law of their fathers; and they would also acquire an everlasting fame, and commendation: since they would be both commended by the present generation, and leave an example of life that would never be forgotten to posterity. They added, that as the common calamity of dying could not be avoided by our living so as to escape any such dangers, it was proper for those who were in love with a virtuous conduct, to wait for that fatal hour by such a behaviour as might carry them out of the world with praise and honour: and that it would alleviate death to a great degree, to come at it by the performance of brave actions, which were attended with danger: and at the same time to leave that reputation behind them to their children, and to all their relations, which would be of great advantage to them afterward.

With such discourses did these men excite their pupils to this action: and a report being come to them that the king was dead, this was an addition to their persuasions. So, in the very middle of the day, they got upon the place, pulled down the eagle, and cut it to pieces with axes; while a great number of people were in the temple. And now the king's captain, upon hearing what the undertaking was, and supposing it was a thing of a higher nature than it proved to be, came up thither: having a band of soldiers with him, such as was sufficient to put a stop to the multitude of those who pulled down what was dedicated to God. So he fell upon them unexpectedly, and as they were upon this bold attempt, in a foolish presumption, rather than a cautious circumspection, as is usual with the multitude; and while they were in disorder, and incautious of what was for their advantage. So he caught no fewer than forty of the young men, who had the courage to stay behind, when the rest ran away; together with the authors of this bold attempt, Judas and Matthias, who thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon his approach; and led them to the king. And when they were come to the king, and he had asked them, if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God? "Yes," said they, "what was contrived we contrived, and what hath been performed we performed; and that with such a virtuous courage as becomes men. For we have given our assistance to those things which were dedicated to the majesty of God; and we have provided for what we have learned by hearing the law. And it ought not to be wondered at, if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested to him, and were taught him by God, and which he wrote and left behind him, more worthy of observance than thy commands. Accordingly we will undergo death, and all sorts of punishment which thou canst inflict upon us with pleasure; since we are conscious to ourselves that we shall die, not for any unrighteous action, but for our love to religion." And thus they all said; and their courage was equal to their profession, and equal to that with which they readily set about this undertaking. And when the king had ordered them to be bound, he sent them to Jericho, and convened the principal men among the Jews. And when they were come, he made them assemble in the theatre: and because he could not himself stand, he lay upon a couch, and enumerated the many labours that he had long endured on their account;

* That the making of images without an intention to worship them was not unlawful to the Jews, see the note on Book VIII. chap. 7.

and his building of the temple, and what a vast charge that was to him; while the Asmoneans, during the hundred and twenty-five years of their government, had not been able to perform any so great a work for the honour of God as that was. He said he had also adorned it with very valuable donations: on which account he hoped that he had left himself a memorial, and procured a reputation after his death. He then cried out, that these men had not abstained from affronting him, even in his life time; but that in the very day time, and in the sight of the multitude, they had abused him to that degree, as to fall upon what he had dedicated, and in that way of abuse had pulled it down to the ground. They pretended, indeed, that they did it to affront him; but if any one considered the thing truly, they would find that they had been guilty of sacrilege against God.

Now the people on account of Herod's barbarous temper, and for fear he should be so cruel as to inflict punishment on them, said, that what was done was done without their approbation; and that it seemed to them that the actors might justly be punished. But as for Herod, he dealt more mildly with others of the assembly; but deprived Matthias of the high-priesthood, as in part on occasion of this action; and made Joazar who was Matthias's wife's brother, high-priest in his stead. Now it happened that during the time of the high-priesthood of this Matthias, there was another person made high-priest for a single day: that very day which the Jews observe as a fast. The occasion was as follows: This Matthias the high-priest, on the night before that day when the fast was to be celebrated, seemed, in a *dream, to have conversation with his wife; and because he could not officiate himself, on that account, Joseph, the son of Ellemus, his kinsman, assisted him in that sacred office. But Herod deprived this Matthias of the high-priesthood; and burnt the other Matthias, who had raised the sedition, with his companions, alive. And that †very night there was an eclipse of the moon.

But now Herod's distemper increased upon him after a severe manner; and this by God's judgment for his sins. For a fire glowed in him slowly, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly.‡ For it brought upon him a vehement appetite to eating, which he could not avoid to supply with one sort of food or other. His entrails were also ulcerated; an aqueous and transparent liquor had settled itself about his feet; and a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly. And when he sat upright, he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very loathsome on account of the stench of his breath, and the quickness of its returns. He had also convulsions in all parts of his body; which debilitated him to an insufferable degree. It was said by those who pretended to divine, and who were endued with wisdom to foretel such things, that God inflicted that punishment on the king on account of his great impiety. Yet was he still in hopes of recovering; though his afflictions seemed greater than any one could bear. He also sent for physicians, and did not refuse to follow what

* This fact, that one Joseph was made high-priest for a single day, on occasion of the accident that befell Matthias, the real high-priest, in his sleep, the night before the great day of expiation; is attested to, both in the Mishna and Talmud, as Dr. Hudson here informs us. And indeed from this fact, thus fully attested, we may confute that pretended rule in the Talmud, that the high-priest was not suffered to sleep the night before that great day of expiation: which watching would surely rather unfit him for the many important duties he was to perform on that solemn day, than dispose him duly to perform them.

† This eclipse of the moon, (which is the only eclipse of either of the luminaries mentioned by Josephus in any of his writings,) is of the greatest consequence for the determination of the time for the death of Herod and Antipater, and for the birth and entire chronology of Jesus Christ. It happened March 13th, in the year of the Julian period 4710, and the fourth year before the Christian era.

‡ The disease of which he died, and the misery which he suffered under it, plainly shewed, that the hand of God was then, in a signal manner, upon him. For not long after the murder of the infants at Bethlehem, his distemper, (as Josephus informs us,) daily increased, after an unheard-of manner, and he himself laboured under the most loathsome and tormenting accidents that can be imagined. "He had a lingering and wasting fever, and grievous ulcers in his entrails and bowels; a violent colic, an insatiable appetite, venomous swelling in his feet, convulsions in his nerves, a perpetual asthma, and stinking breath, rottenness in his joints and privy members, accompanied with prodigious itchings, crawling worms, and intolerable smells, so that he was a perfect hospital of incurable diseases." And thus he died in horrid pain and torment, being smitten by God for his many enormous iniquities. For setting aside some appearances of generosity and greatness, there was never a more complete tyrant than he. He suppressed and changed the high-priest's office as he thought fit; and even profaned the temple itself. He slew the legal king of the Jews, extirpated all the race of the Maccabees, destroyed the whole Sanhedrim, and substituted others in their room: nor was his rage confined to the Jews, but descended to his own family and nearest relations, even the executing his beloved wife Mariamne, and his own sons Alexander and Aristobulus, upon slight and trivial occasions. So wicked a prince, as he was conscious he had been, could not, (he knew,) occasion any true lamentation at his death, but rather a great deal of gladness and rejoicing all the kingdom over; and therefore to prevent this, he framed a project, which was one of the most horrid that ever entered into the mind of man. All the nobility, and most considerable men in every city, town, and village in Judea, upon pain of death, he summoned to come together to Jericho, where he was lying sick, and when they were come, commanded his soldiers to shut them all up in a spacious place called the Hippodrome: when having called his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, with some choice friends, he told them with tears, "That he was sensible of the Jews' hatred to his government and person, and that his death would be a high satisfaction to them; that his friends therefore, ought to procure him some solace in the midst of his bitter anguish, which if they performed according to his order, the mournings and lamentations at his death would be as great and magnificent as ever any prince had; and this order was, that on the same hour when he expired, the soldiers should surround the Hippodrome, and put all the enclosed persons to the sword, and then publish his death, which, (as he said,) would cause his exit to be doubly triumphant; first, for the posthumous execution of his commands: and, secondly, for the quantity and number of his mourners." But Salome and Alexas, not being wicked enough to do what they had been made solemnly to promise, chose rather to break their obligation, than make themselves the executioners of so bloody a design; and, therefore, as soon as Herod was dead, they opened the Hippodrome, and permitted all that were shut up in it, to return to their respective homes. *Josephus de Bello Jud.* lib. I. c. 18; *Prideaux's Connection*, part II. and *Eachard's Ecclesiastical History*, lib. I. B.

they prescribed for his assistance: and went beyond the river Jordan, and bathed himself in the warm baths that were at Calirrhoe; which, besides their other general virtues, were also fit to drink; which water runs into the lake called Asphaltites. And when the physicians once thought fit to have him bathed in a vessel full of oil, it was supposed that he was just dying. But upon the lamentable cries of his domestics, he revived; and having no longer the least hopes of recovering, he gave order that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmæ: and he also gave a great deal to their commanders, and to his friends; and came again to Jericho. There, however, he grew so choleric, that it brought him to do all things like a madman; and though he were near his death, he contrived the following wicked designs. He commanded that all the principal men of the Jewish nation, wheresoever they lived, should be called to him. Accordingly a great number came; because the whole nation were called; and all men heard of this call; and death was the penalty of such as should neglect the epistles that were sent to call them: and now the king was in a wild rage against them all; the innocent, as well as those that had offered ground for accusations. And when they were come, he ordered them to be all shut up in the *Hippodrome; and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and spake thus to them:—

"I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains; which death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men. But what principally troubles me is, that I shall die without being lamented, and without such mourning as men usually expect at a king's death. For I am not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews; but know that my death will be a thing very desirable, and exceeding acceptable to them; because during my life time, they were ready to revolt from me, and to abuse the donations I had dedicated to God. It is, therefore, your business to resolve to afford me some alleviation of my great sorrows on this occasion. For if you do not refuse your consent in what I desire, I shall have a great mourning at my funeral, and such as never any king had before me. For then the whole nation will mourn from their very soul, which otherwise will be done in sport and mockery only. I desire, therefore, that, as soon as you see I have given up the ghost, you shall place soldiers round the Hippodrome; and you shall not declare my death to the multitude till this is done: but you shall give orders to have those that are there in custody shot with darts; and this slaughter of them all will cause that I shall not miss to rejoice on a double account: that as I am dying, you will make me secure that my will shall be executed in what I charge you to do; and that I shall have the honour of a memorable mourning at my funeral."

He then deplored his condition, with tears in his eyes; and conjured them by the kindness due from them as his kindred, and by the faith they owed to God; and begged of them, that they would not hinder him of this honourable mourning at his funeral. So they promised him not to transgress his commands.

Now any one may discover the temper of this man's mind; which not only took pleasure in doing what he had done formerly against his relations, out of the love of life; but by those commands of his which savored of no humanity; since he took care, when he was departing out of this life, that the whole nation should be put into mourning, and deprived of their dearest kindred, when he gave order that one out of every family should be slain; although they had done nothing that was unjust, or that was against him; nor were they accused of any other crimes: while it is usual for those who have any regard to virtue, to lay aside their hatred at such a time, even with respect to those they justly esteemed their enemies.

CHAP. VII.

OF HEROD'S ATTEMPT UPON HIS OWN LIFE; AND OF THE PUNISHMENT OF ANTIPATER.

AS Herod was giving these commands to his relations, there came letters from his ambassadors, who had been sent to Rome, unto Cæsar: which, when they were read, informed him, that Acme was slain by Cæsar, out of his indignation at what hand she had in Antipater's wicked practices: and that as to Antipater himself, Cæsar left it to Herod to act as became a father, and a king; and either to banish him, or to take away his life, as he pleased. When Herod heard this he was somewhat better, out of the pleasure he had for the contents of the letters, and was elevated at the death of Acme, and at the power that was given him over his son. But as his pains were become very great, he was now ready to faint for want of somewhat to eat. So he called for an apple, and a knife: for it was his custom formerly to pare the apple himself, and soon afterwards to cut and eat it. When he had got the knife, he looked about and attempted to stab himself; but his first cousin Achiabus prevented him, and held his hand, and cried out loudly: whereupon a woful lamentation echoed through the palace, and a great tumult was made, as if the king were dead. Upon this, Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold in his discourse; as hoping to be immediately released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his hands. So he discoursed with the gaoler about letting him go: and in that case promised him great things, both now

* A place for the horse-races.

and hereafter: as if that were the only thing now in question. But the gaoler did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitations he had had from him of that nature. Hereupon Herod, who had formerly no affection nor good will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the gaoler said, he cried out, and beat his head; although he was at death's door; and raised himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without any farther delay, and to do it presently, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Hyrcania.

CHAP. VIII.

OF HEROD'S DEATH, WILL, AND BURIAL.

NOW Herod altered his will, upon the alteration of his mind: for he appointed Antipas, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; and granted the kingdom to Archelaus. He also gave Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas, to Philip, who was his son, but *own brother to Archelaus, by the name of a tetrarchy: and bequeathed Jamnia, Ashdod, and Phasaelus, to Salome, his sister, with five hundred thousand drachmæ of coined silver. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them sums of money, and annual revenues; and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Cæsar ten millions of drachmæ of coined money; besides both vessels of gold and silver, and exceeding costly garments, to Julia, Cæsar's wife; and to certain others five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain: having reigned since he had procured †Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men, and a slave to his passion; being above the consideration of what was right. Yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was: for from a private man he became a king: and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life till a very old age. But as to the affairs of his family, he was very unfortunate, though he deemed himself fortunate, in being able to conquer his enemies.

But Salome and Alexas, before the king's death was made known, dismissed those that were shut up in the Hippodrome; and told them, that the king ordered them to go their ways to their own lands, and take care of their own affairs: which was esteemed, by the nation, a very great benefit. And now the king's death was made public; when Salome and Alexas gathered the soldiery together in the amphitheatre at Jericho. And the first thing they did was to read Herod's letter to the soldiery; thanking them for their fidelity and good will to him, and exhorting them to afford his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed for their king, like fidelity and good will. After which Ptolemy, who had the king's seal intrusted to him, read the king's will; which was to be of force no otherwise than as it should stand when Cæsar had inspected it. So there was presently an acclamation made to Archelaus, as king. And the soldiers came by bands, and their commanders with them, and promised the same good will and readiness to serve him, which they had exhibited to Herod: and they prayed God to be assistant to him.

After this was over, they prepared for the funeral: it being Archelaus's care that the procession to his father's sepulchre should be very sumptuous. Accordingly he brought out all his ornaments, to adorn the pomp of the funeral. The body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious stones, of great variety; and it was covered over with purple, as well as the body itself: he had also a diadem upon his head, and above it a crown of gold; and held a sceptre in his right hand. About the bier were his sons, and his numerous relations. Next to these was the soldiery; distinguished according to their several countries and denominations. And they were put into the following order. First of all went his guards; then the band of Thracians; and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians; every one in their habiliments of war. And behind these marched the whole army, in the same manner as they used to go out to war; and as they used to be put in array by their muster-masters, and centurions. These were followed by five hundred of his domestics, carrying spices. So they went ‡eight furlongs to Herodium: for there, by his own command, he was to be buried.

Now Archelaus paid him so much respect, as to continue his mourning till the §seventh day: for so many

* When it is here said, that Philip the tetrarch, and Archelaus the king or ethnarch, were genuine brothers; if those words mean own brothers, or born of the same father and mother, there must be here some mistake: because they had indeed the same father, Herod; but different mothers; the former, Cleopatra, and Archelaus, Malthace. They were indeed brought up together privately at Rome, like own brothers: and Philip was Archelaus's deputy, when he went to have his kingdom confirmed to him at Rome. Chap. 9, and Of the War, II. 2. Which intimacy is perhaps all that Josephus intended by the words before us.

† These numbers of years for Herod's reign, 34 and 37, are the very same with those Of the War, I. 33, and are among the principal chronological characters belonging to the reign or death of Herod.

‡ At eight stadia or furlongs a day, as here, Herod's funeral, conducted to Herodium, (which lay at the distance from Jericho, where he died, of 200 stadia or furlongs; Of the War, I. 33,) must have taken up no less than 25 days.

§ See the note Of the War, II. 1.

days are appointed for it by the law of our fathers. And when he had given a treat to the multitude, and left off his mourning, he went up into the temple. He had also acclamations and praises given him which way soever he went; every one striving who should appear to use the loudest acclamations. So he ascended a high elevation made for him, and took his seat on a throne made of gold; and spake kindly to the multitude; and declared with what joy he received their acclamations, and the marks of the good will they shewed to him. And returned them thanks, that they did not remember the injuries his father had done them, to his disadvantage; and promised them he would not be tardy in rewarding their alacrity in his service, after a suitable manner. But that he should abstain at present from the name of king; and that he should have the honour of that dignity, if Cæsar should confirm and settle that will which his father had made: and that it was on this account, that when the army would have placed the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of that honour, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who was to be principally concerned in bestowing it, would give it him. Although by his acceptance of the government, he should not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him: and that it should be his endeavour, as to all things wherein they were concerned, to prove, in every respect, better than his father. Hereupon the multitude, as it is usual with them, supposed that the first days of those that enter upon such governments declare the intentions of those that accept them: and so by how much Archelaus spake the more gently and civilly to them, by so much did they more highly commend him, and made application to him for the grant of what they desired. Some entreated that he would ease them of some of their annual payments; but others desired him to release those that were put into prison by Herod, who were many, and had been put there at several times; while others required that he would take away those heavy taxes which had been levied upon what was publicly sold and bought. So Archelaus contradicted them in nothing; since he pretended to do all things so as to get the good will of the multitude to him: as looking on that good will to be a great step towards his preservation of the government. Accordingly he went and offered sacrifice to God; and then sat down to feast with his friends.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE SEDITION WHICH WAS RAISED AGAINST ARCHELAUS; AND OF HIS VOYAGE TO ROME.

AT this time* some of the Jews got together out of a desire of innovation. They lamented Matthias, and those that were slain with him, for pulling down the golden eagle; who had not any respect paid them by a funeral mourning, out of the fear men were in of Herod. The people made a great clamour and lamentation hereupon; and cast out some reproaches against the king; as if that tended to alleviate the miseries of the deceased. These people assembled together, and desired of Archelaus, that, in way of revenge on their account, he would inflict punishment on those who had been honoured by Herod; and that in the first place, he would deprive the high-priest whom Herod had made; and would appoint one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity to officiate at the altar. This was granted by Archelaus, although he was greatly offended at their importunity; because he proposed to go to Rome immediately, to look after Cæsar's determination about him. However he sent the general of his forces to use persuasions, and to tell them that the death which was inflicted on their friends was according to the law; and to represent to them that their petitions about these things were carried to a great height of injury to him; that the present time was not proper for such petitions; but required their unanimity, until he should be established in the government by the consent of Cæsar, and should be come back to them. For that he would then consult with them in common, concerning the purport of their petitions; but that they ought at present to be quiet, lest they should seem seditious persons.

When the king had suggested these things, and instructed his general in what he was to say, he sent him to the people. But they made a clamour, and would not give him leave to speak, and put him in danger of his life: and as many more as were desirous to venture upon saying openly any thing which might reduce them to a sober mind, and prevent their going on in their present courses. Because they had more concern to have all their own wills performed, than to yield obedience to their governors; thinking it to be a thing insufferable, that while Herod was alive, they should lose those that were the most dear to them; and that when he was dead, they could not get the actors to be punished. So they went on with their designs after a violent manner; and thought all to be lawful and right which tended to please them: and being unskilful in foreseeing what dangers they incurred; and when they had some suspicion of such a thing, yet did the present pleasure they took in the punishment of those they deemed their enemies, overweigh all such considerations. And although Archelaus sent many to speak to them, yet they treated them not as messengers sent by him, but as persons that came of their own accord to

* An. 3.

mitigate their anger; and would not let one of them speak. The sedition also was made by such as were in a great passion: and it was evident that they were proceeding farther in seditious practices, by the multitudes running so fast unto them.

Now upon the approach of that feast of unleavened bread, which the law of their fathers had appointed for the Jews at this time; which feast is called the Passover, and is a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt: when they are required to slay more sacrifices than at any other festival; and when an innumerable multitude came thither out of the country, nay, from beyond its limits also, in order to worship God; the seditious lamented Judas and Matthias, those teachers of the laws; and kept together in the temple, and had plenty of food; because these seditious persons were not ashamed to beg it. And as Archelaus was afraid lest some terrible thing should spring up by the means of these men's madness, he sent a regiment of armed men, and with them a captain of a thousand, to suppress the violent efforts of the seditious, before the whole multitude should be infected with the like madness; and gave them this charge, that if they found any more openly seditious than others, and more busy in tumultuous practices, they should bring them to him. But those that were seditious on account of those teachers of the law, irritated the people by the noise and clamour they used to encourage them in their designs. So they made an assault upon the soldiers, and came up to them; and stoned the greatest part of them; although some of them ran away wounded, and their captain among them. And when they had thus done, they returned to the sacrifices which were already in their hands. Now Archelaus thought there was no way to preserve the government, but by cutting off those who made this attempt upon it. So he sent out the whole army upon them, and sent the horsemen to prevent those that had their tents without the temple, from assisting those that were within; and to kill such as ran away from the footmen, when they thought themselves out of danger. Accordingly, the horsemen slew three thousand men: while the rest went to the neighbouring mountains. Then did Archelaus order proclamation to be made to them all, that they should retire to their own homes. So they went away and left the festival, out of fear of somewhat worse which would follow; although they had been so bold, by reason of their want of instruction. So Archelaus went down to the sea, with his *mother, and took with him Nicolaus, and Ptolemy, and many others of his friends; and left his brother Philip as governor of all things, belonging both to his own family, and to the public. There went out also with him Salome, Herod's sister; and her children, and many of her kindred, were with her: which kindred of hers went, as they pretended, to assist Archelaus in gaining the kingdom; but in reality to oppose him, and chiefly to make loud complaints of what he had done in the temple. But Sabinus, Cæsar's steward for the Syrian affairs, as he was making haste into Judea, to preserve Herod's effects, met with Archelaus at Cæsarea. But Varus† came at that time, and restrained him from meddling with them; for he was there, as sent for by Archelaus by the means of Ptolemy. And Sabinus, out of regard to Varus, did neither seize upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor did he seal up the treasures in them: but permitted Archelaus to hold them, until Cæsar should declare his resolution about them. So, upon this promise he tarried still at Cæsarea. But after Archelaus was sailed for Rome, and Varus was removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and seized on the king's palace. He also sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all those that had the charge of Herod's effects; and declared publicly, that he should require them to give an account of what they had; and he disposed of the castles in the manner he pleased, but those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them in command. But continued to keep all things in the manner that had been enjoined them, under the pretence that they held them all for Cæsar.

At the same time, Antipas, another of Herod's sons, sailed to Rome, in order to gain the government; being persuaded by Salome, that he should take that government; and that he was a much honester and fitter man than Archelaus for that authority, since Herod had, in his former will, deemed him the worthiest to be made king; which ought to be esteemed more valid than his latter testament. Antipas also brought with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus; one that had been Herod's most honoured friend, and was now zealous for Antipas. But it was Irenus the orator, and one who, on account of his reputation for sagacity, was entrusted with the affairs of the state, who most of all encouraged him to attempt to gain the kingdom. By his means it was, that when some advised him to yield to Archelaus, as to his elder brother, and who had been declared king by their father's last will, he would not submit so to do. And when he was come to Rome, all his relations revolted to him; not out of their good will to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus. Though indeed they were most desirous of gaining their liberty, and to be put under a Roman governor. But if there were too great an opposition made to that, they thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus: and so joined

* Malthace.

† The President of Syria.

with him, in order to procure the kingdom for him. Sabinus also by letters accused Archelaus to Cæsar.

Now when Archelaus had sent in his papers to Cæsar, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom by his father's will, with the accounts of Herod's money, and with Ptolemy, who brought Herod's seal, he expected the event. But when Cæsar had read these papers, and Varus's and Sabinus's letters, with the accounts of the money, and what were the annual incomes of the kingdom, and understood that Antipas had also sent letters to lay claim to the kingdom: he summoned his friends together to know their opinions; and with them Caius, the son of Agrippa, and of Julia his daughter, whom he had adopted; and made him sit first of all; and desired such as pleased to speak their minds about the affairs now before them.

Now Antipater, Salome's son, a very subtle orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, spake first, to this purpose: that it was ridiculous in Archelaus to plead now to have the kingdom given him, since he had in reality taken already the power over it to himself, before Cæsar had granted it to him; and appealed to those bold actions of his in destroying so many at the Jewish festival. And if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing them should have been reserved to those that were out of the country, but had the power to punish them; and not been executed by a man, who, if he pretended to be a king, did an injury to Cæsar, by usurping that authority before it was determined for him; but if he owned himself to be a private person, his case was much worse; since he, who was putting in for the kingdom, could by no means expect to have that power granted him, of which he had already deprived Cæsar, by taking it to himself. He also touched sharply upon his changing the commanders in the army; and his sitting in the royal throne beforehand; and his determination of lawsuits; all done as if he were no other than a king: he appealed also to his concessions to those that petitioned him on a public account; and indeed doing such things, than which he could devise no greater, if he had been already settled in the kingdom. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners that were in the Hippodrome; and many other things, that either had been certainly done by him, or were believed to be done, and easily might be supposed to have been done; because they were of such a nature as to be usually done by young men, and by such as, out of a desire of ruling, seize upon the government too soon: he also charged him with his neglect of the funeral mourning for his father, and with having merry-meetings the very night in which he died; and that it was thence the multitude were excited to raise a tumult. And if Archelaus could thus requite his dead father, who had bestowed such benefits upon him, and bequeathed such great things to him, by pretending to shed tears for him in the day-time, like an actor on the stage, but every night making mirth for having obtained the government; he would appear to be the same Archelaus with regard to Cæsar, if he granted him the kingdom, which he had been to his father: since he had then dancing and singing, as though an enemy of his were fallen; and not as though a man were carried to his funeral that was so nearly related, and had been so great a benefactor to him. But he said, the greatest crime of all was, that he came now before Cæsar to obtain the kingdom by his grant, while he had before acted in all things as he could have acted if Cæsar himself, who ruled all, had fixed him firmly in the government. And what he most aggravated in his pleading was, the slaughter of those about the temple, and the impiety of it, as done at the festival; and how they were slain like sacrifices themselves; some of whom were foreigners, and others of their own country; till the temple was full of dead bodies. And all this was done, not by an alien, but by one who pretended to the lawful title of a king; that he might complete the wicked tyranny which his nature prompted him to, and which is hated by all men. On which account his father never so much as dreamed of making him his successor in the kingdom, when he was of a sound mind, because he knew his disposition; and in his former and more authentic will, he appointed his antagonist Antipas to succeed: but Archelaus was called by his father to that dignity, when he was in a dying condition, both of body and mind; while Antipas was called when he was ripest in his judgment, and of such strength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs. And if his father had the like notion of him formerly, that he had since shewn, yet had Archelaus given a sufficient specimen what a king he was likely to be, when he had in effect deprived Cæsar of the power of disposing of the kingdom, and had not abstained from making a terrible slaughter of his fellow citizens in the temple, while he was but a private person.

When Antipater had made this speech, and had confirmed what he said, by producing many witnesses from among Archelaus's own relations, he made an end of his pleading. Nicolaus then rose up to plead for Archelaus; and said, that what had been done at the temple was rather to be attributed to the mind of those that had been killed, than to the authority of Archelaus. For that those who are the authors of such things, are not only wicked in the injuries they do of themselves, but in forcing sober persons to avenge themselves upon them. Now it is evident that what these did in way of opposition, was done under pretence indeed against Archelaus, but in reality against Cæsar himself.

For they, after an injurious manner, have attacked and slain those who were sent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to their doings: they had no regard either to God or to the festival. "Yet Antipater," said he, "is not ashamed to patronize them; whether it be out of his indulgence of an enmity to Archelaus, or out of his hatred of virtue and justice. For as to those who begin such tumults, and first set about such unrighteous actions, they are the men who force those that punish them to take up arms, even against their wills. So that Antipater in effect ascribes the rest of what was done, to all those who were of counsel to the accusers. For nothing which is here accused of injustice has been done, but what was derived from them as its authors: nor are those things evil in themselves, but so represented only in order to injure Archelaus. Such is these men's inclination to do an injury to a man that is of their kindred, their father's benefactor, and familiarly acquainted with them, and that hath ever lived in friendship with them. For as to this will, it was made by the king when he was of a sound mind; and so ought to be of more authority than his former testament; and that for this reason, because Cæsar is therein left to be the judge and disposer of all therein contained. And for Cæsar, he certainly will not imitate the unjust proceedings of those men, who during Herod's whole life had, on all occasions, been joint partakers of power with him; and yet zealously endeavour to injure his determination, while they have not themselves had the same regard to their kinsman which Archelaus had. Cæsar will not, therefore, disannul the testament of a man whom he had entirely supported; of his friend and confederate; and that which is committed to him in trust to ratify. Nor will Cæsar's virtuous and upright disposition, which is known and uncontested through all the habitable world, imitate the wickedness of these men in condemning a king as having lost his reason; while he hath bequeathed his succession to a good son, and to one who flies to Cæsar's upright determination for refuge. Nor can Herod at any time have been mistaken in his judgment about a successor, while he shewed so much prudence as to submit all to Cæsar's determination."

When Nicolaus had laid these things before Cæsar, he ended his plea. Whereupon Cæsar was so obliging to Archelaus, that he raised him up, when he had cast himself at his feet;* and said, that he well deserved the kingdom. And he soon let them know, that he was so far moved in his favour that he would not act otherwise than his father's will directed, and than was for the advantage of Archelaus. However, while he gave this encouragement to Archelaus to depend on him securely, he made no full determination about him. And when the assembly was broken up, he considered by himself, whether he should confirm the kingdom to Archelaus, or whether he should divide it among Herod's posterity; because they all stood in need of much assistance to support them.

* This he did in compliance with the usual custom to express great veneration and homage. B.

CHAP. X.

OF A SEDITION RAISED BY THE JEWS AGAINST SABINUS; AND THE PUNISHMENT OF THE LEADERS.

BEFORE these things could be brought to a settlement, Malthace, Archelaus's mother, fell into a distemper, and died. And letters came from Varus, the president of Syria, which informed Cæsar of a revolt of the Jews. For after Archelaus was sailed, the whole nation was in a tumult. So Varus, since he was there himself, brought the authors of the disturbance to punishment: and when he had restrained them for the most part from this sedition, which was a great one, he took his journey to Antioch; leaving one legion of his army at Jerusalem to keep the Jews quiet, who were now very fond of innovation. Yet did not this avail to put an end to that sedition. For after Varus was gone away, Sabinus, Cæsar's procurator, staid behind, and greatly distressed the Jews; relying on the forces that were left there, that they would by their multitude protect him. For he armed them as his guards; thereby so oppressing the Jews, and giving them so great disturbance, that at length they rebelled. For he used force in seizing the citadels, and zealously pressed on the search after the king's money, in order to seize upon it by force; on account of his love of gain, and his extraordinary covetousness.

But on the approach of Pentecost, which is a festival of ours so called from the days of our forefathers, many thousands of men got together. Nor did they come only to celebrate the festival, but out of their indignation at the madness of Sabinus, and at the injuries he offered them. A great number there were of Galileans and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, and others, who had passed over the river Jordan, and inhabited those parts. This whole multitude joined themselves to all the rest; and were more zealous than the others in making an assault on Sabinus, in order to be avenged on him. So they parted themselves into three bands, and encamped in the places following. Some of them seized on the Hippodrome; and of the other two bands, one pitched themselves from the northern part of the temple to the southern, on the east quarter; but the third band held the western part of the city, where the king's palace was. Their work tended entirely to

besiege the Romans, and to inclose them on all sides. Now Sabinus was afraid of these men's number, and of their resolution; who had little regard to their lives, but were very desirous not to be overcome; while they thought it a point of puissance to subdue their enemies: so he immediately sent a letter to Varus; and, as he used to do, was very pressing with him, and entreated him to come quickly to his assistance, because the forces he had left were in imminent danger, and would probably, in no long time, be seized upon and cut to pieces: while he himself got up to the highest tower of the fortress Phasaelus, which had been built in honour of Phasaelus, king Herod's brother, and called so, when the Parthians had brought him to his death. So Sabinus gave thence a signal to the Romans to fall upon the Jews: although he did not himself venture so much as to come down to his friends; and thought he might expect that the others should first expose themselves to die, on account of his avarice. However, the Romans ventured to sally out of the place, and a terrible battle ensued; wherein, though the Romans beat their adversaries, yet were not the Jews daunted in their resolutions; even when they had the sight of that terrible slaughter that was made of them; but they went round about, and got upon those cloisters which encompassed the outer court of the temple. There an obstinate fight was still continued: and they cast stones at the Romans, partly with their hands, and partly with slings; as being much used to those exercises. All the archers also in array did the Romans a great deal of mischief; because they used their hands dexterously from a place superior to the others; and because the others were at an utter loss what to do; for when they tried to shoot their arrows against the Jews upwards, these arrows could not reach them. Insomuch that the Jews were too hard for their enemies. This sort of fight lasted a great while: till at last the Romans, who were greatly distressed by what was done, set fire to the cloisters so privately, that those that were gotten upon them did not perceive it. This *fire being fed by a great deal of combustible matter, caught hold immediately on the roof of the cloisters. So the wood, which was full of pitch and wax, and whose gold was laid on it with wax, yielded to the flame presently; and those vast works, which were of the highest value and esteem, were utterly destroyed; while those that were on the roof unexpectly perished at the same time. For as the roof tumbled down, some of these men tumbled down with it; and others of them were killed by their enemies who encompassed them. There was a great number more, who, out of despair of saving their lives, and out of astonishment at the misery that surrounded them, did either cast themselves into the fire, or threw themselves upon their own swords; and so got out of their misery. But as to those that retired behind the same way by which they ascended, and thereby escaped, they were all killed by the Romans, as being unarmed men, and their courage failing them. Their wild fury being not able to help them, because they were destitute of armour; insomuch that of those that went up to the top of the roof, not one escaped. The Romans also rushed through the fire, where it gave them room so to do, and seized on that treasure where the sacred money was deposited; a great part of which was stolen by the soldiers; and Sabinus got openly four hundred talents.

But this calamity of the Jews' friends, who fell in the battle, grieved them; as did also this plundering the money dedicated to God, in the temple. Accordingly that body of them which continued best together, and was the most warlike, encompassed the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, and to kill all that were in it. Yet still they commanded them to go out presently: and promised that if they would do so, they would not hurt them, nor Sabinus neither. At which time the greatest part of the king's troops deserted to them: while Rufus and Gratus, who had three thousand of the most warlike of Herod's army with them, who were men of active bodies, went over to the Romans. There was also a band of horsemen, under the command of Rufus, which also went over to the Romans. However, the Jews went on with the siege; and dug mines under the palace walls; and besought those that were gone over to the other side, not to be their hindrance, now they had such a proper opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty. And Sabinus was desirous of going away with his soldiers: but was not able to trust himself with the enemy, on account of what mischief he had already done them: and he took this pretended lenity of theirs for an argument why he should not comply with them. And, because he expected that Varus was coming, he still bore the siege.

Now at this time there were ten thousand other disorders in Judea, which were like tumults; because a great number put themselves into a warlike posture, either out of hopes of gain to themselves, or out of enmity to the Jews. In particalar two thousand of Herod's old soldiers who had been already disbanded, got together in Judea itself, and fought against the king's troops; although Achiabus, Herod's first cousin, opposed them. But as he was driven out of the plains into the mountainous parts, by the military skill of those men, he

* These great devastations made about the temple here, and Of the War, II. 3, seem not to have been fully repaired to the days of Nero: till whose time there were 18,000 workmen continually employed in rebuilding and repairing that temple: as Josephus informs us, XX. 9. See the note on that place.

kept himself in the fastnesses that were there, and saved what he could.

There was also *Judas, the son of that Ezekias who had been head of the robbers, which Ezekias was a very strong man, and had with great difficulty been caught by Herod. This Judas having gotten together a multitude of men of a profligate character about Sepphoris in Galilee, made an assault upon the palace there, and seized upon all the weapons that were laid up in it, and with them armed every one of those that were with him, and carried away what money was left there; and he became terrible to all men, by tearing and rending those that came near him; and all this in order to raise himself, and out of an ambitious desire of the royal dignity. And he hoped to obtain that as the reward, not of his virtuous skill in war, but of his extravagance in doing injuries.

There was also Simon, who had been a slave of Herod the king's, but in other respects a comely person, of a tall and robust body; he was one that was much superior to others of his order, and had had great things committed to his care. This man was elevated at the disorderly state of things, and was so bold as to put a diadem on his head; while a certain number of the people stood by him, and declared him to be a king; and he thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any one else. He burnt down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it. He also set fire to many other of the king's houses in several parts of the country, and utterly destroyed them; and permitted those that were with him to take what was left in them for a prey. And he would have done greater things, unless care had been taken to repress him immediately. For Gratus, when he had joined himself to some Roman soldiers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon; and after an obstinate fight, no small part of those that came from Perea, who were a disordered body of men, and fought rather in a bold than in a skilful manner, were destroyed. And although Simon had saved himself, by fleeing away through a certain valley, yet Gratus overtook him and cut off his head. The royal palace also at Amathus, by the river Jordan, was burnt down by a party of men that were got together, as were those belonging to Simon. And thus did a wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king to keep the multitude in good order; and because those foreigners, who came to reduce the seditious to sobriety, did, on the contrary, set them more in a flame; because of the injuries they offered them, and the avaricious management of their affairs.

One Athronges also, a person neither eminent by the dignity of his progenitors; nor for any great wealth he was possessed of; but one that had in all respects been a shepherd only, and was not known by any body; yet because he was a tall man, and excelled others in the strength of his hands, was so bold as to set up for king. This man thought it so sweet a thing to do more than ordinary injuries to others, that although he should be killed, he did not much care if he lost his life in so great a design. He had also four brethren, who were tall men themselves, and were believed to be superior to others in the strength of their hands; and thereby were encouraged to aim at great things, and thought that strength of theirs would support them in retaining the kingdom. Each of these ruled over a band of men of their own; for those that joined them were very numerous. They were every one of them also commanders. But when they came to fight, they were subordinate to him, and fought for him. While he put a diadem about his head, and assembled a council to debate about what things should be done; and all things were done according to his pleasure. And this man retained his power a great while: he was also called king; and had nothing to hinder him from doing what he pleased. He also, as well as his brethren, slew a great many both of the Romans, and of the king's forces; and managed matters with the like hatred to each of them. The king's forces they fell upon, because of the licentious conduct they had been allowed under Herod's government; and they fell upon the Romans, because of the injuries they had so lately received from them. But in process of time, they grew more cruel to all sorts of men. Nor could any one escape from one or other of these seditions. Since they slew some out of the hopes of gain; and others from a mere custom of slaying men. They once attacked a company of Romans at Emmaus, who were bringing corn and weapons to the army; and fell upon Arius the centurion, who commanded the company, and shot forty of the best of his foot-soldiers. But the rest of them were affrighted at their slaughter, and left their dead behind, but saved themselves by the means of Gratus; who came with the king's troops that were about him to their assistance. Now these four brethren continued the war a long while, by such sort of expeditions, and harassed the Romans; but did their own nation also a

* Unless this Judas, the son of Ezekias, be the same with that Theudas mentioned, Acts v. 36, Josephus must have omitted him. For that other Theudas, whom he afterwards mentions under Fadus the Roman governor, XX. 5, is much too late to correspond to him that is mentioned in the Acts. The names Theudas, Thaddeus, and Judas, differ but a little. See Archbishop Usher's Annals at A. M. 4001. However, since Josephus does not pretend to reckon up the heads of all those ten thousand disorders in Judea, which he tells us were then abroad, the Theudas of the Acts might be at the head of one of those seditions, though not particularly named by him. Thus he informs us here, and Of the War, II. 4, that certain of the seditious came and burnt the royal palace at Amathus, or Betharamphta, upon the river Jordan. Perhaps their leader, who is not named, might be this Theudas.

great deal of mischief. Yet were they afterwards subdued. One of them in a fight with Gratus; another with Ptolemy. Archelaus also took the eldest of them prisoner; while the last of them was so dejected at the other's misfortune, and saw so plainly that he had no way left to save himself, his army being worn away with sickness and continual labours, that he also delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his promise and oath to preserve his life. But these things came to pass a good while afterward.

And now Judea was full of robberies. And as the several companies of the seditious found any one to head them, he was created a king immediately, in order to do mischief to the public. They were in some small measure indeed, and in small matters, hurtful to the Romans: but the murders they committed upon their own people lasted a long while.

As soon as Varus was informed of the state of Judea, by Sabinus's writing to him, he was afraid for the legion he had left there. So he took the two other legions, (for there were three legions in all belonging to Syria,) and four troops of horsemen; with the several auxiliary forces which either the kings, or certain of the tetrarchs, afforded him; and made what haste he could to assist those that were then besieged in Judea. He also gave order that all that were sent out for this expedition should hasten to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytus gave him one thousand five hundred auxiliaries, as he passed through their city. Aretas also, the king of Arabia Petræ, out of his hatred to Herod, and in order to purchase the favour of the Romans, sent him no small assistance; besides their footmen and horsemen. And when he had collected all his forces together, he committed part of them to his son, and to a friend of his, and sent them upon an expedition into Galilee, which lies in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais. Accordingly, they made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight, and took Sepphoris, and made its inhabitants slaves, and burnt the city. But Varus himself pursued his march for Samaria, with his whole army. Yet did he not meddle with the city of that name, because it had not joined with the seditious; but pitched his camp at a certain village that belonged to Ptolemy, whose name was Arus; which the Arabians burnt, out of their hatred to Herod, and out of the enmity they bore to his friends. Thence they marched to another village, whose name was Sampho; which the Arabians plundered and burnt; although it was a fortified and a strong place. And all along this march nothing escaped them; but all places were full of fire and slaughter. Emmaus was also burnt by Varus's order, after its inhabitants had deserted it; that he might avenge those that had there been destroyed. From thence he marched to Jerusalem: whereupon those Jews whose camp lay there, and who had besieged the Roman legion, not bearing the coming of this army, left the siege imperfect. But as to the Jerusalem Jews, when Varus reproached them bitterly for what had been done, they cleared themselves of the accusation; and alleged that the conflux of the people was occasioned by the feast; that the war was not made with their approbation, but by the rashness of the strangers; while they were on the side of the Romans, and besieged together with them, rather than having any inclination to besiege them. There also came beforehand to meet Varus, Joseph, the cousin german of king Herod; as also Gratus and Rufus; who brought their soldiers along with them; together with those Romans who had been besieged. But Sabinus did not come into Varus's presence, but stole out of the city privately, and went to the sea side.

Upon this, Varus sent a part of his army into the country, to seek out those that had been the authors of the revolt: and when they were discovered, he punished some of them that were most guilty, and some he dismissed. Now the number of those that were crucified on this account were two thousand. After which he disbanded his army, which he found no way useful to him in the affairs he came about. For they behaved themselves very disorderly, and disobeyed his orders, out of regard to that gain which they made by the mischief they did. As for himself, when he was informed that ten thousand Jews were gotten together, he made haste to catch them. But they did not proceed so far as to fight him: but by the advice of Archiabus they came together, and delivered themselves up to him. Hereupon Varus forgave the crime of revolting to the multitude; but sent their several commanders to Cæsar. Many of these Cæsar dismissed: but for the several relations of Herod, who had been among these men in this war, they were the only persons whom he punished; who, without the least regard to justice, had fought against their own kindred.

CHAP. XI.

OF AN AMBASSAGE OF THE JEWS TO CÆSAR; AND THE CONFIRMATION OF HEROD'S TESTAMENT.

WHEN Varus had settled these affairs, and had placed the former legion at Jerusalem, he returned to Antioch. But as for Archelaus, he had new sources of troubles* came upon him at Rome, on the following occasions; for an ambassage of the Jews was come to Rome: Varus having permitted the nation to

* Every station of life is exposed to trouble and danger. Trials, like the waves and billows, which rapidly succeed one another, perpetually accumulate upon man in his present state. B.

send it; that they might petition for the liberty of living by their own laws. Now the number of the ambassadors that were sent by the authority of the nation was fifty, to which they joined above eight thousand of the Jews, that were at Rome already. Hereupon Cæsar assembled his friends, and the chief men among the Romans, in the temple of Apollo, which he had built at a vast charge. Whither the ambassadors came; and a multitude of the Jews that were there already, came with them: as did also Archelaus, and his friends. But as for the several kinsmen which Archelaus had, they would not join themselves with him, out of their hatred to him; and yet they thought it too gross a thing for them to assist the ambassadors against him: as supposing it would be a disgrace to them, in Cæsar's opinion, to think of thus acting, in opposition to a man of their own kindred. Philip also was come hither out of Syria, by the persuasion of Varus, with this principal intention to assist his brother; for Varus was his great friend. But still so that if there should any change happen in the form of government, which Varus suspected there would; and, if any distribution should be made on account of the number that desired the liberty of living by their own laws; that he might not be disappointed, but might have his share in it.

Now upon the liberty that was given to the Jewish ambassadors to speak, they who hoped to obtain a dissolution of the regal government, began to accuse Herod of his iniquities; and declared that he was indeed in name a king, but that he had taken to himself that uncontrolable authority which tyrants exercise over their subjects; and had made use of that authority for the destruction of the Jews; and did not abstain from making many innovations among them, according to his own inclinations. And that whereas there were a great many who perished by that destruction he brought upon them; they that survived were far more miserable than those that suffered under him; not only by the anxiety they were in from his looks and disposition towards them, but from the danger their estates were in of being taken away by him. They said he was continually adorning those cities that lay in their neighbourhood, but were inhabited by foreigners; but so that the cities belonging to his own government, were ruined, and utterly destroyed. That whereas when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourishing condition, he had filled the nation with the utmost degree of poverty. And when, upon unjust pretences, he had slain any of the nobility, he took away their estates; and when he permitted any of them to live, he condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. And besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they were to make liberal presents to himself, to his domestics and friends; and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favour of being his tax-gatherers; because there was no way of obtaining an exemption from unjust violence, without giving either gold or silver for it. That they would say nothing of the corruption of the chastity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for incontinency; and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not a smaller pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed, than it would have been not to have suffered them. That Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put on them, if power had been given him. And that although their nation had passed through many subversions, and alterations of government, their history gave no account of any calamity they had ever been under that could be compared with this, which Herod had brought upon them. That it was for this reason, they thought they might justly salute Archelaus as king; upon the supposition, that whosoever should be set over their kingdom, he would appear more mild to them than Herod had been; and that they joined with him in the mourning for his father, in order to gratify him; and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him. But that he seemed to be afraid least he should not be deemed Herod's own son: and so without any delay, he let the nation understand his meaning; and this before his dominion was well established; since the power of disposing of it belonged to Cæsar, who could ever give it to him or not, as he pleased. That he had given a specimen of his future virtue to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, by his first action which concerned his own citizens, and God himself also; when he made the slaughter of three thousand of his own countrymen at the temple. How then could they avoid the just hatred of him, who, to the rest of his barbarity, had added this, as one of their crimes, that they had opposed and contradicted him in the exercise of his authority? Now the main thing they required was that they might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such presidents as should be sent to them. For that it would thereby be made evident, whether they were really a seditious people, and generally fond of innovations; or whether they would live in an orderly manner, if they might have governors of any moderation set over them.

Now when the Jews had said this, Nicolaus vindicated the king from those accusations, and said, that as for Herod, since he had never been thus *accused all the time of his life, it was not fit for those that might have accused him for lesser crimes than those now men-

* This assertion is not true. See XIV. 9, XV. 3, and XVI. 9.

tioned, and might have procured him to be punished, during his life time, to bring an accusation against him now he was dead. He also attributed the actions of Archelaus to the Jews' injuries to him: who, affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going about to kill those that would have hindered them from acting unjustly, when they were by him punished for what they had done, made their complaints against him. So he accused them of their attempts for innovation; and of the pleasure they took in sedition; by reason of their not having learned to submit to justice, and to the laws; but still desiring to be superior in all things.

When Cæsar had heard these pleadings, he dissolved the assembly; but a few days afterward he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country; but ethnarch of the one half of that which had been subject to Herod; and promised to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. But as for the other half, he divided it into two parts; and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, Philip and Antipas: that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now it was that Perea and Galilee paid their tribute, which *amounted annually to two hundred talents: while Batanea, with Trachonitis, as well as Auranitis, with a †certain part of what was called the ‡house of Zenodorus, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip. But Idumea and Judea, and the country of Samaria, paid tribute to Archelaus; but had now a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Cæsar, who decreed them that mitigation, because they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the multitude. There were also certain of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus; Strato's tower and Sebaste, with Joppa and Jerusalem. For as to Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos, they were Grecian cities; which Cæsar separated from his government, and added to the province of Syria. Now the tribute money that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions amounted to six hundred talents.

And so much came to Herod's sons from their father's inheritance. But Salome, besides what her brother left her by his will, which were Jamnia, Ashdod, and Phasaelis, and five hundred thousand drachmæ of coined silver, received from Cæsar a present of a royal habitation at Ascalon. In all, her annual revenues amounted to sixty talents; and her dwelling-house was within Archelaus's government. The rest also of the king's relations received what his will allotted them. Moreover Cæsar made a present to each of Herod's two virgin daughters, besides what their father left them, of two hundred and fifty thousand drachmæ of silver, and married them to Pheroras's sons. He also granted all that was bequeathed to himself to the king's sons, which was one thousand five hundred talents; excepting a few of the vessels, which he reserved not so much for their great value, as because they were memorials of the deceased king.

CHAP. XII.

CONCERNING A SPURIOUS ALEXANDER.

WHEN these affairs had been settled§ by Cæsar, a certain young man, by birth a Jew, but brought up by a Roman freedman in the city Sidon, engrafted himself into the kindred of Herod by the resemblance of his countenance; which those that saw him attested to be that of Alexander, the son of Herod, whom he had slain. And this was an incitement to him to endeavour to obtain the government. So he took to him, as an assistant, a man of his own country, (one that was well acquainted with the affairs of the palace; but on other accounts an ill man; and one whose nature made him capable of causing great disturbances to the public; and one that became a teacher of such a mischievous contrivance to the other,) and declared himself to be Alexander, and the son of Herod; but stolen away by one of those that were sent to slay

* Since Josephus here informs us, that Archelaus had one half the kingdom of Herod, and presently informs us farther, that Archelaus's annual income, after an abatement of one quarter for the present, was 600 talents: we may thence gather pretty nearly, what was the yearly income of Herod the great: I mean about 1600 talents: which, at the known value of 3000 shekels to a talent, and about 2s. 10d. to a shekel in the days of Josephus, see the Note on III. 8, amounts to 680,000*l.* sterling per annum. Which income, though great in itself, bearing no proportion to his vast expenses every where visible in Josephus, and to the vast sums he left behind him in his will, chap. 8, and 11, the rest must have arisen, either from his confiscation of those great men's estates whom he put to death, or made to fine for the saving of their lives; or from some other heavy methods of oppression, which such savage tyrants usually exercise upon their miserable subjects: or rather from these several methods put together: all which yet seem much too small for his expenses; being drawn from no larger nation than that of the Jews, which was very populous, but without the advantage of trade, to bring them riches. So that I cannot but strongly suspect that no small part of this wealth arose from another source, I mean from some vast sums he took out of David's sepulchre, but concealed from the people. See the note on VII. 15.

† Take here a very useful note of Grotius's, on Luc. III. 1, here quoted by Dr. Hudson. "When Josephus says, that some part of the house or possession of Zenodorus's (i. e. Abilene) was allotted to Philip: he thereby declares that the larger part of it belonged to another. This other was Lysanias; whom Luke mentions; of the posterity of that Lysanias who was possessed of the same country called Abilene from the city Abila; and by others Chalcidene, from the city Chalcis: when the government of the east was under Antonias; and this after Ptolemy, the son of Menneus; from which Lysanias this country came to be commonly called, the country of Lysanias. And as after the death of the former Lysanias, it was called the tetrarchy of Zenodorus; so after the death of Zenodorus, or when the time for which he hired it was ended, when another Lysanias, of the same name with the former, was possessed of the same country, it began to be called again the tetrarchy of Lysanias. However, since Josephus elsewhere, XX. 7, clearly distinguishes Abilene from Chalcidene, Grotius must be here so far mistaken.

‡ Tetrarchy.

§ An. 2.

him: who in reality slew other men in order to deceive the spectators, but saved both him and his brother Aristobulus. Thus was this man elated, and able to impose on those that came to him. And when he was come to Crete, he made all the Jews that came to discourse with him to believe him to be Alexander.

And when he had gotten much money, which had been presented to him there, he passed over to Melos. There he got much more money than he had before; out of the belief they had, that he was of the royal family, and their hopes that he would recover his father's principality, and reward his benefactors. So he hastened to Rome; and was conducted thither by those strangers who entertained him. He was also so fortunate, as upon his landing at *Dicearchia, to bring the Jews that were there into the same delusion. And not only other people, but also those that had been friendly with Herod, or had a kindness for him, joined themselves to this man as to their king. The cause of it was, that men were glad of his pretences; which were seconded by the likeness of his countenance: which made those that had been acquainted with Alexander strongly believe that he was the very same person: and this they confirmed to others by oath. Insomuch that when the report went about that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews that were there went out to meet him: ascribing it to Divine Providence that he had so unexpectedly escaped; and being very joyful on account of his mother's family. And when he was come, he was carried in a royal litter through the streets; and all the ornaments about him were such as kings were adorned withal: and this was at the expense of those that entertained him. The multitude also flocked about him greatly, and made mighty acclamations to him: and nothing was omitted which could be thought suitable to one who had been so unexpectedly preserved.

When this thing was told Cæsar, he did not believe it: because Herod was not easily to be imposed upon in such affairs as were of great concern to him. Yet having some suspicion it might be so, he sent one Caledus, a freedman of his, and one that had conversed with the †young men themselves; and bade him bring Alexander into his presence. So he brought him, being no more accurate in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. Yet did not he deceive Cæsar. For although there were a resemblance between him and Alexander; yet was it not so exact, as to impose on such as were prudent, in discerning. For this spurious Alexander had his hands rough, by the labours he had been put to: and instead of that softness of body which the other had, and this as derived from his delicate and generous education; this man, for the contrary reason, had a rugged body. When, therefore, Cæsar saw how the master and the scholar agreed in this lying story, and in a bold way of talking: he inquired about Aristobulus, and asked what became of him, who was said to have been stolen away together with him: and for what reason it was that he did not come along with him, and endeavour to recover that dominion which was due to his high birth also? And when he said, that he had been left in the isle of Crete, for fear of the dangers of the sea; that in case any accident should come to himself, the posterity of Mariamne might not utterly perish, but that Aristobulus might survive, and punish those that laid such treacherous designs against them. And when he persevered in his affirmations, and the author of the imposture agreed in supporting it, Cæsar took the young man by himself, and said to him, "If thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt escape with thy life. Tell me then, who thou art? and who it was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat as this? For this contrivance is too considerable a piece of villany to be undertaken by one of thy age." Accordingly, because he had no other way to take, he told Cæsar the contrivance, and after what manner, and by whom it was planned. So Cæsar, upon observing the spurious Alexander to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promise to him, put him among those that were to row among the mariners: but slew him that induced him to do what he had done. For as for the people of Melos, he thought them sufficiently punished, in having thrown away so much of their money upon this spurious Alexander. And such was the ignominious conclusion of this bold contrivance.

CHAP. XIII.

OF A SECOND ACCUSATION AGAINST ARCHELAUS; AND HIS BANISHMENT TO VIENNA.

WHEN Archelaus entered on his ethnarchy, and was come into Judea,‡ he accused Joazar, the son of Boethus, of assisting the seditious; and took away the high-priesthood from him, and put Eleazar his brother in his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and he diverted half the water, with which the village of Neara used to be watered; and drew off that water into the plain, to water those palm-trees which he had there planted. He also built a village, and put his own name upon it, and called it Archelaus. Moreover he §trans-

* Puteoli.
† Alexander and Aristobulus.
‡ A. D. 1.

§ Spanheim seasonably observes here, that it was forbidden the Jews to marry their brother's wife, when she had children by her first husband: and that Zonaras cites or interprets the clause before us accordingly.

gressed the law of our fathers, and married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus; who had been wife of his brother Alexander; which Alexander had children by her; while it was a thing detestable among the Jews, to marry the brother's wife. Nor did this Eleazar abide long in the high-priesthood. Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room, while he was still living.

But on the tenth year* of Archelaus's government, both his brethren, and the principal men of Judea and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage; accused him before Cæsar; and that especially because they knew he had broken those commands which obliged him to behave himself with moderation. Hereupon Cæsar was very angry; and called for Archelaus's steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome; and thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaus, he bade him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to Rome. So the man made haste in his voyage; and when he came to Judea, he found Archelaus feasting with his friends. So he told him his errand, and hastened him away. And when he was come to Rome, Cæsar, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had to say, and what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienna a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

Now before Archelaus was gone up to Rome upon this message, he related this dream to his friends: that he saw ten ears of corn, full of wheat, perfectly ripe: which ears, as it seemed to him, were devoured by oxen. And when he was awake and gotten up, because the vision appeared to be of great importance to him, he sent for the diviners; whose study was employed about dreams. And while some were of one opinion, and some of another; (for all their interpretations did not agree,) Simon, a man of the sect of the Essenes, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said, that the visions denoted a change in the affairs of Archelaus, and then not for the better: that oxen, because that animal takes uneasy pains in his labours, denoted afflictions: and indeed denoted farther, a change of affairs; because that land which is ploughed by oxen cannot remain in its former state. And that the ears of corn being ten, determined the like number of years; because an ear of corn grows in one year: and that the time of Archelaus's government was over. And thus did this man expound the dream. Now on the fifth day after this dream came first to Archelaus, his steward arrived to summon him before Cæsar.

The like accident befell Glaphyra, his wife, who was the daughter of king Archelaus, who, as I said before, was married, while she was a virgin, to Alexander the son of Herod, and brother of Archelaus. But since it happened that Alexander was slain by his father, she married Juba, the king of Libya; and when he was dead, and she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, Archelaus divorced his former wife Mariamne, and married her; so great was his affection for this Glaphyra; who during her marriage to him saw the following dream. She thought she saw Alexander standing by her; at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection; but he complained of her, and said, "O Glaphyra! thou provest that saying to be true, which assures us, that women are not to be trusted. Didst not thou pledge thy faith to me? and wast not thou married to me, when thou wast a virgin? and had we not children between us? Yet hast thou forgotten my affection out of a desire of a second husband. Nor hast thou been satisfied with that injury thou didst me, but thou hast been so bold as to procure thee a third husband, and in an indecent and impudent manner hast entered into my house, and hast been married to Archelaus, my brother. However, I will not forget thy former kind affection for me; but will set thee free from every such reproachful action; and cause thee to be mine again as thou once wast." When she had related this to her female companions, in a few days' time she departed this life.

Now I did not think these histories improper for the present discourse: both because my discourse now is concerning kings; and otherwise also on account of the advantage hence to be drawn, as well for the confirmation of the immortality of the soul, as of the providence of God over human affairs. But if any one do not believe such relations, let him enjoy his own opinion: but let him not hinder another, that would thereby encourage himself in virtue. So Archelaus's country, was added to the province of Syria: and Cyrenius, one that had been consul, was sent by Cæsar to take an account of the people's effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.

* A. D. 7.

BOOK XVIII.

Containing an Interval of Thirty-Two Years.

FROM THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS, TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON.

CHAP. I.

OF THE TAXATION OF SYRIA AND JUDEA; AND THE APPOINTMENT OF COPONIUS TO BE PROCURATOR OF JUDEA. ALSO CONCERNING JUDAS OF GALILEE; AND THE SECTS THAT WERE AMONG THE JEWS.

NOW Cyrenius, a Roman senator, who had gone through other magistracies, till he had been made consul, and who, on other accounts, was of great dignity, came at this time into Syria, with a few others; being sent by Cæsar to be a judge of that nation, and to take an account of their substance. Coponius also, a man of the equestrian order, was sent together with him; to have the supreme power over the Jews. Moreover Cyrenius came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus's money. But the Jews, although at the beginning they took the report of a taxation heinously; yet did they leave off any farther opposition to it, by the persuasion of Joazar, who was the son of Boethus, and high-priest. So being over-persuaded by Joazar's words, they gave an account of their estates, without any dispute. Yet was there one *Judas, a Gaulonite, of the city Gamala; who taking with him †Saddouk, a Pharisee, became zealous to draw them to a revolt: who both said that this taxation was no better than an introduction to slavery; and exhorted the nation to assert their liberty. As if they could procure them happiness and security for what they possessed, and an assured enjoyment of a still greater good; which was that of the honour and glory they would thereby acquire for magnanimity. They also said that God would not otherwise be assisting to them, than upon their joining with one another in such counsels as might be successful, and for their own advantage: and this especially if they would set about great exploits; and not grow weary in executing the same. So men received what they said with pleasure: and this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men; and the nation was infected with this doctrine to an incredible degree. One violent war came upon us after another; and we lost our friends, who used to alleviate our pains: there were also very great robberies, and murders of our principal men. This was done, in pretence indeed,

* Since St. Luke once, Acts v. 37, and Josephus four several times, calls this Judas, who was the author of that seditious doctrine and temper which brought the Jewish nation to utter destruction, a Galilean: but here, Josephus calls him a Gaulonite, of the city of Gamala; it is a great question where he was born: whether in Galilee on the west side, or in Gaulonitis on the east side of the river Jordan. While, in Book XX. chap. 5, he is not only called a Galilean, but it is added to his story, "As I have signified in the books that go before these;" as if he had still called him a Galilean in those Antiquities before, as well as in that particular place; as Dean Aldrich observes, Of the War, II. 8. Nor can one well imagine why he should here call him a Gaulonite, when he afterwards calls him a Galilean. As for the city of Gamala, whence this Judas was derived, it determines nothing; since there were two of that name; the one in Gaulonitis, the other in Galilee. See Reland, on the city or town of that name.

† It seems not very improbable to me, that this Saddouk, the Pharisee, was the same man of whom the Rabbins speak, as the unhappy, but undesigning occasion of the impiety or infidelity of the Sadducees. Nor perhaps had the men this name of Sadducees till this very time; though they were a distinct sect long before. See the note on XIII. 10, and Dean Prideaux as there quoted. Nor do we, that I know of, find the least footsteps of such impiety or infidelity of these Sadducees before this time.

for the public welfare; but in reality, from the hopes of gain to themselves. Hence arose seditions, and from them murders of men; which sometimes fell on those of their own people; (by the madness of these men towards one another; while their desire was, that none of the adverse party might be left;) and sometimes on their enemies. A famine also coming upon us, reduced us to the last degree of despair: as did also the taking and demolishing of cities. Nay, the sedition at last increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by the enemies' fire. Such were the consequences of this, that the customs of our fathers were altered, and such a change was made, as added a mighty weight towards bringing all the destruction, which these men occasioned by their thus conspiring together. For Judas and Sadducus, who excited a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our civil government with tumults, and laid the foundations of future miseries, by this system of philosophy, which we before were unacquainted with. Concerning which I will discourse a little: and this the rather, because the infection which spread thence among the younger sort, who were zealous for it, brought the public to destruction.

The Jews, for a great while, had three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves. The sect of the Essenes, the sect of the Sadducees, and that of the Pharisees. Of which sects, although I have already spoken in the second book of the Jewish War; yet will I a little touch upon them now.

Now the Pharisees live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet; and they followed the conduct of reason; and what that prescribes to them as good for them to do. They also pay a respect to such as are in years: nor are they so bold as to contradict them in any thing which they have introduced. And when they determine that all things are done by *fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit: since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a temperament; whereby what he wills is done; but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them: and that under the earth there will be rewards, or punishments; according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life: and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison; but that the former shall have power to revive and live again. On account of which doctrines they are able to persuade the body of the people: and whatsoever they do about divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform according to their direction. Insomuch, that the cities give great attestations to them, on account of their virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives, and their discourses.

But the doctrine of the Sadducees is, that souls die with the bodies. Nor do they regard the observances of any thing besides what the law enjoins them. For they think it an instance of virtue to dispute with those teachers of philosophy whom they frequent. But this doctrine is received but by a few; yet by those still of the greatest dignity. But they are able to do almost nothing of themselves. For when they become magistrates, as they are unwillingly and by force sometimes obliged to be, they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them.

The doctrine of the Essenes is this; that all things are best ascribed to God. They teach the immortality of souls;† and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for. And when they‡ send what they have dedicated to God unto the temple, they do not offer sacrifices: because they have more pure lustrations of their own. On which account they are excluded from the common court of the temple: but offer their sacrifices themselves. Yet is their course of life better than that of other men: and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness: and indeed to such a degree, that as it has never appeared among many other men, either Greeks or Barbarians, even for a little time, it has endured for a long time among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common: so that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he who has nothing. There are about four thousand men that live in this way: and neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants: as thinking the latter tempts men to be unjust; and the former gives a handle to domestic quarrels. But as they live by themselves, they minister one to another. They also appointed certain stewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruits of the ground; such as are good men, and priests; who are to get their corn and their food ready for them. They none of them differ from others of the Essenes in

* Or, Providence.

†This important doctrine never was or could be positively asserted, but under the sanction of revelation. All doubt and uncertainty respecting it is now removed, because life and immortality are brought to light by the Gospel. B.

‡ It seems, by what Josephus says here, and Philo himself elsewhere, Op. p. 676, that these Essenes did not use to go up to the Jewish festivals at Jerusalem; or to offer sacrifices there. Which may be one great occasion why they are never mentioned in the ordinary books of the New Testament: though in the Apostolical Constitutions they are mentioned; as those that observed the customs of their forefathers, VI. 6, and that without any such ill character, as is there laid upon the other sects among that people.

their way of living: but do the most resemble those Dacæ, who are called Polistæ,* or dwellers in cities.

But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty; and say that God is to be their only ruler and lord. They also do not value dying any kind of death; nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends; nor can any such fear make them call any man lord. And since this immoveable resolution is well known to a great many, I shall speak no farther about that matter. Nor am I afraid that any thing I have said of them should be disbelieved: but rather fear that what I have said is beneath the resolution they shew when they undergo pain. And it was in Gessius Florus's time that the nation began to go mad with this distemper; who was our procurator; and who occasioned the Jews to go wild with it, by the abuse of his authority; and to make them revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of the Jewish philosophy.

CHAP. II.

OF THE ERECTION OF SEVERAL CITIES IN HONOUR OF CÆSAR; THE SUCCESSION OF PRIESTS AND PROCURATORS; AND THE AFFAIRS OF PHRAATES, AND THE PARTHIANS.

WHEN Cyrenius had disposed of Archelaus's money; and when the taxings were come to a conclusion, which were made in the †thirty-seventh of Cæsar's victory over Antony at Actium; he deprived Joazar of the high-priesthood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude; and appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high-priest. Herod and Philip, in the mean time, had each of them received their own tetrarchy, and settled the affairs thereof. Herod also built a wall about Sepphoris, which is the security of all Galilee, and made it the metropolis of the country. He also built a wall round Betharamphtha, which was itself a city also; and called it Julias, from the name of the emperor's wife. When Philip also had built Paneas, a city at the fountains of Jordan, he named it Cæsarea. He also advanced the village Bethsaida, situate at the lake Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur: and called it by the name of Julias, in honour of Cæsar's daughter.

Now as Coponius, who was sent along with Cyrenius, was exercising his office of procurator, and governing Judea, the following accidents happened. As the Jews were celebrating the feast of unleavened bread, which we call the Passover, it was customary for the priests to open the temple gates just after midnight. When, therefore, those gates were first opened, some of the Samaritans came privately into Jerusalem, and threw about dead men's bones in the cloisters. On which account the Jews afterward excluded them out of the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals: and on other accounts, also, they watched the temple more carefully than they had formerly done. A little after this accident, Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his successor in that government. Under whom Salome, the sister of king Herod, died; and left to Julia (Cæsar's wife) Jamnia, all its toparchy, and Phasaelis in the plain, and Archelais; where is a great plantation of palm-trees; and their fruit is excellent in its kind. After him came Annius Rufus. Under whom died Cæsar, the second emperor of the Romans: the duration of whose reign was fifty-seven years,‡ six months, and two days, of which time Antonius ruled together with him fourteen years: but the duration of his life was seventy-seven years. Upon his death, Tiberius Nero, his wife Julia's son, succeeded. He was now the third emperor; and he sent Valerius Gratus to be procurator of Judea, and to succeed Annius Rufus. This man deprived Ananus of the high-priesthood; and appointed Ismael, the son of Phabi, to be high-priest. He also deprived him in a little time, and ordained Eleazar, the son of Ananus, who had been high-priest before. But when he had held the sacerdotal office for a year, Gratus deprived him of it, and gave it to Simon, the son of Camithus. And when he had possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Caiaphas was made his successor. When Gratus had done these things, he went back to Rome, after he had tarried in Judea eleven years: when Pontius Pilate came as his successor.

And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberius. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emmaus. Strangers came and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also:

* Who these Πολιται in Josephus, or Κτιται in Strabo, among the Pythagoric Dacæ were, it is not easy to determine. Scaliger offers no improbable conjecture, that some of these Dacæ lived alone, like monks, in tents, or caves: but that others of them lived together in built cities; and thence were called by such names as implied the same.

† Harduin finds fault with Josephus, for saying the taxation under Cyrenius fell out in the 37th year after the Actiac victory, but without any just occasion in the world. That battle is known to have been fought between Augustus and Mark Antony in the beginning of September, in the 31st year before the Christian era. To which add 36 years to the beginning of September, A. D. 6. In the next year to which naturally falls the banishment of Archelaus, and the taxation under Cyrenius, to the 37th year of the Actiac victory, A. D. 7. See Authentic Records, part II. page 1103, 1104.

‡ These fifty-seven years are from Julius Cæsar's death.

and many were necessitated by Herod to come thither out of the country belonging to him; and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants. Some of them were persons of condition. He also admitted poor people; and those such as were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite freemen. And these he was a benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to forsake the city, by building them very good houses at his own expense, and by giving them land also. For he was sensible that to make this place a habitation was to transgress the Jewish ancient laws: because many sepulchres were to be here taken away, in order to make room for the city Tiberius. Whereas our laws pronounce that such inhabitants are unclean* for seven days.†

About this time died Phraates, king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraataces, his son, upon the following occasion. When Phraates had had legitimate sons of his own, he had also an Italian maid-servant, whose name was Thermusa; who had been formerly sent to him by Julius Cæsar, among other presents. He first made her his concubine: but being a great admirer of her beauty, and in process of time having a son by her, whose name was Phraataces, he made her his legitimate wife, and had a great respect for her. Now she was able to persuade him to do any thing that she said; and was earnest in procuring the government of Parthia for her son. But still she saw that her endeavours would not succeed, unless she could contrive how to remove Phraates's legitimate sons out of the kingdom. So she persuaded him to send those his sons, as pledges of his fidelity, to Rome: and they were sent to Rome accordingly; because it was not easy for him to contradict her commands. Now while Phraataces was alone brought up in order to succeed in the government, he thought it very tedious to expect that government by his father's donation as his successor. He therefore formed a treacherous design against his father, by his mother's assistance; with whom, as the report went, he had criminal conversation. So he was hated for both these vices; while his subjects esteemed his wicked love of his mother to be no way inferior to his parricide: and he was by them in a sedition expelled out of the country, before he grew too great, and died. But as the best sort of the Parthians agreed, that it was impossible they should be governed without a king; while it was also their constant practice to choose one of the family of Arsaces; (nor did their law allow of any others; and they thought this kingdom had been sufficiently injured already by the marriage with an Italian concubine, and by her issue;) they sent ambassadors, and called Orodes to take the crown: for the multitude would not otherwise have borne them; and though he was accused of very great cruelty, and was of an untractable temper, and prone to wrath, yet still he was one of the family of Arsaces. However, they made a conspiracy against him, and slew him; and that, as some say, at a festival,‡ and among their sacrifices; for it is the custom there to carry their swords with them. But, as the more general report is, they slew him when they had drawn him out a hunting. So they sent ambassadors to Rome, and desired they would send one of those that were there as pledges, to be their king. Accordingly Vonones was preferred before the rest, and sent to them: for he seemed capable of such great fortune, which two of the greatest kingdoms under the sun now offered him; his own, and a foreign one. However, the Barbarians soon changed their minds, they being naturally of a mutable disposition; upon the supposition, that this man was not worthy to be their governor. For they could not think of obeying the commands of one that had been a slave; for so they called those that had been hostages; nor could they bear the ignominy of that name: and this was the more intolerable, because then the Parthians must have such a king set over them, not by right of war, but in time of peace. So they presently invited Artabanus, king of Media, to be their king; he being also of the race of Arsaces. Artabanus complied with the offer that was made him, and came to them with an army. So Vonones met him, and at first the multitude of the Parthians stood on his side, and he put his army in array; but Artabanus was beaten, and fled to the mountains of Media. Yet did he a little after gather a great army together, and fought with Vonones, and beat him. Whereupon Vonones fled away on horseback, with a few of his attendants about him, to Seleucia. So when Artabanus had slain a great number, and this after he had gotten the victory, by reason of the great dismay the Barbarians were in, he retired to Ctesiphon, with a great number of his people: and he now reigned over the Parthians. But Vonones fled away to Armenia: and as soon as he came thither he had an inclination to have the government of the country given him; and sent ambassadors to Rome for that purpose. But because Tiberius refused it him, and because he wanted

* Numbers xix. 11—14.

† We may here take notice, as well as in the parallel parts of the books Of the War, II. 9, that after the death of Herod the Great, and the succession of Archelaus, Josephus is very brief in his accounts of Judea; till near his own time. I suppose the reason is, that after the large history of Nicolaus of Damascus, including the life of Herod, and probably the succession and first actions of his sons, he had but few good histories of those times before him.

‡ Treachery is usually the companion of cruelty. The most perfidious conduct has often been displayed on such occasions as these. Men being then off their guard, and perhaps least able to defend themselves, fall an easy prey to their betrayers. B.

courage, and because the Parthian king threatened him, and sent ambassadors to denounce war against him if he proceeded: and because he had no way to regain any other kingdom; (for the people of authority among the Armenians about Niphates joined themselves to Artabanus:) he delivered up himself to Silanus the president of Syria: who out of regard to his education at Rome, kept him in Syria; while Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

At this time died Antiochus, king of Commagene: whereupon the multitude contended with the nobility; and both sent ambassadors to Rome. For the men of power were desirous that their government might be changed into the form of a Roman province: while the multitude were desirous to be under kings, as their fathers had been. So the senate made a decree, that Germanicus should be sent to settle the affairs of the East; fortune hereby taking a proper opportunity for depriving him of his life. For when he had been in the East, and settled all affairs there, his life was taken away by a poison which Piso gave him.

CHAP. III.

OF A SEDITION OF THE JEWS AGAINST PONTIUS PILATE; REMARKS CONCERNING CHRIST; AND WHAT BEFELL PAULINA AND THE JEWS AT ROME.

BUT now* Pilate, the procurator of Judea, removed the army from Cæsarea, to Jerusalem, to take their winter-quarters there, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Cæsar's images, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city: whereas our law forbids us the very making of images. On which account the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there: which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night time. But as soon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Cæsarea, and interceded with Pilate many days, that he would remove the images. And when he would not grant their request, because this would tend to the injury of Cæsar; while yet they persevered in it: on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and sat upon the judgment-seat, which seat was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to oppress them. And when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them round; and threatened that their punishment should be no less than immediate death, unless they would leave off disturbing him, and go to their respective homes. But they threw themselves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take their death very willingly, rather than the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed. Upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their firm resolution to keep their laws inviolable: and commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.

Pilate now† undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem; and did it with the sacred money: and derived the origin of the stream from the distance of two hundred furlongs. However, the ‡Jews were not pleased with what had been done about this water; and many thousands of the people got together, and made a clamour against him, and insisted that he should leave off that design. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused the man; as crowds of such people usually do. So he disguised a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround them. He then bade the Jews go away; but they boldly casting reproaches upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which had been previously agreed on. Accordingly, they laid upon them much greater blows than Pilate had commanded: and equally punished those that were tumultuous, and those that were not; nor did they spare them in the least. And since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, a great number of them were slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded. And thus an end was put to this sedition.

---

* A. D. 27.

† A. D. 28.

‡ These Jews, as they are here called, whose blood Pilate shed on this occasion, may very well be those Galilean Jews, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices; Luke xiii. 1, 2. These tumults being usually excited at some of the great festivals, when they slew abundance of sacrifices; and the Galileans being commonly more busy in such tumults than those of Judea and Jerusalem; as we learn from the history of Archelaus, XVII. 9, and chap. 10. Though, indeed, Josephus's present copies say not one word of those eighteen, upon which the tower of Siloam fell and slew them, which the fourth verse of the same thirteenth chapter of St. Luke informs us of. But since our Gospel teaches us, Luke xxiii. 6, 7, that when Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether Jesus were a Galilean? And as soon as he knew that he belonged to Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod. And verse 12. The same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together; for before they had been at enmity between themselves. Take the very probable key of this matter in the words of the learned Noldius, De Herod, No. 249, "The cause of the enmity between Herod and Pilate," says he, "seems to have been, that Pilate had intermeddled with the tetrarch's jurisdiction, and had slain some of his Galilean subjects; Luke xiii. 1. And as he was willing to correct that error, he sent Christ to Herod at this time."

N. B. Whereas Ottius, in his annotations upon Josephus, printed in Havercamp's second volume, page 305—323, all along supposes that Josephus had read our books of the New Testament, when he wrote his known works; and that he gives many, though obscure intimations thereof; this no way appears to me, upon the perusal of his observations, to be true. He indeed, as then an Ebionite, must have read and believed the Nazarene Gospel, but not the books of our New Testament.

Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man; if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him* to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him: for he appeared to them alive again, the †third day: as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, is not extinct at this day.

About the same time‡ also another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder; and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Isis that was at Rome. I will now first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Isis; and will then give an account of the Jewish affairs. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paulina; one who on account of the dignity of her ancestors, and by the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation. She was also very rich. And although she was of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of age wherein women are the most gay, yet did she lead a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus; one that was every way answerable to her in an excellent character. Decius Mundus, a man very high in the equestrian order, fell in love with this woman: and as she was of too great dignity to be seduced by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love to her: insomuch that he promised to give her two hundred thousand Attic drachmæ for one night's lodging. And when this would not prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this misfortune in his amours, he resolved to famish himself to death, for want of food, on account of Paulina's refusal: and he went on with his purpose accordingly. Now Mundus had a freedwoman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide; one skilful in all sorts of mischief. This woman was much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself; (for he did not conceal his intentions to destroy himself from others;) and came to him, and encouraged him by her discourse, and made him to hope, by some promises she gave him, that he might obtain a night's lodging with Paulina. And when he joyfully hearkened to her, she said, she wanted no more than fifty thousand drachmæ for entrapping of the woman. So when she had encouraged the young man, and gotten as much money as she required, she did not take the same methods as had been taken before: because she perceived that the woman was by no means to be tempted by money. But as she knew that she was much devoted to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem: She went to some of Isis's priests, and upon the strongest assurances of concealment, she persuaded them by words, but chiefly by the offer of twenty-five thousand drachmæ in hand, and as much more when the thing had taken effect: and told them the passion of the young man: and persuaded them to use all possible means to beguile the woman. So they were drawn in to promise so to do, by that large sum of gold they were to have. Accordingly the eldest of them went immediately to Paulina; and upon his admittance, he desired to speak with her by herself. When that was granted him, he told her that he was sent by the god Anubis, who was fallen in love with her, and enjoined her to come to him. Upon this she took the message very kindly; and valued herself greatly upon this condescension of the deity; and told her husband, that she had a message sent her, and was to sup and to lie with Anubis. So he agreed to her acceptance of the offer, as fully satisfied with the chastity of his wife. Accordingly she went to the temple: and after she had supped there, and it was the hour to go to sleep, the priest shut the doors of the temple; when in the holy part of it, the lights were also put out. Then did Mundus leap out; and she was at his service all the night, as supposing he was the god. And when he was gone away, which was before those priests who knew nothing of this stratagem were stirring, Paulina came early to her husband, and told him how Anubis had appeared to her. Among her friends also she declared how great a value she put upon this favour. They partly disbelieved the thing, when they reflected on its nature; and partly were amazed at it, as having no pretence for not believing it, when they considered the modesty and the dignity of the person. But on the third day after what had been done, Mundus met Paulina, and said, "Nay, Paulina, thou hast saved me two hundred thousand drachmæ; which sum thou mightest have added to thy own family. Yet hast thou not failed to be at my service in the manner I invited thee. As for the reproaches thou hast laid upon Mundus, I value not the business of names; but I rejoice in the pleasure I reaped by what I did, while I assumed the name of Anubis." When he had said this, he went his way. But now she began to come to the sense of the grossness of what she had done: and rent her garments, and told her husband of the horrid nature of the contrivance, and prayed him not to neglect to assist her in this case. So he discovered the fact to the emperor. Whereupon Tiberius inquired into the matter thorough-

* April 3, A. D. 33. † April 5. ‡ A. D. 33.

Butterworth, Lizars &c.

ly, by examining the priests about it: and ordered them to be crucified; as well as Ide, who was the occasion of their perdition, and who had contrived the whole matter, which was so injurious to the woman. He also demolished the temple of Isis; and gave order that her satue should be thrown into the river Tiber. But he only banished Mundus; because he supposed that what crime he had committed was done out of the passion of love. These were the circumstances which concerned the temple of Isis, and the injuries occasioned by her priests. I now return to the relation of what happened about this time to the Jews at Rome.

There was a man who was a Jew, but had been driven away from his own country by an accusation laid against him for transgressing their laws, and by the fear he was under of punishment for the same; but in all respects a wicked man. He then living at Rome, professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the laws of Moses.* He procured also three other men, entirely of the same character with himself, to be his partners. These men persuaded Fulvia, a woman of great dignity, and one that had embraced the Jewish religion, to send purple and gold to the temple at Jerusalem. And when they had gotten them, they employed them for their own uses, and spent the money themselves: on which account it was that they at first required it of her. Hereupon Tiberius, who had been informed of the thing by Saturninus, the husband of Fulvia, who desired inquiry might be made about it; ordered all the Jews to be banished out of Rome. At which time the consuls enlisted four thousand men out of them, and sent them to the island Sardinia; but punished a greater number, who were unwilling to become soldiers; on account of †keeping the laws of their forefathers. Thus were these Jews banished out of the city by the wickedness of four men.

CHAP. IV.

OF A TUMULT MADE BY THE SAMARITANS; THE ACCUSATIONS LAID AGAINST PILATE; AND WHAT THINGS WERE DONE BY VITELLIUS RELATING TO THE JEWS, AND THE PARTHIANS.

BUT the nation of the Samaritans did not escape without tumults. The man who excited them to it was one who thought lying a thing of little consequence; and who contrived every thing so, that the multitude might be pleased. So he bade them to get together upon mount Gerizzim; which is by them considered as the most holy of all mountains; and assured them, that when they were come thither, he would shew them those sacred vessels which were laid under that place; because ‡Moses put them there. So they came thither armed, and thought the discourse of the man probable. And as they abode at a certain village, which was called Tirathaba, they got the rest together to them, and desired to go up the mountain in a great multitude. But Pilate prevented their going up, by seizing upon the roads, with a great band of horsemen and footmen; who fell upon those that were gotten together in the village; and when it came to an action, some of them they slew, and others they put to flight, and took a great many alive; the principal of which, and also the most potent of those that fled away, Pilate ordered to be slain.

When this tumult was appeased, the Samaritans sent an ambassy to Vitellius; a man that had been consul, and who was now president of Syria; and accused Pilate of the murder of those that were killed: for that they did not go to Tirathaba in order to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate. So Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to take care of the affairs of Judea; and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to answer before the emperor to the accusations of the Samaritans. So Pilate, when he had tarried ten years in Judea, hastened to Rome: and this in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict. But before he could get to Rome, Tiberius was dead.§

But Vitellius came into Judea, and went up to Jerusalem. It was at the time of that festival, which is called the passover. Vitellius was there magnificently received, and released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the fruits that were bought and sold; and gave them leave to have the care of the high-priest's vestments, with all their ornaments; and to have them under the custody of the priests in the temple: which power they used to have formerly; although at this time they were laid up in the tower of Antonia; and that on the following occasion: There was one of

* The Mosaical code of laws boasts a pre-eminent share of wisdom. Other systems have either been borrowed from, or assimilated to them, which is a convincing proof of their superiority. B.

† Of the banishment of these 4000 Jews into Sardinia by Tiberius, see Suetonius in Tiber. § 36. But as for Mr. Reland's note here, which supposes that Jews could not, consistently with their laws, be soldiers; it is contradicted by one branch of the history before us; and contrary to innumerable instances of their fighting and proving excellent soldiers in war; and, indeed, many of the best of them, and even under heathen kings themselves, did so: Those I mean who allowed them their rest on the sabbath day, and other solemn festivals, and let them live according to their own laws; as Alexander the Great, and the Ptolemies of Egypt, did. It is true they could not always obtain those privileges: and then they got excused as well as they could; or sometimes absolutely refused to fight: which seems to have been the case here, as to the major part of the Jews now banished; but nothing more. See several of the Roman decrees in their favour, as to such matters, XIV. 10.

‡ Since Moses never came himself beyond Jordan, nor particularly to mount Gerizzim; and since these Samaritans have a tradition among them, related here by Dr. Hudson, from Reland, who was very skilful in Jewish and Samaritan learning: that in the days of Uzzi or Ozis the high-priest, 1 Chron. vi. 6, the ark and other sacred vessels, were by God's command, laid up or hidden in mount Gerizzim; it is highly probable, that this was the foolish foundation the present Samaritans went upon, in the sedition here described.

§ March 16, A. D. 37.

the high-priests, named Hyrcanus; and as there were many of that name, he was the first of them. This man built a tower near the temple; and when he had so done, he generally dwelt in it; and had these vestments with him, because it was lawful for him alone to put them on: and he had them there deposited when he went down into the city, and took his ordinary garments. The same things were continued to be done by his sons, and by their sons after them. But when Herod came to be king, he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner; and because he was a friend to Antonius, he called it by the name of Antonia. And as he found these vestments lying there, he retained them in the same place; as believing that while he had them in his custody, the people would make no innovations against him. The like to what Herod did, was done by his son Archelaus, who was made king after him: after whom the Romans, when they entered on the government, took possession of these vestments of the high-priest, and had them deposited in the stone chamber, under the seal of the priests, and of the keepers of the temple; the captain of the guard lighting there a lamp every day. And *seven days before a festival they were delivered to them, by the captain of the guard: when the high-priest, having purified them, and made use of them, laid them up again in the same chamber where they had been laid up before, and this the very next day after the feast was over. This was the practice at the three yearly festivals, and on the fast-day. But Vitellius put these garments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers; and ordered the captain of the guard not to trouble himself to inquire where they were laid, or when they were to be used: and this he did as an act of kindness, to oblige the nation. He also deprived Joseph, who was called Caiaphas, of the high-priesthood; and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananus, the former high-priest, to succeed him. After which he took his journey back to Antioch.

Moreover Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius, and commanded him to make a league of friendship with Artabanus, king of Parthia. For while he was his enemy he terrified him, because he had taken Armenia away from him, lest he should proceed farther; and told him he should no otherwise trust him, than upon his giving him hostages, and especially his son Artabanus. Upon Tiberius's writing thus to Vitellius, by the offer of great presents of money, he persuaded both the king of †Iberia, and the king of Albania, to fight against Artabanus: and although they would not do it themselves, yet did they give the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthia was filled with war, and the principal of their men were slain, and all things were in disorder among them: the king's son also himself fell in these wars, together with many thousands of his army. Vitellius had also sent such great sums of money to Artabanus's father's kinsmen and friends, that he had almost procured him to be slain, by the means of those bribes which they had taken. And when Artabanus perceived that the plot laid against him was not to be avoided, because it was laid by the principal men, and those a great many in number; and that it would certainly take effect: when he also estimated the number of those that were truly faithful to him; as also of those who were already corrupted, but were deceitful in the kindness they professed to him, and were likely, upon trial, to go over to his enemies; he made his escape to the upper provinces: where he afterward raised a great army out of the Dahæ and Sacæ, and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.

When ‡Tiberius had heard of these things, he desired to have a league of friendship§ made between him and Artabanus. And when, upon this invitation, he received the proposal kindly, Artabanus and Vitellius went to Euphrates; and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them came with their guards about them, and met one another on the midst of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace, Herod the tetrarch erected a rich tent on the midst of the passage, and made a feast there. Artabanus also, not long afterward, sent his son Darius as a hostage, with many presents; among which there was a man seven cubits tall; he was a Jew by birth, and his name was Eleazar; who for his tallness was called a giant. After which Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon. But Herod the tetrarch being desirous to give Cæsar the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent posts with letters, wherein he had accurately described all the particulars, and left

* This mention of the high-priest's sacred garments, received seven days before a festival, and purified in those seven days against a festival, as having been polluted by being in the custody of heathens, in Josephus, agrees well with the traditions of the Talmudists; as Reland here observes. Nor is there any question but the three feasts here mentioned, were the passover, pentecost, and feast of tabernacles; and the fast, so called by way of distinction, as Acts xxvii. 9, was the great day of expiation.

† Take here Tacitus's words, confirming this history and the present reading in Josephus. "The Iberians," says he, "when they had taken the country, sent out by the Caspian road the Samaritans, a Scythian nation, against the Armenians." As Dr. Hudson here informs us.

‡ Though Suetonius somewhat later, and Dio much later, refer this league with the Parthians to the days of Caius, yet is the testimony of Josephus, I think, to be preferred; he being almost a contemporary historian, and no way inferior to either of them in exactness, and ascribes it to the end of the reign of Tiberius.

§ Such leagues and treaties as this are too commonly only the veil or covering of hypocrisy, and are maintained no longer than convenience or interest require their existence. B.

nothing for the consular Vitellius to inform him of. But when Vitellius's letters were sent, and Cæsar had let him know that he was acquainted with the affairs already, because Herod had given him an account of them before; Vitellius was very much troubled at it: and supposing that he had been thereby a greater sufferer than he really was, he kept up a secret anger upon this occasion, till he could be revenged on him; which he was after Caius had taken the government.

About this time Philip, Herod's brother, departed this life, in the *twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis, and of the nation of the Bataneans, thirty-seven years. He had shewn himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government. He constantly lived in that country which was subject to him: he used to make his progress with a few chosen friends: his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress; and when any one met him, who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wheresoever he happened to be; and sat down upon it, and heard his complaint. He there ordered the guilty that were convicted to be punished; and absolved those that had been accused unjustly. He died at Julias: and when he was carried to that monument which he had previously erected for himself, he was buried with great pomp. His principality Tiberius took, (for he left no sons behind him,) and added it to the province of Syria: but gave order that the tributes which arose from it should be collected, and laid up in his tetrarchy.

CHAP. V.

OF THE WAR BETWEEN HEROD THE TETRARCH, AND ARETAS KING OF ARABIA; ALSO CONCERNING THE DEATH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST; AND THE ARRIVAL OF VITELLIUS AT JERUSALEM; TOGETHER WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF AGRIPPA AND OF THE POSTERITY OF HEROD THE GREAT.

ABOUT this †time Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, and Herod, had a quarrel on the following account. Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while: but when he was once at Rome, he lodged with ‡Herod, who was his brother indeed, but not by the same mother: for this Herod was the son of the high-priest Simon's daughter. However he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod's wife; who was the daughter of Aristobulus, their brother, and the sister of Agrippa the Great. This man ventured to talk to her about a marriage between them; which address when she admitted, an agreement was made for her to change her habitation, and come to him, as soon as he should return from Rome. One article of this marriage also was that he should divorce Aretas's daughter. So Antipas, when he had made this agreement, sailed to Rome. But when he had finished the business he went about, and was returned again; his wife having discovered the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned it before he had notice of her knowledge of the whole design; she desired him to send her to Macherus; which is a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod; without informing him of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her thither: as thinking his wife had not perceived any thing. Now she had sent a good while before to Macherus, which was subject to her father; and so all things necessary for her journey were made ready for her by the generals of Aretas's army: and by that means she soon came into Arabia, under the conduct of the several generals; who carried her from one to another successively: and she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions. So Aretas made this the first occasion of enmity between him and Herod; who had also some quarrel with him about their limits, at the country of Gamalitis. So they raised armies on both sides and prepared for war; and sent their generals to fight, instead of themselves. And when they had joined battle, §all Herod's army was destroyed by the treachery of some fugitives: who, though they were of the tetrarchy of Philip, joined with Herod's army. So Herod wrote about these affairs to Tiberius; who, being very angry at the attempt made by Aretas, wrote to Vitellius, the president of Syria, to make war upon him: and either to take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds; or to kill him, and send him his head.

Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God: and that very justly,

* This calculation from all Josephus's Greek copies, is exactly right. For since Herod died about September, in the fourth year before the Christian era, and Tiberius began, as is well known, August 19, A. D. 14, it is evident that the thirty-seventh year of Philip, reckoned from his father's death, was the twentieth of Tiberius; or near the end of A. D. 33, the very year of our Saviour's death; or, however, in the beginning of the next year, A. D. 34. This Philip the tetrarch seems to have been the best of all the posterity of Herod, for his love of peace and of justice.

† A. D. 36.

‡ This Herod seems to have had the additional name of Philip, as Antipas was named Herod Antipas. And as Antipas and Antipater seem to be in a manner, the very same name, yet were the names of the two sons of Herod the Great; so might Philip the tetrarch, and this Herod-Philip be two different sons of the same father: all which Grotius observes on Matt. xiv. 3. Nor was it, as I agree with Grotius and others of the learned, Philip the tetrarch; but this Herod-Philip whose wife Herod the tetrarch had married; and that in her first husband's life time, and when her first husband had issue by her. For which adulterous and incestuous marriage John the Baptist justly reproved Herod the tetrarch; and for which reproof Salome, the daughter of Herodius by her first husband Herod-Philip, who was still alive, occasioned him to be unjustly beheaded.

§ Moses Chorenensis ascribes this great victory of Aretas in part to the succours sent him by Abgarus of Edessa. See the place, page 130, 131.

as a punishment of what he did against John, who was called the Baptist. For Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue; both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God; and so to come to baptism. For that the washing with water would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to putting away, or the remission of some sins only, but for the purification of the body: supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when many others came in crowds about him; for they were greatly moved, or pleased, by hearing his words; Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion; (for they seemed ready to do any thing he should advise;) thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause; and not bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus; the castle I before mentioned; and was there put to death.* Now the Jews had an opinion, that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod; and a mark of God's displeasure to him.

So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men.† He also took with him all the light infantry, and of the horsemen which belonged to them, and were drawn out of those kingdoms which were under the Romans; and made haste for Petra, and came to Ptolemais. But as he was marching very busily, and leading his army through Judea, the principal men met him; and desired that he would not thus march through their land. For that the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook those images which were brought into it; of which there were a great many in their ensigns. So he was persuaded by what they said; and changed that resolution which he had before taken in that matter. Accordingly he ordered the army to march along the great plain; while he himself, with Herod the tetrarch, and his friends, went up to Jerusalem, to offer sacrifice to God: an ancient festival of the Jews being then just approaching. And when he had been honourably entertained by the multitude of the Jews, he made a stay there for three days: within which time he deprived Jonathan of the high-priesthood; and gave it to his brother Theophilus. But when on the fourth day, letters came to him, announcing the death of Tiberius, he obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caius. He also recalled his army, and made them every one go home, and take their winter quarters there: since, upon the accession of Caius, he had not the like authority of making this war which he had before. It was also reported, that when Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, he said upon his consulting the diviners, that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius's could enter Petra. For that one of the rulers would die; either he that gave order for the war, or he that was marching at the other's desire, in order to be subservient to his will; or else he against whom this army was prepared. So Vitellius retired to Antioch: but Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, went up to Rome, a year before the death of Tiberius; in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted so to do.

I shall now relate the affairs of Herod and his family; partly because it is suitable to this history to speak of that matter; and partly because this thing is a demonstration of the interposition of Providence, how a multitude of children is of no advantage: no more than any other strength that mankind set their hearts upon; besides those acts of piety which are done towards God. For it happened, that within the revolution of a hundred years, the posterity of Herod, which were very numerous, were, excepting a few, utterly ‡destroyed. One may well apply this for the instruction of mankind; and learn thence how unhappy they were. It will also shew us the history of Agrippa: who as he was a person most worthy of admiration, so was he from a private man, beyond all the expectation of those that knew him, advanced to great power and authority. I have said something of them §formerly, but I shall now speak more accurately about them.

Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne, the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus. The one was Salampsio: who was married to Phasaelus her first cousin, Antipater, the son of Salome, Herod's sister. Phasaelus had five children by Salampsio: Antipater, Herod, Alexander; and two daughters, Alexandra, and Cypros: which last Agrippa the son of Aristobulus married. And Timius of Cypros married Alexandra: he was a man of note, but had by her no children. Agrippa had by Cypros two sons and three daughters: which daughters were named Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla: but the names of the sons were Agrippa and Drusus. Of whom Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty. But their father Agrippa was brought up with his other brethren, Herod and Aristobulus. For these were also the sons of the son of Herod the Great,

* About February, A. D. 32.

† A. D. 36.

‡ Whether this sudden extinction of almost the entire lineage of Herod the Great; which was very numerous, were not in part as a punishment for the gross incests they were frequently guilty of in marrying their own nephews and nieces, will deserve to be considered. See Levit. xviii. 6, 7; xxi. 10. And Noldius, De Herod, No. 269, 270.

§ See Book XVII. chap. 1.

Judith with the head of Holofernes.

JUDITH. XIII. 16

by Bernice; but Bernice was the daughter of Costobarus and of Salome, who was Herod's sister. Aristobulus left these infants, when he was slain by his father, together with his brother Alexander,* as we have already related. But when they were arrived at the years of puberty, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias; who was the daughter of Herod the king, and of Joseph, the son of Joseph, who was brother to the king; and had by her a son Aristobulus. But Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of †Emesa. They had a daughter who was deaf; whose name also was Jotape. And these hitherto were the children by the male line. But Herodias, their sister, was married to ‡Herod, the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest; who had a daughter Salome. After whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of our country, and divorced herself from her husband, while he was alive, and was married to §Herod her husband's brother by the father's side, and tetrarch of Galilee. But her daughter Salome was married to Philip, the son of Herod, and tetrarch of Trachonitis. And as he died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married her. They had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus. And this was the posterity of Phasaelus and Salampsio. But the daughter of Antipater by Cypros, was Cypros; whom Alexias Selcias, the son of Alexias, married. They had a daughter named Cypros.‖ But Herod and Alexander, who, as we said, were the brothers, of Antipater, died childless. As to Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, he had sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia. Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless. Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes; and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero. He had a son Alexander, who married ¶Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagena. Vespasian made him king of an island in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks. But for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless. And as these descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa the Great took the kingdom, and I have now given an account of them, it remains that I relate the several vicissitudes which befell Agrippa, and how he surmounted them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE VOYAGE OF KING AGRIPPA TO ROME, TO TIBERIUS CÆSAR: HIS CONFINEMENT ON THE ACCUSATION OF HIS OWN FREEDMAN; HIS LIBERATION BY CAIUS, AFTER TIBERIUS'S DEATH; AND HIS ACCESSION TO THE TETRARCHY OF PHILIP.

A LITTLE before the death of Herod the **king, Agrippa lived at Rome: and was generally brought up with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius's son: and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the Great: who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now as Agrippa was magnanimous and generous in the presents he made, while his mother was alive this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such extravagance. But when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and in the immoderate presents he made; and those chiefly among Cæsar's freedmen, in order to gain their assistance. Insomuch that he was in a little time reduced to poverty: and could not live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased ††son to come into his sight; because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his death, and his grief would thereby be revived.

For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea, but in evil circumstances: being dejected with the loss of that money which he once had; and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave him no room for escaping them. In this situation he knew not what to do: but he retired to a certain tower at Malatha, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself. But his wife Cypros perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from taking such a course. So she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's design: and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her, as a kinswoman to give him her help, and to engage her husband to do the same: since she saw how she alleviated her husband's troubles all she could, although

* Book XVI. chap. 11.

† There are coins still extant of this Emesa, as Spanheim informs us.

‡ Herod-Philip.

§ Herod-Antipas.

‖ This, with many of the ancients, was considered to be a great unhappiness, and even reproach. It may, in some instances, have given rise to polygamy, though it could not justify either that or the too common practice of concubinage. B.

¶ He also informs us of a coin still extant of this Jotape, daughter of the king of Commagena.

** Tetrarch.

†† Drusus.

she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent for him, and allotted him Tiberius for his habitation; and appointed him some income for his maintenance: and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honour to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him. For as once they were at a feast at Tyre, and in their cups, and reproaches were cast upon one another, Agrippa thought that was not to be borne; while Herod upbraided him with his poverty, and with his owing his necessary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, one that had been consul, and had been a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.

Hereupon Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus had also with him there, Aristobulus, who was Agrippa's brother, but was at variance with him. Yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both: but they were both honourably treated by him. However, Aristobulus did not abate of his ill will to Agrippa: till at length he brought him into ill terms with Flaccus. The occasion of bringing on which estrangement was this: The Damascenes were at difference with the Sidonians, about their limits. And when Flaccus was about to hear the cause between them, they understood that Agrippa had great influence with him. So they desired that he would be on their side; and for that favour promised him a great deal of money. So he was zealous in assisting the Damascenes, as far as he was able. Now Aristobulus had gotten intelligence of this promise of money to him; and accused him to Flaccus of the same. And when, upon a thorough examination of the matter it appeared plainly so to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends. So he was reduced to the utmost necessity: and came to Ptolemais. And because he knew not where else to get a livelihood, he thought to sail to Italy. But as he was restrained from so doing by want of money, he desired Marsyas, who was his freedman, to find some method for procuring him as much as he wanted for that purpose; by borrowing such a sum of some person or other. So Marsyas desired of Peter, who was the freedman of Bernice, Agrippa's mother, and by the right of her testament was bequeathed to Antonia, to lend him so much upon Agrippa's own bond and security. But he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money: and so obliged Marsyas, when he made the bond of twenty thousand Attic drachmæ, to accept of two thousand five hundred drachmæ* less than what he desired. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa came to Anthedon, and took shipping, and was going to sail. But Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jamnia, sent a band of soldiers to demand of him three hundred thousand drachmæ of silver, which were by him owing to Cæsar's treasury while he was at Rome: and so forced him to stay. He then pretended that he would do as he bade him. But when night came on, he cut his cables, and went off, and sailed to Alexandria: where he desired Alexander the †alabarch to lend him two hundred thousand drachmæ. But he said he would not lend it to him, but would not refuse it to Cypros; as greatly astonished at her affection to her husband, and at the other instances of her virtue: so she undertook to repay it. Accordingly Alexander paid them five talents at Alexandria; and promised to pay the rest of that sum at ‡Dicearchia: and this he did out of the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. So this Cypros set her husband free, and dismissed him to go on with his voyage to Italy; while she and her children departed for Judea.

When Agrippa was come to Puteoli, he wrote a letter to Tiberius Cæsar, who then lived at Capreæ, and told him that he was come so far in order to wait on him, and to pay him a visit: and desired that he would give him leave to come over to Capreæ. Tiberius wrote to him an obliging answer, and told him he was glad of his safe return, and desired him to come to Capreæ. And when he was come, he did not fail to treat him as kindly as he had promised in his letter. But the next day Cæsar received a letter from Herennius Capito, informing him, that Agrippa had borrowed three hundred thousand drachmæ, and had not paid it at the time appointed; but when it was demanded of him he ran away, like a fugitive, out of the places under his government: and put it out of his power to get the money of him. When Cæsar read this letter, he was much troubled at it; and gave order that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence, until he had paid that debt. He however was no way daunted at Cæsar's anger; but entreated Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and of Claudius, who was afterward Cæsar himself, to lend him those three thousand drachmæ; that he might not be deprived of §Tiberius's friendship. So, out of regard to the memory of Bernice his mother, (for those two women were very familiar with one another;) and out of regard to his and Claudius's education together, she

* Spanheim observes, that we have here an instance of the Attic quantity of use money; which was the eighth part of the original sum, or 12½ per cent. For such is the proportion of 2,500 to 20,000.

† The governor of the Jews, in Alexandria.

‡ Puteoli.

§ The dead are too commonly forgotten. When their influence and power are expired, interested persons feel no motive to cherish a free remembrance of them. It is, however, an amiable trait in the character of any man to venerate the names of such as were once the objects of his esteem or affection. E.

lent him the money: and upon the payment of this debt, there was nothing to hinder Tiberius's friendship to him. After this Tiberius recommended to him his *grandson, and ordered, that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. But upon Agrippa's kind reception by Antonia, he betook himself to pay his respects to Caius, who was her grandson: and in very high reputation, by reason of the good will they bare his †father. Now there was one Thallus, a freedman of Cæsar's, of whom he borrowed a million of drachmæ: and thence repayed Antonia the debt he owed her. And by spending the overplus in paying his court to Caius, he became a person of great authority with him.

Now as the friendship which Agrippa had for Caius was come to a great height, there happened some words between them, as they once were in a chariot together, concerning Tiberius: Agrippa praying to God (for they two sat by themselves,) that Tiberius might soon go off the stage, and leave the government to Caius, who was in every respect more worthy of it. Now Eutychus, who was Agrippa's freedman, and drove his chariot, heard these words: and at that time said nothing of them. But when Agrippa accused him of stealing some garments of his, (which was certainly true;) he ran away from him. But when he was caught, and brought before Piso the governor of the city: and the man was asked why he ran away? he replied, that he had somewhat to say to Cæsar, that tended to his security and preservation. Accordingly Piso bound him, and sent him to Capreæ. But ‡Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him still in bonds: being a delayer of affairs, if there ever was any other king or tyrant that was so. For he did not admit ambassadors quickly; and no successors were despatched away to governors or procurators of the provinces, that had been formerly sent, unless they were dead. Whence it was, that he was so negligent in hearing the causes of prisoners. Insomuch that when he was asked by his friends, what was the reason of his delay in such cases? he said, that he delayed to hear ambassadors, lest upon their quick dismission, other ambassadors should be appointed, and return upon him; and so he should bring trouble upon himself, in their public reception and dismission. That he permitted those governors who had been once sent to their governments to stay there a great while, out of regard to the subjects that were under them. For that all governors are naturally disposed to get as much as they can: and that those who are not to fix there, but to stay a short time, and that at an uncertainty when they shall be turned out, do the more severely hurry themselves on to fleece the people. But that if their government be long continued, they are, at last, satiated with the spoils; and so become less sharp in their pillaging. But that if successors are sent quickly, the poor subjects who are exposed to them, as a prey, will not be able to bear the new ones: while they shall not have the same time allowed them wherein their predecessors had filled themselves, and so grow more unconcerned about getting more. And this because they are removed before they have had time for their oppressions. He gave them an example to shew his meaning. A great number of flies came about the sore places of a man that had been wounded. Upon which one of the standers by pitied the man's misfortune; and thinking he was not able to drive those flies away himself, was going to drive them away for him. But he prayed him to let them alone. The other, by way of reply, asked him the reason of such a preposterous proceeding in preventing relief from his present misery? To which he answered, if thou drivest these flies, thou wilt hurt me worse. For as these are already full of my blood, they do not crowd about me, nor pain me so much as before, but are sometimes more remiss; while the fresh ones that come almost famished, and find me quite tired down, will be my destruction. "For this cause therefore," said Tiberius, "I am careful not to send such new governors perpetually to those of my subjects, who are already sufficiently harassed by many oppressions, as may, like these flies, farther distress them. And so, besides their natural desire of gain, may have this additional incitement to it, that they expect to be suddenly deprived of that pleasure which they take in it."

Now as a farther attestation to what I say of the dilatory nature of Tiberius, I appeal to this practice itself. For although he were emperor twenty-two years, he sent in all but two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews; viz. Gratus, and his successor in the government, Pilate. Nor was he in one way of acting with respect to the Jews; and in another with respect to the rest of his subjects. He farther informed them, that even in the hearing of the causes of prisoners he made such delays; "Because," said he, "immmediate death to those that must be condemned to die would be an alleviation of their present miseries; while those wicked wretches have not deserved any such favour: but I do it, that by being harassed with the present calamity, they may undergo greater misery."

On this account it was that Eutychus could not obtain a hearing: but was kept still in prison. However,

* Tiberius, jun.
† Germanicus.
‡ This dilatory temper of Tiberius's is confirmed by Tacitus, Annal. I. 8, as Spanheim here observes. The same thing is observed by Suetonius also, in Tiber. § 41, 63. See the note on Moses Chorenensis's History of Armenia, page 139.

some time afterward, Tiberius came from Capreæ to Tuscalanum: which is about a hundred furlongs from Rome. Agrippa then desired of Antonia that she would procure a hearing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he accused him prove what it would. Now Antonia was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts; from the dignity of her relation to him, who had been his brother Drusus's wife; and from her *eminent chastity. For though she were still a young woman, she continued in her widowhood, and refused all other matches: although Augustus had enjoined her to be married to somebody else. Yet did she all along preserve her reputation from reproach. She had been also the greatest benefactress to Tiberius when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus; a man who had been her husband's friend, and who had the greatest authority, because he was general of the army, and when many members of the senate, and many of the freedmen joined with him, and the soldiery was corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted, than Sejanus's malice. For when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole; and gave the letter to Pallas, the most faithful of her servants, and sent him to Capreæ, to Tiberius: who, when he understood it, slew Sejanus, and his confederates. So that Tiberius, who had her in great esteem before, now looked upon her with still greater respect, and depended upon her in all things. Accordingly, when Tiberius was desired by Antonia to examine Eutychus, he answered; "If, indeed, Eutychus hath falsely accused Agrippa of what he hath said of him, he hath had sufficient punishment, by what I have done to him already: but if, upon examination, the accusation appear to be true, let Agrippa have a care, lest, out of a desire of punishing his freedman, he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself." Now when Antonia told Agrippa of this, he was still more pressing that the matter might be examined into. So Antonia, upon Agrippa's entreating her continually to beg this favour, took the following opportunity: As Tiberius once lay at ease on his sedan, and was carried about; and Caius, her grandson, and Agrippa, were before him, after dinner; she walked by the sedan, and desired him to call Eutychus, and have him examined. To which he replied, "O Antonia! the gods are my witnesses, that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because I am forced to it by thy prayers." When he said this, he ordered Macro, who succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him. Accordingly, without any delay, he was brought. Then Tiberius asked him, what he had to say against this man who had given him his liberty? Upon which he said, "O my lord, this Caius, and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a chariot, when I sat at their feet; and among many other discourses that passed, Agrippa said to Caius, O that the day would once come, when this old fellow would die, and name thee for the governor of the habitable earth! For then this Tiberius, his grandson, would be no hindrance, but would be taken off by thee, and that earth would be happy, and I happy also." Now Tiberius took these to be truly Agrippa's words: and bearing a grudge withal at Agrippa, because, when he had commanded him to pay his respects to Tiberius, his grandson, and the son of Drusus; Agrippa had not paid him that respect, but disobeyed his commands, and transferred all his regard to Caius; he said to Macro, "Bind this man." But Macro not distinctly knowing which of them it was whom he bade him bind; and not expecting that he would have any such thing done to Agrippa, he forebore; and came to ask more distinctly what it was that he said? But when Cæsar had gone round the Hippodrome, he found Agrippa standing. "For certain," said he, "Macro, this is the man I meant to have bound." And when he still asked, which was to be bound? he said, Agrippa. Hereupon Agrippa began to make supplication for himself: putting him in mind of his son,† with whom he was brought up; and of Tiberius his grandson, whom he had educated: but all to no purpose. For they led him about bound, even in his purple garments. It was also very hot weather, and they had but little wine to their meal: so that he was very thirsty. He was also in a sort of agony; and took this treatment of him heinously. As he, therefore, saw one of Caius's slaves, whose name was Thaumastus, carrying some water in a vessel, he desired that he would let him drink. So the servant gave him some water to drink: and he drank heartily, and said, "O thou boy, this service of thine will be for thy advantage: for if I once get clear of these bonds, I will soon procure thee thy freedom of Caius, who hast not been wanting to minister to me now I am in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in my former state and dignity." Nor did he ‡deceive him in what he pro-

* This high commendation of Antonia for marrying but once, given here, and supposed elsewhere, XVII. 13, and this, notwithstanding the strongest temptations, shews how honourable single marriages were, both among the Jews and the Romans, in the days of Josephus, and of the Apostles, and takes away much of that surprise which the modern protestants have at those laws of the Apostles, where no widows, but those who had been the wives of one husband only, are taken into the church list: and no bishops, priests, or deacons, are allowed to marry more than once, without leaving off to officiate as clergymen any longer. See Luke ii. 36; 1 Tim. v. 11, 12; iii. 2, 12; Tit. i. 6; Constitut. Apost. II. 1, 2; III. 1, 2; VI. 17; Can. XVII; Grot. in Luke ii. 36.

† Drusus.

‡ Promises should be inviolably performed: especially when made in distress, and as excitements to obtain the friendly offices of others in our exigency. B.

mised; but made him amends for what he had now done. For when afterward Agrippa was come to the kingdom, he took particular care of Thaumastus, and procured him his liberty from Caius, and made him the steward over his own estate: and when he died he left him to Agrippa his son, and to Bernice his daughter, to minister to them in the same capacity. The man also grew old in that honourable post, and therein died. But all this happened a good while later.

Now Agrippa stood in his bonds before the royal palace, and leaned on a certain tree for grief; with many others who were in bonds also. And as a certain bird, which the Romans call Bubo* sat upon the tree on which Agrippa leaned, one of those that were bound, a German by nation, saw him, and asked a soldier, who that man in purple was? and when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, and that he was by nation a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation; he asked leave of the soldier, † to whom he was bound, to let him come nearer to him, for that he had a mind to inquire about some things relating to his country: which liberty when he had obtained, and as he stood near to him, he said thus to him by an interpreter:—

"This sudden change of thy condition, O young man, is grievous to thee; as bringing on thee a manifold and very great adversity. Nor wilt thou believe me when I foretell how thou wilt get clear of this misery, which thou art now under: and how Divine Providence will provide for thee. I, however, appeal to my own country gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded these bonds to us; that all I am going to say about thy concerns shall neither be said for favour, nor bribery; nor out of an endeavour to make thee cheerful without cause. For such predictions, when they fail, make the grief at last and in earnest more bitter than if the party had never heard of any such thing. However, though I run the hazard of my own self, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou shouldest long continue in these bonds: but thou wilt soon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the highest dignity and power; and thou wilt be envied by all those who now pity thy hard fortune; and thou wilt be happy till thy death, and wilt leave thine happiness to the children whom thou shalt have. But do thou remember, when thou seest this bird again, that thou wilt then live but five days longer. This event will be brought to pass by that God who hath sent this bird hither to be a sign unto thee. And I cannot but think it unjust to conceal what I foreknow concerning thee: that by thy knowing beforehand what happiness is coming upon thee, thou mayest not regard thy present misfortunes. But when this happiness shall actually befall thee, do not forget what misery I am in myself, but endeavour to deliver me."

When the German had said this, he made Agrippa laugh at him, as much as he afterwards appeared worthy of admiration. But now Antonia took Agrippa's misfortune to heart. However, to speak to Tiberius on his behalf she took to be a very difficult thing, and indeed quite impracticable, as to any hope of success. Yet did she procure of Macro that the soldiers that kept him should be of a gentle nature: and that the centurion who was over them, and was to diet with him, should be of the same disposition: and that he might have leave to bathe himself every day: and that his freedmen and friends might come to him; and that other things that tended to ease him might be indulged him. So his friend Silas came in to him; and two of his freedmen, Marsyas and Stechus, brought him such sorts of food as he was fond of; and indeed took great care of him. They also brought him garments, under pretence of selling them: and when night came on, they laid them under him; and the soldiers assisted them; as Macro had given order to do beforehand. And this was Agrippa's condition during six months.

Now Tiberius, upon his return to Capreæ, ‡fell sick; at first his distemper was but gentle; but as it increased upon him, he had small or no hopes of recovery. Hereupon he commanded Euodus, who was that freedman whom he most of all respected, to bring §the children to him: for that he wanted to talk to them before he died. Now he had at present no sons of his own alive: for Drusus, who was his only son, was dead: but Drusus's son, Tiberius, was living; whose additional name was Gemellus. There was also living Caius, the son of Germanicus, who was the son of his brother Drusus. He was now grown up, and had had a liberal education, and was well improved by it, and was in esteem and favour with the people on account of the excellent character of his father Germanicus; who had attained the highest honour among the multitude, by the firmness of his virtuous behaviour; by the easiness and agreeableness of his conversing with the multitude; and because the dignity he was in did not hinder his familiarity with them all, as if they were his equals. By this behaviour he was not only greatly esteemed by the people and the senate, but by every one of those nations that were subject to the Romans; some of whom were affected when they came to him, with the gracefulness of their reception by him: and others

* An owl.

† Dr. Hudson here takes notice, out of Seneca, Epistle Vth, that this was the custom of Tiberius; to couple the prisoner, and the soldier that guarded him, together in the same chain. ‡ A. D. 37.

§ Tiberius, his grandson; and Caius, his brother Drusus's grandson.

were affected in the same manner by the report of the soldiers that had been with him. And upon his death there was a lamentation made by all men: not such a one as was to be made in way of flattery to their rulers, while they did but counterfeit sorrow, but such as was real. While every body grieved at his death, as if they had lost one that was near to them. And truly such had been his easy conversation with men, that it turned greatly to the advantage of his son among all. And among others, the soldiery were so peculiarly affected toward him, that they reckoned it an eligible thing, if need were, to die themselves, if he might but obtain the government.

But when Tiberius had given order to Euodus to bring the children to him the next morning, he prayed to his country's gods to shew him a manifest signal, which of those children should come to the government; being very desirous to leave it to his son's son; but still depending upon what God should foreshew concerning them, more than upon his own opinion and inclination. So he made this to be the omen; that the government should be left to him who should come to him first the next day. When he had thus resolved within himself, he sent to his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning: as supposing that God would permit him to be made emperor. But God proved opposite to his designation: for while Tiberius was thus contriving matters, and as soon as it was day, he bade Euodus to call in that child which should be there ready. So he went out, and found Caius before the door: for Tiberius was not yet come, but staid waiting for his breakfast. For Euodus knew nothing of what his lord intended. So he said to Caius, "Thy father calls thee," and then brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, he reflected on the power of God; and how the ability of bestowing the government on whom he would was entirely taken from him: and thence he was not able to establish what he had intended. So he greatly lamented that this power of establishing what he had before contrived was taken from him: and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by this fatality, but his own safety also; because his preservation would now depend upon such as would be more potent than himself; who would not be able to protect him. But he would be feared and hated by him that had the supreme authority: partly on account of his being next to the empire, and partly on account of his perpetually contriving to get the government, both in order to preserve himself, and to be at the head of affairs also. Now Tiberius had been much addicted to* astrology, and the calculation of nativities: and had spent his life in the esteem of what predictions had proved true, more than those whose profession it was. Accordingly when he once saw Galba coming in to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that there came in a man that would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire. So that Tiberius was more addicted to all sorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors: because he had found them to have told him truth in his own affairs. And, indeed, he was now in great distress upon this accident that had befallen him, and was very much grieved at the destruction of his grandson, which he foresaw: and complained of himself, that he should have made use of such a method of divination beforehand: while it was in his power to have died without grief by this knowledge of futurity: whereas he was now tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortune of such as were dearest to him, and must die under that torment. Now although he were disordered at this unexpected revolution of the government to those for whom he did not intend it, he spake thus to Caius, though unwillingly, and against his own inclination, "O child! although Tiberius be nearer related to me than thou art, I, by my own determination, and the conspiring suffrage of the gods, do give, and put into thy hands, the Roman empire. And I desire thee never to be unmindful when thou comest to it, either of my kindness to thee who set thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relation to Tiberius. But as thou knowest that I am, together with, and after the gods, the procurer of so great happiness to thee; so I desire that thou wilt make me a return for my readiness to assist thee, and wilt take care of Tiberius, because of his near relationship to thee. Besides which, thou art to know, that while Tiberius is alive, he will be a security to thee, both as to empire, and as to thy own preservation: but if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes. For to be alone under the weight of such vast affairs is very dangerous. Nor will the gods suffer those actions, which are unjustly done, contrary to that law which directs men to act otherwise, to go off unpunished." This was the speech which Tiberius made; which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly; although he promised so to do. But when he was settled in the government, he †took off this Tiberius, as was predicted by the other: as he was also himself, in

* This is a known thing among the Roman historians and poets, that Tiberius was greatly addicted to astrology and divination.

† Of the slaughter of this Tiberius, the grandson of Tiberius Cæsar, by Caius Cæsar, his brother Drusus's grandson, when he was come to the empire; see Philo's legation to this Caius, page 995, D. E. and page 996, who assures us, that Caius obliged him to kill himself. Though I here prefer the testimony of Suetonius, who says, that Caius sent a tribune, who slew him suddenly, when he expected no such thing. In Caio, § 25, which best agrees with Josephus also.

no long time afterward, slain by a secret plot laid against him.

Tiberius appointed Caius to be his successor, having survived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years, five months, and three days. Now Caius was the fourth emperor. But when the Romans understood that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news; but had not courage to believe it. Not because they were unwilling it should be true; for they would have given large sums of money that it might be so; but because they were afraid, that if they shewed their joy when the news proved false, their joy would be openly known, and they should be accused for it, and be thereby undone. For this Tiberius had brought a vast number of miseries on the best families of the Romans; since he was easily inflamed with passion in all cases: and was of such a temper, as rendered his anger irrevocable, till he had executed the same: although he had taken a hatred against men without reason. For he was by nature fierce in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the slightest offences. Insomuch that when the Romans heard the rumour about his death gladly, they were restrained from the enjoyment of that pleasure, by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill founded. Now Marsyas, Agrippa's freedman, as soon as he heard of Tiberius's death, came running to tell Agrippa the news. And finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said in the Hebrew tongue, *"The lion is dead." Who, understanding his meaning, and being overjoyed at the news, "Nay," said he, "but all sorts of thanks and happiness attend thee for this news of thine. Only I wish that what thou sayest may prove true." Now the centurion who was sent to keep Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marsyas came, and what joy Agrippa had from what he said, he had a suspicion that his words implied some great innovation of affairs; and he asked them about what was said. They at first diverted the discourse: but upon his farther pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him; for he was already become his friend. So he joined with him in that pleasure which this news occasioned; because it would be so fortunate to Agrippa: and made him a supper. But as they were feasting, and the cups went about, there came one who said, that Tiberius was still alive; and would return to the city in a few days. At this news the centurion was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might cost him his life, to have treated so joyfully a prisoner, and this upon the news of the death of Cæsar. So he thrust Agrippa from the couch whereon he lay, and said, "Dost thou think to cheat me by a lie about the death of the emperor, without punishment? And shalt not thou pay for this malicious report at the price of thine head?" When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be bound again, (for he had loosed him before; and kept a severer guard over him than formerly. And in this evil condition was Agrippa that night. But the next day the rumour increased in the city, and confirmed the news that Tiberius was certainly dead; insomuch that men durst now openly and freely talk about it. Nay, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters also came from Caius; one of them to the senate, which informed them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own entrance on the government; another to Piso, the governor of the city; which told him the same thing. He also gave order that Agrippa should be removed out of the camp, and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison. So that he was now out of fear as to his own affairs; for although he was still in custody, yet was it now with ease as to his own affairs. Now as soon as Caius was come to Rome, and had brought Tiberius's dead body with him, and had made a sumptuous funeral for him, according to the laws of his country, he was much disposed to set Agrippa at liberty that very day. But Antonia hindered him. Not out of any ill will to the prisoner, but out of regard to decency in Caius; lest that should make men believe that he received the death of Tiberius with pleasure, when he loosed one whom he had bound, immediately. However, there did not many days pass before he sent for him to his house, and had him shaved, and made him change his raiment. After which he put a diadem upon his head, and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lysanias; and changed his iron chain for a golden one of equal weight. He also sent Marullus to be procurator of Judea.†

Now, in the second year of the reign of Caius Cæsar, Agrippa desired leave to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government: and he promised to return again, when he had put the rest in order. So upon the emperor's permission he came into his own country, and appeared to them all unexpectedly as a king; and thereby demonstrated to the men that saw him, the power of fortune; when they compared his former poverty with his present happy affluence. So some called

* This name of a lion is often given to tyrants, especially by the Jews, such as Agrippa, and probably his freedman Marsyas, in effect were; Ezek. xix. 1—9; Esther xiv. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 17. They are also sometimes compared to, or represented by, wild beasts: of which the lion is the principal. Daniel vii. 3—8; Apoc. xiii. 1, 2.

† Although Caius now promised to give Agrippa the tetrarchy of Lysanias, yet was it not all actually conferred upon him till the reign of Claudius, as we learn XIX. 5.

him a happy man, and others could not well believe that things were so much changed with him for the better.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE BANISHMENT OF HEROD THE TETRARCH.

BUT Herodias, Agrippa's sister, who now lived as wife to that Herod, who was tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, took this authority of her brother in an envious manner; particularly when she saw that he had a greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had: since when he ran away, it was because he was not able to pay his debts; and now he was come back, he was in a way of dignity, and of great good fortune. She was therefore grieved, and much displeased at so great a mutation of his affairs: and chiefly when she saw him marching among the multitude with the usual ensigns of royal authority, she was not able to conceal how miserable she was, by reason of the envy she had towards him. But she excited her husband, and desired him that he would sail to Rome, to court honours equal to his: for she said, that she could not bear to live any longer, while Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus, who was condemned to die by his father; one that came to her husband in such extreme poverty, that the necessaries of life were forced to be entirely supplied him day by day; and when he fled away from his creditors by sea, he now returned a king. While he was himself the son of a king; and, while the near relation he bore to royal authority called upon him to gain the like dignity, he sat still, and was contented with a mere private life. "But Herod," said she, "although thou wast formerly not concerned to be in a lower condition than thy father, from whom thou wast derived, yet do thou now seek after the dignity which thy kinsman hath attained to. And do not thou bear this contempt, that a man who admired thy riches should be in greater honour than thyself: nor suffer his poverty to shew itself able to purchase greater things than our abundance: nor do thou esteem it other than a shameful thing, to be inferior to one who, the other day, lived upon thy charity. But let us go to Rome; and let us spare no pains, nor expenses, either of silver or gold; since they cannot be kept for any better use, than for the obtaining of a kingdom."

But for Herod, he opposed her request at this time, out of the love of ease,* and having a suspicion of the trouble he should have at Rome. So he tried to instruct her better. But the more she saw him draw back, the more she pressed him to it, and desired him to leave no stone unturned in order to be a king. And at last she left not off, till she engaged him, whether he would or not, to be of her sentiments; because he could no otherwise avoid her importunity. So he got all things ready† after as sumptuous a manner as he was able, and spared for nothing, and went up to Rome, and took Herodias along with him. But Agrippa, when he was made sensible of their intentions and preparations, also prepared to go thither. And as soon as he heard they set sail, he sent Fortunatus, one of his freedmen, to Rome, to carry presents to the emperor, and letters against Herod; and to give Caius a particular account of those matters, if he should have an opportunity. This man followed Herod so quick, and had so prosperous a voyage, and came so little after Herod, that while Herod was with Caius, he came himself, and delivered his letters. For they both sailed to ‡Dicearchia, and found Caius at Baiæ, a little city of Campania, at the distance of about five furlongs from Dicearchia. There are in that place royal palaces, with sumptuous apartments; every emperor still endeavouring to outdo his predecessors in magnificence. The place also affords warm baths, that spring out of the ground of their own accord; which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them; and besides they minister to men's luxury also. Now Caius saluted Herod, for he first met with him; and then looked upon the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in order to accuse Herod: wherein he accused him, that he had been in confederacy with Sejanus against Tiberius's government: and that he was now confederate with Artabanus, king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius. As a demonstration of which he alleged, that he had armour sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armory. Caius was moved at this information; and asked Herod whether what was said about the armour were true? And when he confessed there was such armour there, (for he could not deny the same, the truth of it being notorious,) Caius took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it, by way of addition, to Agrippa's kingdom. He also gave Herod's money to Agrippa: and, by way of punishment, awarded him a perpetual banishment; and appointed Lyons, a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of what money was her own: and told her, that it was her brother who prevented her being put under the same calamity with her husband. But she made this reply, "Thou indeed, O emperor,

* This has been the pregnant cause of much mischief. For the sake of enjoying the present, to what distress and calamity have many exposed themselves as it regarded futurity: whereas it was possible for them, by the most trifling sacrifices, to have secured lasting felicity. B.

† A. D. 40.

‡ Puteoli.

actest after a magnificent manner, and as becomes thyself in what thou offerest me: but the kindness which I have for my husband hinders me from partaking of the favour of thy gift. For it is not just that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." Hereupon Caius was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment; and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias, for her envy at her brother; and Herod also for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now Caius managed public affairs with very great magnanimity, during the first and second years of his reign; and behaved himself with such moderation, that he gained the good will both of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But in process of time he went beyond the bounds of human nature, in his conceit of himself: and, by reason of the vastness of his dominions, made himself a god; and took upon himself to act in all things to the reproach of the Deity itself.

CHAP. VIII.

OF *THE AMBASSAGE OF THE JEWS TO CAIUS; AND OF THE ORDERS GIVEN TO PETRONIUS TO MAKE WAR AGAINST THE JEWS, UNLESS THEY WOULD RECEIVE THE EMPEROR'S STATUE.

THERE was now a tumult in Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks: and †three ambassadors were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Caius. Now one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria was Apion; who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and, among other things that he said, he charged them with neglecting the honours that belonged to Cæsar. For that while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, and in other regards universally received him as they received the gods, these Jews alone thought it a dishonourable thing for them to erect statues in honour of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of these severe things were said by Apion; by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger at the Jews, as he was likely to do. But Philo, the principal of the Jewish ambassage, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to ‡Alexander the §alabarch, and one not unskilful in philosophy, was able to betake himself to make his defence against those accusations; but Caius prohibited him, and bade him begone. He was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief. So Philo, being thus affronted, went out, and said to those Jews who were about him, that they should be of good courage; since Caius's words indeed shewed anger at them, but in reality had already set God against himself.

Hereupon Caius, taking it very heinously that he should be thus despised by the Jews, sent Petronius to be president of Syria, and successor in the government to Vitellius: and gave him order to make an invasion into Judea, with a great body of troops: and if they would admit of his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly Petronius took the government of Syria, and made haste to obey Cæsar's epistle. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army; and came to Ptolemais, and there wintered: as intending to set about the war in the spring. He also wrote word to Caius, what he had resolved to do: who commended him for his alacrity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey his commands. But there came many of the Jews to Petronius, to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him, that he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law of their forefathers. "But if," said they, "thou art entirely resolved to bring this statue, and erect it, do thou first kill us, and then do what thou hast resolved on: for while we are alive we cannot permit such things as are forbidden to be done by the authority of our legislator, and by our forefathers' determination that such prohibitions are instances of virtue." But Petronius was angry at them, and said, "If indeed I were myself emperor, and were at liberty to follow my own inclination, and then had designed to act thus, these your words would be justly spoken to me. But now Cæsar hath sent to me, I am under the utmost necessity of being subservient to his decrees; because a disobedience to them will bring upon me inevitable destruction." Then the Jews replied, "Since thou art so disposed, O Petronius, that thou wilt not disobey Caius's

* This is a most remarkable chapter; as containing such instances of the interposition of Providence, as have been always very rare among the other idolatrous nations; but of old very many among the posterity of Abraham, the worshippers of the true God. Nor do these seem much inferior to those in the Old Testament: which are the more remarkable, because, among all their other follies and vices, the Jews were not at this time idolaters; and the deliverances here mentioned were done in order to prevent their relapse into that idolatry.

† Josephus here assures us, that the ambassadors from Alexandria to Caius were on each part no more than three in number, for the Jews and for the Gentiles, which are but six in all. Whereas Philo, who was the principal ambassador from the Jews, as Josephus here confesses, (as was Apion for the Gentiles,) says, the Jews' ambassadors were themselves no fewer than five; towards the end of his legation to Caius: which, if there be no mistake in the copies, must be supposed the truth. Nor in that case, would Josephus have contradicted so authentic a witness, had he seen that account of Philo's; which that he ever did does not appear.

‡ This Alexander, the alabarch, or governor of the Jews at Alexandria, and brother to Philo, is supposed by Bishop Pearson, in Act. Apost. page 41, 42, to be the same with that Alexander who is mentioned by St. Luke, as of the kindred of the high-priests, Acts iv. 6.

§ The Jewish governor at Alexandria.

epistles, neither will we transgress the commands of our law. And as we depend upon the excellency of our laws, and by the labours of our ancestors have continued hitherto without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous, as to transgress those laws out of the fear of death, which God hath determined are for our advantage. And if we fall into misfortunes we will bear them, in order to preserve our laws; as knowing that those who expose themselves to dangers have good hope of escaping them, because God will stand on our side, when out of regard to him we undergo afflictions, and sustain the uncertain turns of fortune. But if we should submit to thee, we should be greatly reproached for our cowardice; as thereby shewing ourselves ready to transgress our law; and we should incur the great anger of God also, who, even thyself being judge, is superior to Caius."

When Petronius saw by their words that their determination was hard to be removed, and that without a war he should not be able to be subservient to Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there must be a great deal of bloodshed, he took his friends, and the servants that were about him, and hasted to Tiberias; as wanting to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were. And many thousands of the Jews met him again, when he was come to Tiberias. These thought they must run a mighty hazard if they should have a war with the Romans; but judged that the transgression of the law was of much greater consequence; and made supplication to him, that he would by no means reduce them to such distresses, nor defile their city by the dedication of the statue. Then Petronius said to them, "Will you then make war with Cæsar, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness?" They replied, "We will not by any means make war with him; but still we will die before we will see our laws transgressed." So they threw themselves down upon their faces, and stretched out their throats, and said, they were ready to be slain. And this they did for forty days together: and in the mean time left off the tilling of their ground; and that while *the season of the year required them to sow it. Thus they continued firm in their resolution, and proposed to themselves to die willingly, rather than to see the dedication of the statue.

When matters were in this state, Aristobulus, king Agrippa's brother, and Helcias the Great, and the other principal men of that family with them, went in unto Petronius, and besought him, that since he saw the resolution of the multitude, he would not make any alteration, and thereby drive them to despair; but would write to Caius, that the Jews had an insuperable aversion to the reception of the statue; and how they continued with him, and left off the tillage of their ground: that they were not willing to go to war with him, because they were not able to do it; but were ready to die with pleasure, rather than suffer their laws to be transgressed. And that, upon the lands continuing unsown, robberies would grow up, on the inability they would be under of paying their tributes. And that perhaps Caius might be thereby moved to pity, and not order any barbarous action to be done to them, nor think of destroying the nation. That if he continued inflexible in his former opinion, to bring a war upon them, he might then himself set about it. And thus did Aristobulus, and the rest with him, supplicate Petronius. So †Petronius, partly on account of the pressing instances which Aristobulus and the rest with him made; and because of the great consequence of what they desired, and the earnestness wherewith they made the supplication; partly on account of the firmness of the opposition made by the Jews, which he saw, while he thought it a horrible thing for him to be such a slave to the madness of Caius, as to slay so many thousand men, only because of their religious disposition towards God, and after that to pass his life in expectation of punishment: Petronius, I say, thought it much better to send to Caius, and to let him know how intolerable it was to bear the anger he might have against him for not serving him sooner, in obedience to his epistle: for that perhaps he might persuade him; and that, if his mad resolution continued, he might then begin the war against them: nay, that in case he should turn his hatred against himself, it was fit for virtuous persons even to die for the sake of such vast multitudes of men. Accordingly he determined to hearken to the petitioners in this matter.

He then called the Jews together at Tiberias, who came many thousands in number: he also placed the army he now had with him opposite to them; but did not discover his own meaning, but the commands of the emperor; and told them, that his wrath would be executed without delay, on such as had the courage to disobey what he had commanded, and this immediately: and that it was fit for him, who had obtained so great a

* What Josephus here relates as done by the Jews before seed-time, is in Philo, not far off the time when the corn was ripe: who, as Le Clerc notes, differ here one from the other. This is another indication that Josephus, when he wrote this account, had not seen Philo's Legat. ad Caium, otherwise he would hardly have herein differed from him.

† This Publius Petronius was after this still president of Syria under Claudius; and, at the desire of Agrippa, published a severe decree against the inhabitants of Dora; who, in a sort of imitation of Caius, had set up a statue of Claudius in a Jewish synagogue there. This decree is extant, XIX. 6, and greatly confirms the present accounts of Josephus; as do the other decrees of Claudius relating to the like Jewish affairs, XIX. 5. To which I here refer the inquisitive reader: as also to Usher's Annals, at A. D. 42, till which year Petronius continued president of Syria.

dignity by his grant, not to contradict him in any thing. "Yet," said he, "I do not think it just to have such a regard to my own safety and honour, as to refuse to sacrifice them for your preservation; who are so many in number, and endeavour to preserve the regard that is due to your law: which, as it hath come down to you from your forefathers, so do you esteem its preservation worthy of your utmost contention. Nor, with the supreme assistance and power of God, will I be so hardy as to suffer your temple to fall into contempt, by means of the imperial authority. I will therefore send to Caius, and let him know what your resolutions are, and will assist your suit as far as I am able; that you may not be exposed to suffer on account of the honest designs you have proposed to yourselves. And may God be our assistant; for his authority is beyond all the contrivance and power of men; and may he procure you the preservation of your ancient laws; and may not he be deprived, though without your consent, of his accustomed honours. But if Caius be irritated, and turn the violence of his rage upon me, I will rather undergo all that danger and affliction that may come either on my body or my soul, than see so many of you perish, while you are acting in so excellent a manner. Do you, therefore, every one of you, return to your own occupations, and attend to the cultivation of your ground. I will, in the mean time, send to Rome; and will not refuse to serve you in all things, both by myself and by my friends."

When Petronius had said this, and had dismissed the assembly of the Jews, he desired the principal of them to take care of their husbandry, and to speak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have good hope of their affairs. Thus did he readily bring the multitude to be cheerful again. And now did God shew his *presence to Petronius, and signify to him, that he would afford him his assistance in his whole design; for he had no sooner finished the speech that he made to the Jews, but God sent down great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation, for that day was a clear day, and gave no sign, by the appearance of the sky, of any rain: nay, the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men despair of any water from above, even when at any time they saw the heavens overcast with clouds: insomuch that when such a great quantity of rain came, and that in an unusual manner, and without any expectation of it, the Jews hoped that Petronius would by no means fail in his petition for them. But as to Petronius, he was mightily surprised when he perceived that God evidently took care of the Jews, and gave very plain signs of his appearance; and this to such a degree, that those that were much inclined to the contrary, had no power left to contradict it. This was also among those other particulars which he †wrote to Caius: which all tended to dissuade him, and by all means to entreat him not to make so many thousands of these men go distracted: whom if he should slay, (for without war they would by no means suffer the laws of their worship to be set aside,) he would lose the revenue they paid him, and would be publicly execrated by them for all future ages. Moreover, that God, who was their governor, had shewn his power most evidently on their account; and that such a power as left no room for doubt about it.

But king Agrippa, who now lived at Rome, was more and more in the favour of Caius. And he once made him a supper, and was careful to exceed all others, both in expenses and in such preparations as might contribute most to his pleasure: nay, it was so far from the ability of others, that Caius himself could never equal, much less exceed it; such care had he taken beforehand to exceed all men, and particularly to make all agreeable to Cæsar. Hereupon Caius admired his understanding and magnificence, that he should force himself to do all to please him, even beyond such expenses as he could bear; and was desirous not to be behind Agrippa in that generosity which he exerted in order to please him. So Caius, when he had drank wine plentifully, and was merrier than ordinary, said thus, during the feast, when Agrippa drank to him:—

"I ‡knew before now, how great a respect thou hast had for me, and how great kindness thou hast shewed me, though with those hazards to thyself, which thou underwentest under Tiberius, on that account. Nor hast thou omitted any thing to shew thy good will towards me, even beyond thy ability: whence it would be a base thing for me to be conquered by thy affection. I am therefore desirous to make thee amends for every thing, in which I have been any way formerly deficient: for all that I have bestowed on thee that may be called my gifts is but little. Every thing that may contribute to thy happiness shall be at thy service; and that cheerfully, and so far as my ability will reach."

* Josephus here uses the solemn New Testament words, παρουσια, and επιφανια, the presence and appearance of God, for the extraordinary manifestation of his power and providence to Petronius, by sending rain in a time of distress, immediately upon the resolution he had taken to preserve the temple unpolluted at the hazard of his own life, without any other miraculous appearance at all in that case: which well deserves to be taken notice of here, and greatly illustrates several texts both in the Old and New Testament.

† Josephus's account here of the contents of Petronius's epistle, greatly differs from that of Philo's; Legat. page 1027, 1028. As does also Agrippa's speech to Caius here greatly differ from Agrippa's epistle to him in Philo; Legat. page 1031—1037. Which still farther prove that Josephus never saw that legation.

‡ This behaviour of Caius to Agrippa is very like that of Herod Antipas, his uncle, to Herodias, Agrippa's sister, about John the Baptist, Matt. xiv. 6—11.

And this was what Caius said to Agrippa; thinking he would ask for some large country, or the revenues of certain cities. But although he had previously resolved what he would ask, yet had he not discovered his intentions; but made answer immediately, that it was not out of any expectation of gain that he formerly paid his respects to him, contrary to the commands of Tiberius: nor did he now do any thing relating to him out of regard to his own advantage, and in order to receive any thing from him. That the gifts he had already bestowed upon him were great, and beyond the hopes of even a craving man. "For," said he, "although they may be beneath thy power, who art the donor; yet are they greater than my inclination and dignity, who am the receiver." And as Caius was astonished at Agrippa's inclinations, and still the more pressed him to make his request for somewhat which he might gratify him with, Agrippa replied, "Since thou, O my lord, declarest, such is thy readiness to grant, that I am worthy of thy gifts, I will ask nothing, relating to my own felicity; for what thou hast already bestowed on me has made me excel therein; but I desire somewhat which may make thee glorious for piety,* and render the Divinity assistant to thee in thy designs; and may be for an honour to me among those that inquire about it; as shewing that I never once fail of obtaining what I desire of thee. For my petition is this, that thou wilt no longer think of the dedication of that statue, which thou hast ordered to be set up in the Jewish temple by Petronius."

Thus did Agrippa venture to cast the die upon this occasion; so great was the affair in his opinion; though he knew how dangerous a thing it was so to speak: for had not Caius approved of it, it had tended to no less than the loss of his life. So Caius, who was mightily taken with Agrippa's obliging behaviour, and on other accounts thinking it a dishonourable thing to be guilty of falsehood before so many witnesses, in points wherein he had, with such alacrity, forced Agrippa to become a petitioner; and that it would look as if he had already repented of what he had said; and because he greatly admired Agrippa's virtue, in not desiring him to augment his own dominions, either with larger revenues or other authority; but took care of the public tranquillity, of the laws, and of the Divinity itself; he granted him what he had requested. He also wrote to Petronius, commending him for assembling his army, and then consulting him about those affairs. "If therefore," said he, "thou hast already erected my statue, let it stand: but if thou hast not yet dedicated it, do not trouble thyself farther about it; but dismiss thy army, and go back, and take care of those affairs which I sent thee about at first: for I have now no occasion for the erection of that statue. This I have granted as a favour to Agrippa; a man whom I honour so very greatly, that I am not able to contradict what he would have, or what he desires me to do for him." And this was what Caius wrote to Petronius: which was before he received his letter, informing him that the Jews were ready to revolt about the statue; and that they seemed resolved to threaten war against the Romans, and nothing else. When, therefore, Caius was much displeased that any attempt should be made against his government, as he was a slave to base and vicious actions on all occasions, and had no regard to what was virtuous and honourable; and against whomsoever he resolved to shew his anger, and that for any cause whatsoever, he suffered not himself to be restrained by any admonition, but thought the indulging his anger to be a real pleasure; he wrote thus to Petronius: "Seeing thou esteemest the presents made thee by the Jews to be of greater value than my commands, and art grown insolent enough to be subservient to their pleasure, I charge thee to become thy own judge; and to consider what thou art to do, now thou art under my displeasure: for I will make thee an example to the present and to all future ages, that they may not dare to contradict the commands of their emperor."

This was the epistle which Caius wrote: but Petronius did not receive it while Caius was alive; that ship which carried it sailing so slow, that other letters came to Petronius before this, by which he understood that Caius was dead: for God would not forget the dangers Petronius had undertaken on account of the Jews, and of his own honour. But when he had taken Caius away, out of his indignation of what he had so insolently attempted, in assuming to himself divine worship; both Rome and all that dominion conspired with Petronius, especially those that were of the senatorian order, to give Caius his due reward, because he had been unmercifully severe to them: for he died not long† after he had written to Petronius that epistle which threatened him with death. But as for the occasion of his death, and the nature of the plot against him, I shall relate them in the progress of this narration. Now that epistle which informed Petronius of Caius's death came first; and a little afterward came that which commanded him to kill himself with his own hands. Hereupon he rejoiced at this coincidence as to the death of Caius; and admired God's providence, who, without the least delay, gave him a reward for the regard he had for the temple, and the assistance he afforded the Jews for their avoiding the dangers they

* As this is the most honourable distinction which can be attained, men should be ambitious of acquiring it; especially as it never fails ultimately to obtain the respect it deserves. B.

† A. D. 41.

were in. And by this means Petronius escaped the danger of death, which he could not foresee.*

CHAP. IX.

OF WHAT BEFELL THE JEWS THAT WERE IN BABYLON, ON OCCASION OF TWO BRETHREN, CALLED ASINEUS AND ANILEUS.

A SAD calamity now befell the Jews that were in Mesopotamia, and especially those that dwelt in Babylonia. Inferior it was to none of the calamities which had gone before; and came together with a great slaughter of them, and that greater than any upon record before. Concerning all which I shall speak accurately, and shall explain the occasions whence these miseries came upon them. There was a city of Babylonia called Neerda; not only a very populous one, but one that had a good and a large territory about it; and, besides its other advantages, full of men also: it was besides not easily to be assaulted by enemies, from the river Euphrates encompassing it all round, and from the walls that were built about it. There was also the city †Nesibis, situated on the same current of the river. For which reason the Jews, depending on the natural strength of these places, deposited in them that half shekel which every one, by the custom of our country, offers unto God; as well as they did their other things devoted to him: for they made use of these cities as a treasury, whence, at a proper time, they were transmitted to Jerusalem: and many thousand men undertook the carriage of those donations, out of fear of the ravages of the Parthians, to whom the Babylonians were then subject. Now there were two men, Asineus and Anileus, of the city Neerda by birth, and brethren to one another. They were destitute of a father, and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving curtains: it not being esteemed a disgrace among them for men to be weavers of cloth. Now he that taught them that art, and was set over them, complained that they came too late to their work, and punished them with stripes. But they took this just punishment as an affront; and carried off all the weapons which were kept in that house, which were not a few: and went into a certain place, where was a partition of the rivers, and a place naturally fit for the feeding of cattle, and for preserving such fruits as were usually laid up against winter. The poorest sort of the young men

* I have hitherto compared Josephus's history with the pretended legation to Caius, as if it were genuine; as I, with all learned men, supposed it to be when I wrote the preceding notes. But upon this occasion I shall produce some reasons, which have since occurred to me, on a comparison of this pretended Philo and the real Josephus, why I strongly suspect that neither this satirical legation, nor its second part, as Photius esteemed it, I mean the satire upon Flaccus, are genuine.

I. Josephus, who gives us here a most honourable testimony to Philo, the principal of the three Alexandrian ambassadors to Caius; when he writes the history of the madness of Caius, in resolving to be honoured as a God, and, accordingly, as a God to have his statue erected in the Jewish temple by Petronius; and hints at the great danger the Jews were in at Alexandria, under Flaccus, about the very same time; says not one word of any writings of Philo on either of these subjects. Whence yet, had he known of any such genuine writings of this Philo, he would naturally have taken both those histories, as from the most authentic records in the world.

II. Josephus is not only entirely silent about such writings of Philo's; but, as he never mentions Flaccus at all, so does he, as we have seen all along, greatly differ from the legation to Caius; not only in a few circumstantials, but in the main contexture of the history itself. Which it is next to impossible for him to have done, had he read these histories, and believed them to be written by Philo himself; for whom he appears to have had the greatest esteem.

III. The time of this legation to Caius, and command to Petronius in Josephus, cannot be till the third year of the reign of Caius; because he says his two first years were very good, chap. 7. Whereas the legation brings them on not long after the sickness Caius had when he had reigned seven months only. So that still, Josephus and this author seem irreconcileable.

IV. What is put into Caius's mouth in the legation, upon occasion of Petronius's letter to him, page 1027, 1028, 1029, is more agreeable to the contents of that letter in Josephus, than in the legation: which affords no small suspicion of some prevarication in this case, and confirms the authority of Josephus's accounts against itself in other matters also.

V. The title, the whole pompous, tedious style: the long, juvenile, swelling, romantic, and paganish composition of the introduction; the strange exaggeration of circumstances in the narrative as to Agrippa's fainting away, and the very long letter of Agrippa to Caius, are highly improbable, very unlike to an honest and plain narration, and every way disagreeable to the grave style of Philo the Jew: especially when he is herein described as an old man at this time also, page 1018.

VI. What Eusebius says, on occasion of the writings against Caius, ascribed to Philo, which he informs us were five, though we have now but two remaining: viz. that they were said to be recited by the author, with great applause, before the Roman senate, in the days of Claudius; and were thereupon solemnly laid up in their public libraries; Hist. Eccl. II. 18, seems to afford us a key to this whole matter: viz. that some other Philo, who was in favour at Rome, in the days of Claudius, having procured some imperfect accounts of these affairs belonging to Egypt and Judea, wrought them up into their present form, in order to expose Caius, and his governor of Alexandria, Flaccus, to the utmost contempt possible. Nor could the honours done to this author at Rome, be at all supposed done to the Jewish genuine allegorical Philo: but might easily be done to some rhetorical grammarian, who fell in with the humour of the time and place, and largely exposed wicked Caius, now dead and despised, to the indignation of all men. But those that consider the great contempt and hatred the Romans bore to the Jews in this age, will find any such encouragement or respect to Philo the Jew, by the senate and people of Rome, to be perfectly incredible.

VII. Photius's account of these two books of Philo's, Cod. cv. is this, "That they are more rhetorical than Philo's other works, but that the author is guilty, in many respects, as to the wildness of his supposals, and the insertion of what is remote from the philosophical reasoning of Jews." Which very just censure is a strong confirmation of my opinion; that both these works, as we now have them, belong to some other Philo, a rhetorician; and not to the grave and allegorical Philo, the Jew, so famous in antiquity; which seems to be the truth of the case before us. Herennius Philo of Byblus, who lived somewhat later than Josephus, and wrote a treatise about the Jews, (perhaps one of those very treatises now under our consideration,) and was a learned grammarian also, seems to be more likely the author of these two satirical treatises, as we now have them, than Philo of Alexandria, who was considerably older than Josephus. Yet might he make those orations at Rome before the death of Claudius: though they might not be published till towards the end of the reign of Domitian; which was the very time when this Herennius Philo began to be famous for his writings. See Fabricius's Bibliotheca Græca. lib. IV. page 120. Possibly the preface, and three or four chapters, may be the genuine Philo's; though this is very uncertain; but the most part of the rest of this legation is little to the purpose, spurious, and additional.

† Nesibi, on the coins, as Spanheim assures us. Although Josephus seems to be here mistaken in its situation; for it stood, not upon Euphrates, but upon Mygdonius, a river which ran into the Tigris, as Dr. Hudson here observes.

also resorted to them; whom they armed with the weapons they had gotten, and became their captains. And nothing hindered them from being their leaders into mischief: for as soon as they were become invincible, and had built them a citadel, they sent to such as fed cattle, and ordered them to pay them so much tribute out of them as might be sufficient for their maintenance; proposing also that they would be their friends, if they would submit to them; and that they would defend them from all their other enemies on every side; but that they would kill the cattle of those that refused to obey them. So they hearkened to their proposals, (for they could do nothing else) and sent them as many sheep as were required of them. Hereby their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased; because they marched suddenly, and did them a mischief: insomuch that every body who had to do with them chose to pay them respect; and they became formidable to such as came to assault them; till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia.

But when the governor of Babylonia understood this, and had a mind to check them, before they grew greater, and before greater mischiefs should arise from them, he got together as great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and marched against them, thinking to attack and destroy them, before any one should carry them the news, that he had got an army together. He then encamped at a lake, and lay still. But on the next day, it was the sabbath, (which is among the Jews a day of rest from all sorts of work,) he supposed that the enemy would not dare to fight him thereon; but that he should take them, and carry them away prisoners, without fighting. He therefore proceeded gradually, and thought to fall upon them on the sudden. Now Asineus was sitting with the rest, and their weapons lay by them: upon which he said, "Sirs, I hear a neighing of horses; not of such as are feeding, but such as have men on their backs: I also hear such a noise of their bridles, that I am afraid that some enemies are coming upon us, to encompass us round. However, let somebody go to look about, and make report of what reality there is in the present state of things. And may what I have said prove a false alarm." And when he had said this, some of them went out to spy out what was the matter; and they came again immediately, and said to him, "Neither hast thou been mistaken in telling us what our enemies were doing, nor will those enemies permit us to be injurious to people any longer. We are caught by their intrigues, like brute beasts; and there is a large body of cavalry marching upon us; while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves withal, because we are restrained from doing it by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to rest on this day." But Asineus did not by any means agree with the opinion of his spy, as to what was to be done; but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this necessity, and break their law by avenging themselves, although they should die in the action, than, by doing nothing, to please their enemies in submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly he took up his weapons, and infused courage into those that were with him, to act as courageously as himself. So they fell upon their enemies, and slew a great many of them; because they despised them, and came as to a certain victory; and put the rest to flight.

When the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brethren, and was desirous to see and speak with them. He therefore sent the most trusty of all his guards to say to them: "King Artabanus, although he hath been unjustly treated by you, who have made an attempt against his government; yet hath he more regard to your courageous behaviour, than to the anger he bears you; and hath sent me to give you his *right hand, and security; and he permits you to come to him safely, and without any violence upon the road; and he wishes you to address yourselves to him as his friends, without meaning any guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents; and to pay you those respects which will make an addition of his power to your courage, and thereby be of advantage to you. Yet did Asineus put off his journey thither; but sent his brother Anileus, with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king's presence. And when Artabanus saw Anileus coming alone, he inquired the reason why Asineus avoided to come along with him? And when he understood that he was afraid, and staid by the lake, he took an oath by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him, upon the assurances he gave them, and gave him his right hand. This is of the greatest force there with all these barbarians, and affords a firm security to those who converse with them: for none of them will deceive a person, when once they have given him their right hand; nor will any one doubt of their fidelity when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of injustice. When Artabanus had done this, he sent away Anileus to presuade his brother to come to him. Now this the king did, because he wanted to curb his own governors

* This joining of the right hands was esteemed, among the Persians and Parthians in particular, a most inviolable obligation to fidelity; as Dr. Hudson here observes; and refers to the commentary on Justin, XI. 15, for its confirmation. We often meet with the like use of it in Josephus.

of provinces by the courage of these Jewish brethren, lest they should make a league with them: for they were ready for a revolt, and were disposed to rebel, had they been sent on an expedition against them. He was also afraid, lest, when he was engaged in a war, in order to subdue those governors of provinces that had revolted, the party of Asineus, and those in Babylonia, should be augmented; and either make war upon him when they should hear of that revolt, or, if they should be disappointed in that case, they would not fail of doing farther mischief to him.

When the king had these intentions, he sent away Anileus; and Anileus prevailed on his brother to come to the king, when he had related to him the king's good will, and the oath that he had taken. Accordingly they made haste to go to Artabanus: who received them when they were come with pleasure; and admired Asineus's courage in the actions he had done; and this because he was a little man, and at first sight appeared contemptible. He also said to his friends, how, upon the comparison, he shewed his soul to be, in all respects, superior to his body. And when, as they were drinking together, he once shewed Asineus to Abdagases, one of the generals of his army, and told him his name, and described the great courage he was of in war; and Abdagases had desired leave to kill him, and thereby to inflict on him a punishment for those injuries he had done to the Parthian government; the king replied, "I will never give thee leave to kill a man who hath depended upon my faith; especially after I have sent him my right hand, and endeavoured to gain his belief by oaths made by the gods. But if thou art a truly warlike man, thou standest not in need of my perjury. Go then, and avenge the Parthian government: attack this man when he is returning back, and conquer him by the forces that are under thy command, without my privity." Hereupon the king called for Asineus, and said to him, "It is time for thee, O young man, to return home, and not to provoke the indignation of my generals in this place any farther; lest they attempt to murder thee, and that without my approbation. I commit to thee the country of Babylonia in trust; that it may by thy care be preserved free from robbers, and from other mischiefs. I have kept my faith inviolable to thee, and that not in trifling affairs, but in those that concerned thy safety; and I therefore deserve that thou shouldest be kind to me." When he had said this, and given Asineus some presents, he sent him away immediately: who, when he was come home, built fortresses, and became great in a little time; and managed things with such courage and success, as no other person, that had no higher a beginning, ever did before him. Those Parthian governors also, who were sent that way, paid him great respect. And the honour that was paid him by the Babylonians seemed to them too small, and beneath his deserts; although he were in no small dignity and power there. Nay, all the affairs of Mesopotamia depended upon him: and he flourished more and more in this happy condition for fifteen years.

But as their affairs were in so flourishing a state, there sprang up a calamity among them on the following occasion. When once they had deviated from that course of virtue whereby they had obtained so great power, they affronted and transgressed the laws of their forefathers,* and fell under the dominion of their lusts and pleasures.† A certain Parthian, who came as general of an army into those parts, had a wife followed him, who had a vast reputation for other accomplishments, and was particularly admired above all other women for her beauty. Anileus, the brother of Asineus, either heard of her beauty from others, or perhaps saw her himself; and so became at once her lover, and her enemy: partly because he could not hope to possess this woman but by obtaining power over her as a captive; and partly because he thought he could not conquer his inclinations for her. As soon, therefore, as her husband had been declared an enemy to them, and was fallen in the battle, the widow of the deceased was married to this her lover. However, she did not come into their house without producing great misfortunes both to Anileus himself, and to Asineus; but brought great mischiefs upon them, on the following occasion. Since she was led away captive, upon the death of her husband, she concealed the images of those gods which were their country gods, common to her husband and to herself. Now it is the ‡custom of that country for all to have the idols they worship in their own houses, and carry them along with them when they go into a foreign land: agreeably to which custom she carried her idols with her. Now at first she performed her worship to them privately. But when she was become Anileus's wife, she worshipped them in her accustomed manner, and with the same appointed ceremonies which she used in her former husband's days. Upon which their most esteemed friends blamed him at first, that he did not act after the manner of the Hebrews, nor perform what

* Vice is progressive, and wicked men usually proceed from bad to worse, thus filling up the measure of their iniquity, and preparing themselves for the punishment they deserve. B.

† About A. D. 55.

‡ This custom of the Mesopotamians to carry their household gods along with them, wherever they travelled, is as old as the days of Jacob: when his wife Rachel did the same. Gen. xxxi. 19, 30—35. Nor is it to pass here unobserved, what great miseries came on these Jews, because they suffered one of their leaders to marry an idolatrous wife, contrary to the law of Moses. Of which matter see the note on XI. 5.

was agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife; and one that transgressed the appointments of their sacrifices and religious ceremonies. That he ought to consider, lest by allowing himself in many pleasures of the body, he might lose his principality, on account of the beauty of a wife; and that high authority which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But they prevailed not at all upon him, and he even slew one of them for whom he had the greatest respect, because of the liberty he took with him. This man, when he was dying, imprecated a punishment upon his murderer Anileus, and upon Asineus also: and prayed that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies: upon the two first as the principal actors of this wickedness; and upon the rest as those that would not assist him when he suffered in the defence of their laws. Now these latter were sorely grieved: yet did they tolerate these doings, because they remembered that they arrived at their present happy state by no other means than their fortitude. But when they also heard of the worship of those gods whom the Parthians adore, they thought the injury that Anileus offered to their laws, was to be borne no longer: and a greater number of them came to Asineus, and loudly complained of Anileus; and told him, that it had been well that he had of himself seen what was advantageous to them: but that it was now high time to correct what had been done amiss, before the crime that had been committed proved the ruin of himself, and of all the rest of them. They added, that the marriage of this woman was made without their consent, and without a regard to their old laws; and that the worship which she paid to her idols was a reproach to the God whom they worshipped. Now Asineus was sensible of his brother's offence; that it had been already the cause of great mischiefs, and would be so for the time to come. Yet did he tolerate the same, from the good will he had to so near a relation; and forgave it on account that his brother was quite overborne by his wicked inclinations. But as more and more still came about him every day, and the clamours about it became greater, he at length spake to Anileus: reproving him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproofs. For as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account; and was afraid for Anileus, lest he should come to any harm for his love to her, she infused poison into Asineus's food; and thereby took him off: and was now secure of prevailing, when her lover was to be judge of what should be done about her.

Anileus now took the government upon himself, and led his army against the villages of Mithridates, who was a man of principal authority in Parthia, and had married king Artabanus's daughter. He also plundered them: and among that prey was found much money, and many slaves; as also a great number of sheep, and many other things which, when gained, make men's condition happy. Now when Mithridates, who was there at this time, heard that his villages were taken, he was much displeased to find that Anileus had first begun to injure him, and to affront him in his present dignity, when he had not offered any injury to him beforehand: and he assembled the greatest body of horsemen he was able; and those out of that number which were of an age fit for war, and came to fight Anileus. And when he was arrived at a certain village of his own, he lay still there; as intending to fight him on the day following; because it was the sabbath, the day on which the Jews rest. And when Anileus was informed of this, by a Syrian stranger of another village, who not only gave him an exact account of other circumstances, but told him where Mithridates would have a feast; he took his supper at a proper time, and marched by night, with an intent of falling upon the Parthians while they were unapprised what they should do. So he fell upon them about the fourth watch of the night, and some of them he slew, while they were asleep, and others he put to flight; and took Mithridates alive, and *set him naked upon an ass; which among the Parthians is esteemed the greatest reproach possible. And when he had brought him into a wood, with such a resolution, and his friends desired him to kill Mithridates, he told them his own mind to the contrary, and said that it was not right to kill a man who was one of the principal families among the Parthians, and greatly honoured with matching into the royal family: that so far as they had hitherto gone was tolerable: for although they had injured Mithridates, yet, if they preserved his life, this benefit would be remembered by him to the advantage of those that gave it him. But that if he were once put to death, the king would not be at rest till he had made a great slaughter of the Jews that dwelt at Babylon: to whose safety they ought to have regard, both on account of their relation to them, and because if any misfortune happened, they should have no other place to retire to: since he had the flower of their youth under him. By this speech made in council, he persuaded them to act accordingly. So Mithridates was set at liberty. But when he was gone away, his wife reproached him, that, although he were son-in-law to the king, he neglected to avenge himself on those that had

* This custom in Syria and Mesopotamia, of setting men upon an ass, by way of disgrace, is still kept up at Damascus in Syria: where, in order to shew their despite against the Christians, the Turks will not suffer them to ride on horses, but asses only; as Mr. Maundrell assures us, page 128.

injured him: while he took no care about it, but was contented to have been made a captive by the Jews, and to have escaped them: and she bade him to go back, like a man of courage; or else she sware by the gods of their royal family, that she would certainly dissolve her marriage with him. Upon this, partly because he could not bear her daily taunts, and partly because he was afraid of her insolence, lest she should in earnest dissolve their marriage, he unwillingly got together again as large an army as he could, and marched along with them; as thinking it a thing not to be borne any longer, that he, a Parthian, should owe his preservation to the Jews, when they had been too hard for him in the war.

But, as soon as Anileus understood that Mithridates was marching with a great army against him, he thought it an ignominious thing to tarry about the lakes, and not to take the first opportunity of meeting his enemies: and he hoped to have the same success, and to beat his enemies as he did before: as also he ventured boldly upon the like attempts. Accordingly he led out his army, and a great many more joined him, in order to betake themselves to plunder other people; and in order to terrify the enemy again by their numbers. But when they had marched ninety furlongs, while the road had been through dry and sandy places, and about the midst of the day, they were become very thirsty: and Mithridates appeared, and fell upon them, as they were in distress for want of water. On which account, and on account of the time of the day, they were not able to bear their weapons. So Anileus and his men were put to an ignominious rout; while men in despair were to attack those that were fresh, and in good condition: so a great slaughter was made, and many thousands fell. Now Anileus, and all that stood firm about him, ran away as fast as they were able, into a wood; and afforded Mithridates the pleasure of having gained a great victory over them. But there now came in to Anileus a conflux of bad men, who heeded their own lives very little, if they might but gain some present ease. Insomuch that they, by thus coming to him, compensated the multitude of those that perished in the fight. Yet were not these men like to those that fell, because they were rash and inexperienced in war. However, with these he came upon the villages of the Babylonians, and a mighty devastation of all things was made there, by the injuries that Anileus did them. So the Babylonians, and those that had already been in the war, sent to Neerda, to the Jews there, and demanded Anileus. But although they did not agree to their demands; (or if they had been willing to deliver him up, it was not in their power so to do;) yet did they desire to make peace with them. To which the other replied, that they also wanted to settle conditions of peace with them, and sent men, together with the Babylonians, who discoursed with Anileus about them. But the Babylonians, upon taking a view of his situation; and having learned where Anileus and his men lay, fell secretly upon them, as they were intoxicated, and fallen asleep, and slew all that they caught of them, without any fear; and killed Anileus himself also.

The Babylonians were now freed from Anileus's heavy incursions, which had been a great restraint to the effects of that hatred they bore to the Jews. For they were almost always at variance, by reason of the contrariety of their laws: and which party soever grew boldest, they assaulted the other. And at this time in particular it was, that, upon the ruin of Anileus's party, the Babylonians attacked the Jews. This made those Jews so vehemently to resent the injuries they received from the Babylonians, that being neither able to fight them, nor bearing to live with them, they went to Seleucia, the principal city of those parts, which was built by Seleucus Nicator: and which was inhabited by many of the Macedonians, but by more of the Grecians. Not a few of the Syrians also dwelt there. And thither did the Jews fly, and lived there five years, without any misfortunes. But on the sixth year a pestilence came upon those at Babylon, which occasioned new removals of men's habitations out of that city; and because they came to Seleucia, it happened that a still heavier calamity came upon them on that account.

Now the way of living of the people of Seleucia, which were Greeks and Syrians, was commonly quarrelsome, and full of discord; though the Greeks were too hard for the Syrians. When, therefore, the Jews were come thither, and dwelt among them, there arose a sedition, and the Syrians were too hard for the other, by the assistance of the Jews, who are men that despise dangers, and are very ready to fight upon any occasion. Now when the Greeks had the worst in this sedition, and saw that they had but one way of recovering their former authority, and that was, if they could prevent the agreement between the Jews and the Syrians; they discoursed with such of the Syrians as were formerly their acquaintance, and promised they would be at peace and friendship with them. Accordingly they gladly agreed so to do. And when this was done by the principal men of both nations, they soon agreed to a reconciliation. And when they were so agreed, they both knew that the great sign of such a union would be their common hatred to the Jews. Accordingly they fell upon them, and slew above fifty thousand of them: nay, the Jews were all destroyed, excepting a few who escaped, either by the compassion which their friends or neighbours afforded them, in order to let them flee

away. These retired to *Ctesiphon, a Grecian city, and situate near to Seleucia, where the king of Parthia lives in winter every year, and where the greatest part of his riches are deposited. But the Jews had here no certain settlement: those of Seleucia, having little concern for the king's honour. Now the whole nation of the Jews were in fear both of the Babylonians, and of the Seleucians: because all the Syrians that live in those places agreed with the Seleucians in the war against the Jews. So the most of them gathered themselves together, and went to Neerda, and Nisibis; and obtained security there by the strength of those cities: besides which their inhabitants, who were very numerous, were all warlike men. And this was the state of the Jews at this time in Babylonia.

* Take Spanheim's note here: "Ctesiphon was a Grecian city, and near to Seleucia. The king of Persia always spent his winter there. Amm. Marcellin. XXIII. 6, page 286. Ctesiphon, which Varanes settled in old time. King Pacorus brought more inhabitants to it, and built a wall about it: and under its Grecian name made it the best city of Persia. Next to which was Seleucia," &c. See Strabo, XVI. page 743.

BOOK XIX.

Containing an Interval of Thirty-three Years and a Half.

FROM THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS OUT OF BABYLON, TO FADUS THE ROMAN PROCURATOR.

CHAP. I.

*OF THE ASSASSINATION OF CAIUS BY CHEREA.

NOW †Caius did not only demonstrate his madness in offering injuries to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in the neighbourhood, but suffered it to extend itself through all the earth and the sea, so far as was in subjection to the Romans; and filled it with ten thousand mischiefs: so many indeed, in number, as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dismal effects of what he did: while he deemed that not to be any way more honourable than the rest of the cities: but he persecuted its citizens, and especially the senate and the nobility, and such as had been dignified by illustrious ancestors. He also had ten thousand devices against such of the equestrian order, as it was styled, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth with the senators; because out of them the senators themselves were chosen. These he treated after an ignominious manner, and removed them out of his way: while they were at once slain, and their wealth plundered: because he slew men generally in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity; and insisted on greater

* N. B. In this and the three next chapters we have, I think, a larger and more distinct account of the slaughter of Caius, and the succession of Claudius, than we have of any such ancient facts elsewhere. Some of the occasions of which probably were, Josephus's bitter hatred against tyranny; and the pleasure he took in giving the history of the slaughter of such a barbarous tyrant as was this Caius Caligula; as also the deliverance his own nation had by that slaughter.

† Called Caligula, by the Romans.

honours to be paid him by his subjects than are due to mankind. He also frequented that temple of Jupiter, which they style the capitol; which is with them the most holy of all their temples: and had boldness enough to call himself the brother of Jupiter. And other pranks he did like a madman. As when he laid* a bridge from the city Dicearchia, to Misenum, another city upon the sea side, from one promontory to another, of the length of thirty furlongs, as measured over the sea. And this was done, because he esteemed it to be a most tedious thing to row over it, in a small ship: and thought that it became him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth. So he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it: and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over such roads as this was. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Grecian temples; but gave order that all the engravings, and sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues and donations therein dedicated, should be brought to him: saying, that the best things ought to be set no where but in the best place: and that the city of Rome was that best place. He also adorned his own house and gardens with the curiosities brought from those temples; together with the houses he lay at when he travelled all over Italy. Whence he did not scruple to give a command, that the statue of Jupiter Olympius, so called, because he was honoured at the Olympian games by the Greeks, which was the work of Phidias the Athenian, should be brought to Rome. Yet did he not compass his end; because the architects told Memmius Regulus, who was commanded to remove that statue of Jupiter, that the workmanship was such as would be spoiled, and would not bear the removal. It was also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of some such mighty prodigies as are of an incredible nature, put off the taking of it down: and wrote to Caius those accounts, as an apology for not having done what his epistle required of him. And that when he was thence in danger of perishing, he was saved by Caius being killed himself, before he had put him to death.

Nay, Caius's madness came to this height, that when he had a daughter born, he carried her into the capitol, and put her upon the knees of the statue, and said, that the child was common to him and to Jupiter; and determined that she had two fathers: but which of those fathers were the greatest, he left undetermined. And yet mankind bore with him in such absurdities. He also gave leave to slaves to accuse their masters of any crimes, whatsoever they pleased.† For all such accusations were terrible; because they were in great part made to please him, and at his suggestion. Insomuch that ‡Pollux, Claudius's slave, had the boldness to lay an accusation against Claudius himself; and Caius was not ashamed to be present at his trial of life and death, to hear that trial of his uncle, in hopes of being able to take him off: although this did not succeed to his mind. But when he had filled the habitable world which he governed, with false accusations and miseries, and had occasioned the greatest insults of slaves against their masters, who indeed in great measure ruled them, there were many secret plots laid against him. Some in anger, and in order for men to revenge themselves, on account of the miseries they had already undergone from him; and others made attempts upon him, in order to take him off, before they should fall into such great miseries. His death came very fortunately for the preservation of the laws of all men, and had a great influence upon the public welfare. And this happened most happily for our nation in particular, which had almost utterly perished, if he had not been suddenly slain. And I confess I am inclined to give a full account of this matter, particularly because it will afford great assurance of the power of God, and great comfort to those that are under afflictions; and wise caution to those who think their happiness will never end, nor bring them at length to the most lasting miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

There were three several conspiracies made in order to take off Caius: and each of these was conducted by excellent persons. Emilius Regulus, born at Corduba in Spain, got some men together; and was desirous to take Caius off, either by them, or by himself. Another conspiracy was laid by them under the conduct of Cherea Cassius, the tribune of the Pretorian band. Minucianus Annius was also one of great consequence among those that were prepared to oppose his tyranny. Now the several occasions of these men's hatred and conspiracy against Caius were these: Regulus had indignation and hatred against all injustice: for he had a mind naturally bold, and free; which made him not conceal his counsels. So he communicated them to many of his friends, and to others, who seemed to him persons of activity and vigour. Minucianus entered into this conspiracy,

* This bridge over an arm of the sea, from Puteoli to Misenum, made by Caius Caligula, is, in general, mentioned by Dio, LIX. page 650, 651. Its length is given us by Suetonius, in Caius, chap. XIX. of 3600 paces; which is about the same length with these 30 furlongs in Josephus. See Hudson's and Spanheim's Notes here.

† Nothing could be more dangerous than this permission, since it may be easily imagined that many things might induce the slaves to be active in such a work. Base men commonly discover the degeneracy of their minds, by the mischievous devices they sanction and execute. B.

‡ Caius's encouragement of a slave to accuse his uncle Claudius, who was the slave's master, is particularly hinted at by Suetonius in Claud. chap. IX.

because of the injustice done to Lepidus, his particular friend, and one of the best character of all the citizens, whom Caius had slain; as also because he was afraid of himself: as the wrath of Caius tended to the slaughter of all alike. And Cherea came in because he thought it a deed worthy of a free ingenuous man to kill a tyrant; and was ashamed of the reproaches he lay under from Caius as though he were a coward; as also because he was himself in danger every day from his friendship with him, and the observance he paid him. These men proposed this attempt to all the rest that were concerned: who saw the injuries that were offered them, and were desirous that Caius's slaughter might succeed by their mutual assistance of one another; and they might themselves escape being killed by the taking off Caius. That perhaps they should gain their point; and that it would be a happy thing if they should gain it, to approve themselves to so many excellent persons, as earnestly wished to be partakers with them in their design; for the delivery of the city, and of the government, even at the hazard of their own lives. But still Cherea was the most zealous of them all: both out of a desire of getting himself the greatest name; and also by reason of his access to Caius's presence, with less danger, because he was tribune; and could, therefore, the more easily kill him.

Now at this time came on the horse-races, or Circensian games; the view of which was eagerly desired by the people of Rome. For they come with great alacrity into the Hippodrome* at such times: and petition their emperors in great multitudes, for what they stand in need of. And their requests were, in general, readily and gratefully granted them. Accordingly they most importunately desired that Caius would now ease them in their tributes, and abate somewhat of the rigour of the taxes imposed upon them. But he would not †hear their petition; and when their clamours increased, he sent soldiers, some one way, and some another, and gave order that they should lay hold on those that made the clamour; and, without any more ado, bring them out, and put them to death. These were Caius's commands: and those who were commanded executed the same. And the number of those who were slain on this occasion was very great. Now the people saw this, and bore it so far, that they left off clamouring; because they saw, that this petition to be relieved, as to the payment of their money, brought immediate death upon them. These things made Cherea more resolute to go on with his plot; in order to put an end to this barbarity of Caius. He therefore, at several times, thought to fall upon Caius, even as he was feasting: yet did he restrain himself by some considerations. Not that he had any doubt about killing him, but as watching for a proper season, that the attempt might not be frustrated, but that he might give the blow, so as might certainly effect his purpose.

Cherea had been in the army a long time: yet was he not pleased with conversing so much with Caius. But Caius had set him to require the tributes, and other dues, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to Cæsar's treasury; and he had made some delays in requiring them, because those burdens had been doubled: and had rather indulged his own mild disposition, than performed Caius's command. Nay, indeed, he provoked Caius to anger by his sparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes of those from whom he demanded the taxes. And Caius upbraided him with his sloth and effeminacy, in being so long about collecting the taxes. And indeed he did not only affront him in other respects; but when he gave him the watch-word of the day, to whom it was to be given by his place, he gave him ‡feminine words, and those of a nature very reproachful. And these watch-words he gave out, as having been initiated in the secrets of certain mysteries,§ which he had been himself the author of. Now although he had sometimes put on women's clothes; and had been wrapt in some embroidered garments, and done a great many other things, in order to make the company mistake him for a woman; yet did he, by way of reproach, object the like womanish behaviour to Cherea. But when Cherea received the watch-word from him, he had indignation at it; but had greater indignation at the delivery of it to others; as being laughed at by those that received it. Insomuch that his fellow tribunes made him the subject of their drollery. For they would foretell that he would bring them some of his usual watch-words, when he was about to take his watch-word from Cæsar, and would thereby make him ridiculous. On these accounts, therefore, he took the courage of assuming certain partners to him; as having just reasons for his indignation against Caius. Now there was one Pompedius, a senator, and one who had gone through almost all posts in the government; but otherwise an Epicurean: and for that reason loved to lead an inactive life. Now Timidius, an enemy of his, had informed Caius that he had used indecent re-

* The Circus.

† This rigour in exacting tribute and taxes of all with the utmost barbarity, is also noticed by Suetonius, in Caius, chap. XL.

‡ These feminine or obscene watch-words given Cherea by Caius, are mentioned both by Dio, LIX. page 662, and also by Suetonius, in Caius, chap. LVI.

§ There were many mysteries, or systems of mythology and pretended religious rites, among the ancients. Into the knowledge of these such persons only were initiated as were thought worthy of confidence, and who, by their influence or talents, were likely to serve the common cause. B.

proaches against him; and had made use of Quintilia for a witness to them. A woman who was much beloved by many that frequented the theatre, and particularly by Pompedius, on account of her great beauty. Now this woman thought it a horrible thing to attest to an accusation that touched the life of her lover, which was a gross falsehood. Timidius, however, wanted to have her brought to the torture. Caius was irritated at this reproach upon him; and commanded Cherea to torture Quintilia: as he used to employ Cherea in such matters; because he thought he would do it the more barbarously, in order to avoid that imputation of effeminacy, which he had laid upon him. But Quintilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know, that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of the consequence of her tortures: for that she would bear them with magnanimity. Cherea tortured this woman after a cruel manner: unwillingly, indeed, but because he could not help it. He then brought her, without being in the least moved at what she had suffered, into the presence of Caius; and that in such a state, as was sad to behold. And Caius being somewhat affected with the sight of Quintilia, who had her body miserably disordered by the pains she had undergone, freed both her and Pompedius of the crime laid to their charge. He also gave her money, to make her an honourable amends, and comfort her for that maiming of her body, which she had suffered; and for her glorious patience under such acute torments. This matter sore grieved Cherea: as having been the cause as far as he could, or the instrument of those miseries to men, which seemed worthy of consolation to Caius himself. On which account he said to Clement, the general of the army, and to Papinius, a tribune, "To be sure, O Clement, we have no way failed in guarding the emperor. For as to those that have made conspiracies against his government, some have been slain by our care and pains; and some have been by us tortured, and this to such a degree, that he hath himself pitied them. How great then is our virtue in submitting to conduct his armies!" Clement held his peace; but shewed the shame he was under in obeying Caius's orders, both by his eyes, and his blushing countenance, while he thought it by no other means right to accuse the emperor in express words: lest their own safety should be endangered thereby. Hereupon Cherea took courage, and spake to him without fear of the dangers that were before him; and discoursed largely of the sore calamities under which the city and the government then laboured: and said, "We may, indeed, pretend in words that Caius is the person unto whom the cause of such miseries ought to be imputed: but in the opinion of such as are able to judge uprightly, it is I, O Clement, and this Papinius, and, before us, thou thyself who bring these tortures upon the Romans, and upon all mankind. It is not done by our being subservient to the commands of Caius, but by our own consent. For whereas it is in our power to put an end to the life of this man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens and his subjects, we are his guard in mischief, and his executioners, instead of his soldiers; and are the instruments of his cruelty. We bear these weapons, not for our liberty, nor for the Roman government; but only for his preservation, who hath enslaved both their bodies and their minds: and we are every day polluted with the blood that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon others. And this we do, till somebody becomes Caius's instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us, because he hath a kindness for us, but rather because he hath a suspicion of us: as also because, when abundance more have been killed, (for Caius will set no bounds to his wrath; since he aims to do all, not out of regard to justice, but to his own pleasure;) we shall also be exposed to his cruelty. Whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of all; and at the same time to resolve to free ourselves from dangers."

Hereupon Clement openly commended Cherea's intentions; but bade him be silent: for that in case his words should get out among many, and such things should be spread abroad, as were fit to be concealed, the plot would be discovered before it was executed; and that they should be brought to punishment: but that they should leave all to futurity, and the hope which thence arose, that some fortunate event would come to their assistance. That as for himself, his age would not permit him to make any attempt in that case. "However," said he, "although, perhaps, I could suggest what may be safer than what thou Cherea hast contrived, and said, yet how is it possible for any one to suggest what is more for thy reputation?" So Clement went home with deep reflections on what he had heard, and what he had himself said. Cherea also was under a concern, and went quickly to Cornelius Sabinus: who was himself one of the tribunes, and whom he otherwise knew to be a worthy man, and a lover of liberty; and on that account uneasy at the present management of public affairs. He being desirous to come immediately to the execution of what had been determined; and thinking it right for him to propose it to the other; and afraid lest Clement should discover them: and besides looking upon procrastination to be next to desisting from the enterprise.

But as all was agreeable to Sabinus, who had the same design with Cherea, but had been silent for want of a person to whom he could safely communicate his thoughts, so having now met with one, who not only

promised to conceal what he heard, but who had already opened his mind to him; he was much more encouraged, and desired of Cherea that no delay might be made. Accordingly they went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man, and as zealous to do glorious actions, as themselves; and suspected by Caius on occasion of the slaughter of Lepidus. For Minucianus and Lepidus were intimate friends, and both in fear of the dangers that they were under. Caius was, indeed, terrible to all the great men; as appearing ready to act a mad part towards each of them in particular, and towards all of them in general: and these men were afraid of one another, while they were yet uneasy at the posture of affairs, but avoided to declare their mind and their hatred against Caius to one another, out of fear of the dangers they might be in thereby. Although they perceived by other means their mutual hatred against the tyrant, and on that account were not averse to a mutual kindness each towards another.

When Minucianus and Cherea had met and saluted one another: (as they had been used in former conversations to give the upper hand to Minucianus, both on account of his eminent dignity, for he was the noblest of all the citizens, and highly commended by men, especially when he made speeches to them;) Minucianus began first, and asked Cherea, what was the watch-word he had received for that day from Caius? for the affront which was offered Cherea in giving the watch-words, was famous over the city. But Cherea made no delay, so long as to reply to that question, out of the joy he had that Minucianus would have such confidence in him as to discourse with him. "But do thou," said he, "give me the watch-word of liberty. And I return thee my thanks that thou hast so greatly encouraged me to exert myself after an extraordinary manner: nor do I stand in need of many words to encourage me, since both thou and I are of the same mind, and partakers of the same resolutions, and this before we have conferred together. I have, indeed, but one sword girt on, but this one will serve us both. Come on, therefore, let us set about the work. Do thou go first, if thou hast a mind, and bid me follow thee. Or else I will go first, and thou shalt assist me, and we will assist and trust one another. Nor is there a necessity for even one sword to such as have a mind disposed to such works, by which mind the sword uses to be successful. I am zealous about this action, nor am I solicitous what I may undergo: for I am not at leisure to consider the dangers that may come upon myself; so deeply am I troubled at the slavery our once free country is now under, and at the contempt cast upon our excellent laws, and at the destruction which hangs over all men by the means of Caius. I wish that I may be judged by thee, and that thou mayest esteem me worthy of credit in these matters, seeing we are both of the same opinion, and there is herein no difference between us."

When Minucianus saw the vehemency with which Cherea delivered himself, he encouraged him in his bold attempt; commending and embracing him; so he let him go with his good wishes. And some affirm, that he thereby confirmed Minucianus in the prosecution of what had been agreed among them. For as Cherea entered into the court, the report runs, that a voice came from among the multitude to encourage him; which bade him finish what he was about, and take the opportunity that Providence afforded: and that Cherea, at first suspected that some one of the conspirators had betrayed him, and he was caught: but at length perceived that it was by way of exhortation. Whether *somebody that was conscious of what he was about, gave a signal for his encouragement; or whether it were God himself, who looks upon the actions of men, that encouraged him to go on boldly in his design, is uncertain. The plot was now communicated to a great many; and they were all in their armour; some of the conspirators being senators, and some of the equestrian order; and as many of the soldiery as were made acquainted with it. For there was not one of them who would not reckon it a part of his happiness to kill Caius: and on that account they were all very zealous in the affair, by what means soever any one could come at it, that he might not be behind hand in these virtuous designs; but might be ready with all his alacrity or power, both by words and actions, to complete this slaughter of a tyrant. And besides these, Callistus also, who was a freedman of Caius's, and was the only man that had arrived at the greatest degree of power under him; such a power indeed, as was in a manner equal to that of the tyrant himself; by the dread that all men had of him, and by the great riches he had acquired. For he took bribes most plenteously,† and committed injuries without bounds; and was more extravagant in the use of his power in unjust proceedings than any other. He also knew the disposition of Caius to be implacable, and never to be turned from what he had resolved on. He had withal many other reasons why he thought himself in danger: and the vastness of his wealth was not one of the least of them. On which account he privately ingratiated

* Just such a voice as this is related to be, came, and that from an unknown original also, to the famous Polycarp, as he was going to martyrdom; bidding him play the man. As the church of Smyrna assure us, in their account of his martyrdom.

† Such as are accessible and to be influenced by bribes, are not to be confided in. The corruption of mind which allows of such influence may, by a farther compensation, be induced to renounce what a former present appeared to secure. B.

himself with Claudius, and transferred his courtship to him; out of this hope, that in case, upon the removal of Caius, the government should come to him, his interests in such changes should lay a foundation for preserving his dignity under him; since he laid in beforehand a stock of merit, and did Claudius good offices in his promotion. He had also the boldness to pretend, that he had been persuaded to make away Claudius by poisoning him; but had still invented ten thousand excuses for delaying to do it. But it seems probable to me, that Callistus only counterfeited this, in order to ingratiate himself with Claudius. For if Caius had in earnest resolved to take off Claudius, he would not have admitted of Callistus's excuses. Nor would Callistus, if he had been enjoined to do such an act as was desired by Caius, have put it off; nor if he had disobeyed those injunctions of his master, could he have escaped immediate punishment. While Claudius was preserved from the madness of Caius by a certain divine providence; and Callistus pretended to such a piece of merit as he no way deserved.

However, the execution of Cherea's designs was put off from day to day, by the sloth of many therein concerned. For as to Cherea himself, he would not willingly make any delay in that execution, thinking every time proper for it. For frequent opportunities offered themselves. As when Caius went up to the capitol, to sacrifice for his daughter; or when he stood upon his royal palace, and threw gold and silver pieces of money among the people, he might be pushed down headlong: because the top of the palace that looks toward the market-place, was very high: and also when he celebrated the mysteries, which he had appointed at that time. For he was then no way secluded from the people, but solicitous to do every thing carefully and decently: and was free from all suspicion, that he should be then assaulted by any body. And although the gods should afford him no divine assistance to enable him to take away his life; yet had he strength himself sufficient to despatch Caius, even without a sword. Thus was Cherea angry at his fellow conspirators: for fear they should suffer a proper opportunity to pass by. And they were themselves sensible, that he had just cause to be angry at them; and that his eagerness was for their advantage. Yet did they desire he would have a little longer patience; lest, upon any disappointment they might meet with, they should put the city into disorder; and an inquisition should be made after the conspiracy; and should render the courage of those that were to attack Caius without success. While he would then secure himself more carefully than ever against them. That it would therefore be the best to set about the work when the shews were exhibited in the palace. These shews were acted in honour of that *Cæsar, who first of all changed the popular government, and transferred it to himself. Galleries being fixed before the palace, where the Romans that were patricians became spectators, together with their children and their wives; and Cæsar himself was to be also a spectator; and they reckoned among those many thousands, who would there be crowded into a narrow compass, they should have a favourable opportunity to make their attempt upon him, as he came in, because his guards that should protect him, if any of them should have a mind to do it, would not there be able to give him any assistance.

Cherea consented to this delay. And when the shews were exhibited, it was resolved to do the work the first day. But fortune, which allowed a farther delay to his slaughter, was too hard for their foregoing resolution. And as three days of the regular time for these shews were now over, they had much ado to get the business done on the last day. Then Cherea called the conspirators together, and spake thus to them: "So much time passed away without effect is a reproach to us, as delaying to go through such a virtuous design as we are engaged in: but more fatal will this delay prove, if we be discovered, and the design be frustrated. For Caius will then become more cruel in his unjust proceedings. Do not we see how long we deprive all our friends of their liberty, and give Caius leave still to tyrannize over them? while we ought to have procured them security for the future: and, by laying a foundation for the happiness of others, gain to ourselves great admiration and honour for all time to come." Now while the conspirators had nothing tolerable to say, by way of contradiction, and yet did not quite relish what they were doing, but stood silent and astonished, he said farther, "O my brave comrades, why do we make such delays? do not you see that this is the last day of these shews, and that Caius is about to go to sea? for he is preparing to sail to Alexandria, in order to see Egypt. Is it therefore for your honour to let a man go out of your hands, who is a reproach to mankind: and to permit him to go after a pompous manner, triumphing both at land and sea? Shall not we be justly ashamed of ourselves, if we give leave to some Egyptian or other, who shall think his injuries insufferable to free men, to kill him? As for myself, I will no longer bear your slow proceedings; but will expose myself to the dangers of the enterprise this very day, and bear cheerfully whatsoever shall be the consequence of the attempt. Nor let them ever be so great, will I put them off any longer. For to a wise and courageous man what can be more miserable

* Here Josephus supposes, that it was Augustus, and not Julius Cæsar, who first changed the roman commonwealth into a monarchy. For these shews were in honour of Augustus: as we shall learn in the sequel.

than that while I am alive any one else should kill Caius, and deprive me of the honour of so virtuous an action?"

When Cherea had spoken thus, he zealously set about the work, and inspired courage into the rest to go on with it. And they were all eager to fall to it without farther delay. So he was at the palace in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on him. For it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the watch-word with their swords on. And this was the day on which Cherea was by custom, to receive the watch-word. And the multitude were already come to the palace, to be soon enough for seeing the shews, and that in great crowds, and one tumultuously crushing another: while Caius was delighted with this eagerness of the multitude. For which reason there was no order observed in the seating men; nor was any peculiar place appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order; but they sat at random, men and women together; and the free men were mixed with the slaves. So Caius came out in a solemn manner, and offered sacrifice to Augustus Cæsar, in whose honour these shews were celebrated. Now it happened upon the fall of a certain priest, that the garment of Asprenas, a senator, was filled with blood, which made Caius laugh. Although this was an evident omen to Asprenas: for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It is also related, that Caius was that day, contrary to his usual custom, so very affable and good-natured in his conversation, that every one of those that were present were astonished at it. After the sacrifice was over, Caius sat down to see the shews; as did also the principal of his friends sit near him.

Now the parts of the theatre were so fastened together, as it used to be every year, in the following manner. It had two doors; the one door led to the open air; the other was for going into, or going out of, the cloisters, that those within the theatre might not be thereby disturbed. But out of one gallery there went an inward passage, which led into another gallery to give room to the combatants, and to the musicians, to go out, as occasion served. When the multitude were sat down, and Cherea, with the other tribunes also, were set down also, and the right corner of the theatre was allotted to Cæsar; one Vatinius, a senator, commander of the pretorian band, asked of Cluvius, one that sat by him, and was of consular dignity also, whether he had heard any thing of news, or not? but took care that nobody should hear what he said. And when Cluvius replied, that he had heard no news, "Know then," said Vatinius, "that the game of the slaughter of tyrants is to be played this day." But Cluvius replied, "O brave comrade, hold thy peace; lest some other of the Achaians hear thy tale." And as there was abundance of autumnal fruit thrown among the spectators, and a great number of birds, that were of a great value to such as possessed them, on account of their rareness, Caius was pleased with the birds fighting for the fruits, and with the violence wherewith the spectators seized upon them. And here he perceived two prodigies that happened there. For an actor was introduced, by whom a leader of robbers was crucified; and the pantomime brought in a player called Cinyras: wherein he himself was to be slain, as well as his daughter Myrrah: and wherein a great deal of ficticious blood was shed; both about him that was crucified, and also about Cinyras. It is also *confessed that this was the same day wherein Pausanius, a friend of Philip's, the son of Amyntas, who was king of Macedonia, slew him as he was entering into the theatre. And now Caius was in doubt whether he should tarry to the end of the shews, because it was the last day; or whether he should not go first to the bath, and to dinner, and then return and sit down as before. Hereupon Minucianus, who sat over Caius, and was afraid that the opportunity should fail them, got up, because he saw Cherea was already gone out, and made haste out, to confirm him in his resolution. But Caius took hold of his garment, in an obliging way, and said to him, "O brave man, whither art thou going?" Hereupon, out of reverence to Cæsar, as it seemed, he sat down again. But his fear prevailed over him: and in a little time he got up again: and then Caius did no way oppose his going out. And Asprenas, who was one of the confederates, persuaded Caius to go out to the bath, and to dinner, and then to come in again: as desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

So Cherea's associates placed themselves in order, as the time would permit them; and they were obliged to labour hard, that the place which was appointed them should not be left by them. But they had an indignation at the tediousness of the delays, and that what they were about should be put off any longer, for it was already about the †ninth hour of the day; and Cherea, upon Caius's tarrying so long, had a great mind to go in, and fall upon him in his seat; although he foresaw that this could not be done without much

* Whether Josephus be here mistaken in saying, "It is confessed that this was the same day of the year whereon Pausanius slew Philip of Macedon," i. e. January 24th, or about any circumstances of that drama, which was acted before them both at the times of their slaughter; as Archbishop Usher supposes, at A. M. 3668, it is at present hard to say. Because Josephus might have then complete evidence about what we are now uncertain of. However, part of these circumstances are in Suetonius in Caius, chap. LVII.

† Suetonius says, Caius was slain about the seventh hour of the day: Josephus about the ninth. The series of the narration favours Josephus.

bloodshed, both of the senators, and of those of the equestrian order that were present. And although he knew this must happen, yet had he a great mind to do so; as thinking it a right thing to procure security and freedom to all, at the expense of such as might perish at the same time. And as they were just going back into the entrance of the theatre, word was brought them, that Caius was arisen; whereby a tumult was made. Hereupon the conspirators thrust away the crowd, under pretence as if Caius were angry at them; but in reality as desirous to have a quiet place, that should have none in it to defend him, while they set about Caius's slaughter. Now Claudius his uncle was gone out before; and Marcus Vinicius, his sister's husband; as also Valerius of Asia; whom though they had had such a mind to put out of their places, the reverence to their dignity hindered them so to do. Then followed Caius, with Paulus Arruntius. And because Caius was now gotten within the palace, he left the direct road, along which those his servants stood that were in waiting; and by which road Claudius had gone out before. Caius turned aside into a private narrow passage, in order to go to the place for bathing; and also in order to take a view of the boys that came out of Asia, who were sent thence partly to sing hymns in these mysteries which were now celebrated; and partly to dance in the Pyrric way of dancing upon the theatres. So Cherea met him, and asked for the watch-word. Upon Caius's giving him one of his ridiculous words, he immediately reproached him, and drew his sword, and gave him a terrible stroke with it. Yet was not this stroke mortal. And although there be those that say it was so contrived on purpose by Cherea, that Caius should not be killed at one blow, but should be punished more severely by a multitude of wounds: yet does this story appear to me incredible. Because the fear men are under in such actions does not allow them to use their reason. And if Cherea were of that mind, I esteem him the greatest of fools, in pleasing himself with his spite against Caius, rather than immediately procuring safety to himself, and to his confederates, from the dangers they were in. Because there might many things still happen for helping Caius's escape, if he had not already given up the ghost. For certainly Cherea would have regard, not so much to the punishment of Caius, as to the affliction himself and his friends were in, while it was in his power, after such success, to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of Caius's defenders, and not leave it in uncertainty whether he should gain the end he aimed at or not, and after an unreasonable manner to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity that lay before him. However, Caius was staggered with the pain that blow gave him; for the stroke of the sword falling into the middle between the shoulder and the neck, was hindered by the first bone of the breast, from proceeding any farther. Nor did he either cry out, in such astonishment was he; nor did he call for any of his friends: whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwise disordered: but he groaned under the pain he endured; and presently went forward, and fled. When Cornelius Sabinus, who was already prepared in mind so to do, thrust him down upon his knee; where many of them stood round about him, and struck him with their swords: and they cried out, and encouraged one another all at once to strike him again. But all agree that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, which directly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this to Cherea. For although many concurred in the act itself, yet was he the first contriver of it; and began long before all the rest to prepare for it; and was the first man that boldly spake of it to the rest. And upon their admission of what he had said about it, he got the dispersed conspirators together; prepared every thing after a prudent manner; and, by suggesting good advice, shewed himself far superior to the rest, and made obliging speeches to them: insomuch that he even compelled them all to go on, who otherwise had not courage enough for that purpose: and when opportunity served to use his sword, he appeared first of all ready so to do; and gave the first blow in this virtuous slaughter; he also brought Caius easily into the power of the rest, and almost killed him himself. Insomuch that it is but just to ascribe all that the rest did to the advice, the bravery, and labours of the hands of Cherea.

Thus did Caius come to his end, and lay dead, by the many wounds which had been given him. Now Cherea and his associates, upon Caius's slaughter, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves, if they should all go the same way: partly on account of the astonishment they were under; for it was no small danger they had incurred by killing an emperor who was honoured and loved by the madness of the people: especially when the soldiers were likely to make a strict inquiry after his murderers. The passages also were narrow, wherein the work was done: which were also crowded with a great number of Caius's attendants; and of such of the soldiers as were of the emperor's guard that day. Whence it was that they went by other ways, and came to the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had now killed: which house adjoined to the palace: for while the edifice was one, it was built in its several parts by those particular persons who had been emperors: and those parts bare the names of those that built them, or the name of him who had began to build any of its parts. So they got away from the insults of the multitude, and then were

for the present out of danger: that is so long as the misfortune which had overtaken the emperor was not known. The Germans were the first who perceived that Caius was slain. These Germans were Caius's guard; and carried the name of the country whence they were chosen, and composed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally passionate: which is commonly the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, as being not used to consider much about what they do. They are of robust bodies, and fall upon their enemies as soon as ever they are attacked by them: and which way soever they go, they perform great exploits. When, therefore, these German guards understood that Caius was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not use their reason in judging about public affairs, but measured all by the advantages themselves received. Caius being beloved by them, because of the money he gave them;* by which he had purchased their kindness to him. So they drew their swords, and Sabinus led them on. He was one of the tribunes; not by the means of the virtuous actions of his progenitors; for he had been a gladiator: but he had obtained that post in the army by his having a robust body. So these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Cæsar's murderers: and cut Asprenas to pieces, because he was the first man they fell upon: and whose garment it was that the blood of the sacrifices stained, as I have said already; and which foretold that his meeting the soldiers would not be for his good. Then did Norbanus meet them, who was one of the principal nobility of the city, and could shew many generals of armies among his ancestors. But they paid no regard to his dignity. Yet was he of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first of those that assaulted him out of his hands, and appeared not to be willing to die without a struggle for his life: until he was surrounded by a great number of assailants, and died by the multitude of the wounds which they gave him. The third man was Anteius, a senator; and a few others with him. He did not meet with these Germans by chance, as the rest did before; but came to shew his hatred to Caius: and because he wished to see Caius lie dead, and took a pleasure in that sight. For Caius had banished Anteius's father, who was of the same name with himself: and being not satisfied with that, he sent out his soldiers and slew him. So he was come to rejoice at the sight of him now he was dead. But as the house was now all in a tumult, when he was aiming to hide himself, he could not escape that accurate search which the Germans made; while they barbarously slew those that were guilty, and those that were not guilty, and this equally so. And thus were these three persons slain.

But when the rumour that Caius was slain reached the theatre, they were astonished at it, and could not believe it. Even some that entertained his destruction with great pleasure,† and were more desirous of its happening than almost any other satisfaction that could come to them, were under such a fear, that they could not believe it. There were those also who greatly distrusted it; because they were unwilling any such thing should come to Caius: nor could believe it, though it were ever so true: because they thought no man could possibly have so much power as to kill Caius. These were the women, the children, the slaves, and some of the soldiery. This last sort had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannized with him; and had abused the best of the citizens in being subservient to his unjust commands, in order to gain honours and advantages to themselves. But the women and the youth had been inveigled with shews, and the fightings of the gladiators, and certain distributions of flesh-meat among them; which things in pretence were designed for pleasing the multitude; but in reality to satiate the barbarous cruelty and madness of the emperor. The slaves also were sorry, because they were by Caius allowed to accuse, and to despise their masters; and they could have recourse to his assistance, when they had unjustly affronted them. For he was very easy in believing them against their masters, even when they accused them falsely; and if they would discover what money their masters had, they might soon obtain both riches and liberty, as the rewards of their accusations; because the reward of these informers was the ‡eighth part of the criminal's substance. As to the nobles, although the report appeared credible to some of them, either because they knew of the plot beforehand, or because they wished it might be true, they concealed not only the joy they had at the relation of it, but that they had heard any thing about it. These last acted so out of fear, that if the report proved false they should be punished, for having so soon let men know their minds; and fearing lest they should speak of it to some of those to whom the continuance of tyranny was advantageous: and if Caius should prove to be alive, they might be informed against, and punished. And another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded, yet was he still alive, and under the physi-

* Interest most commonly produces attachment. A man may have friends and flatterers, if he is able to pay them for their services. But, so mercenary are most, no longer than they can serve their own purposes, will they regard others. B.

† The death of a fellow creature ought never to be grateful to any man; nor should he allow personal resentment or party principles to excite and cherish in his breast so malevolent a delight. B.

‡ The rewards proposed by the Roman laws to informers, was sometimes an eighth part of the criminal's goods, as here; and sometimes a fourth part: as Spanheim assures us, from Suetonius and Tacitus.

cian's hands. Nor was any one looked upon by another as faithful enough to be trusted, and to whom any one would open his mind. For he was either a friend to Caius, and therefore suspected to favour his tyranny, or he was one that hated him, who therefore might be suspected to deserve the less credit, because of his ill will to him. Nay, it was said by some, (and this it was that deprived the nobility of their hopes, and made them sad,) that Caius was in a condition to despise the dangers he had been in, and took no care of healing his wounds, but was gotten away into the market-place, and, bloody as he was, was making an harangue to the people. And these were the conjectural reports of those that were so unreasonable as to endeavour to raise tumults, which they turned different ways, according to the opinions of the hearers. Yet did not they leave their seats, for fear of being accused, if they should go out before the rest. For they should not be sentenced according to the real intention with which they went out, but according to the conjectures of the accusers, and of the judges.

But now a multitude of Germans had surrounded the theatre with their swords drawn: all the spectators looked for nothing but death; and at every one's coming in, a fear seized upon them, as if they were to be cut in pieces immediately. And in great distress they were: as neither having courage to go out of the theatre, nor believing themselves safe from danger if they tarried there. And when the Germans came upon them, the cry was so great, that the theatre rang with the entreaties of the spectators to the soldiers; pleading that they were entirely ignorant of every thing that related to such seditious contrivances; and that if there were already any sedition raised, they knew nothing of it. They therefore begged that they would not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes as belonged to other persons; while they neglected to search after such as had really done whatsoever had been done. Thus did these people appeal to God, and deplore their unhappiness, with shedding of tears and beating their faces; and said every thing that the most imminent danger, and the utmost concern for their lives, could dictate. This appeased the fury of the soldiers, and made them repent of what they intended to do to the spectators; which would have been the greatest instance of cruelty. And so it appeared to even those savages, when they had once fixed the heads of those that were slain with Asprenas upon the altar. At which sight the spectators were sorely afflicted: both upon the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and out of a commiseration of their sufferings: nay, indeed, they were almost in as great disorder at the prospect of the danger themselves were in; seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. Whence it was, that such as thoroughly and justly hated Caius could yet no way enjoy the pleasure of his death, because they were themselves in danger of perishing together with him. Nor had they hitherto any firm assurance of surviving.

There was at this time one Euaristus Arruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a strong and audible voice; who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to do what he pleased in the city, both then and afterwards. This man put himself into the most mournful habit he could; although he had a greater hatred against Caius than any one else: his fear and his wise contrivance to gain his safety taught him so to do, and prevailed over his present pleasure. So he put on such a mournful dress as he would have done had he lost his dearest friend. This man came into the theatre, and informed them of the death of Caius; and by this means put an end to the state of ignorance the men had been in. Arruntius also went round about the pillars, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their swords, and telling them that Caius was dead. And this proclamation it was plainly, which saved those that were collected together in the theatre, and all the rest who any way met the Germans; for while they had hopes that Caius had still any breath in him, they abstained from no sort of mischief. And such an abundant kindness they still had for Caius, and they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and procured his escape from so sad a misfortune, at the expense of their own lives. But they now left off the warm zeal they had to punish his enemies, now they were fully satisfied that Caius was dead; because it was in vain for them to shew their zeal and kindness to him, when he who should reward them was perished. They were also afraid that they should be punished by the senate, if they should go on in doing such injuries: that is, in case the authority of the supreme governor should revert to them. And thus at length a stop was put, though not without difficulty, to that rage which possessed the Germans on account of Caius's death.

But Cherea was so much afraid for Minucianus, lest he should meet with the Germans, now they were in their fury, that he went and spake to every one of the soldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preservation; and made great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain. And for Clement, he let Minucianus go when he was brought to him; and, with many other of the senators, affirmed the action was right; and commended the virtue of those that contrived it, and had courage enough to execute it; and said that tyrants did indeed please themselves, and look big for a while,

upon having the power to act unjustly: but did not go happily out of the world, because they were hated by the virtuous. And that Caius, together with all this unhappiness, was become a conspirator against himself, before these other men who attacked him did so: and by becoming intolerable, in setting aside the wise provision the laws had made, taught his dearest friends to treat him as an enemy. Insomuch that although in common discourse these conspirators were those that slew Caius, yet that, in reality, he lay now dead, as slain by himself.

By this time the people in the theatre were risen from their seats; and those that were within made a very great disturbance: the cause of which was, that the spectators were too hasty in getting away. There was also one Alcyon, a physician, who hurried away, as if it were to cure those that were wounded: and under that pretence he sent those that were with him to fetch what things were necessary for the healing those wounded persons: but in reality to get them clear of the present dangers they were in. Now during this interval, the senate had met, and the people also assembled together in the forum; and were both employed in searching after the murderers of Caius. The people did it very zealously, but the senate in appearance only. For there was present Valerius of Asia, one that had been consul. This man went to the people, as they were in disorder, and very uneasy that they could not yet discover who they were that had murdered the emperor. He was then earnestly asked by them all, who it was that had done it? He replied, *"I wish I had been the man." The †consuls also published an edict, wherein they accused Caius; and gave order to the people then got together, and to the soldiers, to go home: and gave the people hopes of the abatement of the oppressions they lay under; and promised the soldiers, if they lay quiet, as they used to do, and would not go abroad to do mischief unjustly, that they would bestow rewards upon them. For there was reason to fear, lest the city might suffer harm by their wild and ungovernable behaviour, if they should once betake themselves to spoil the citizens, or plunder the temples. And now the whole multitude of the senators were assembled together; and especially those that had conspired to take away the life of Caius; who put on at this time an air of great assurance, and appeared with great magnanimity, as if the administration of the public affairs were already devolved upon them.

* These are almost the very words of Dio on this occasion, at the end of lib. LIX. page 763, as Spanheim justly observes here.

† These consuls are named in the War of the Jews, II. 11, Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus, as the same Spanheim notes here also. The speech of the former of them is set down in the next chapter.

CHAP. II.

OF THE DIFFERENT INCLINATIONS OF THE SENATORS AND SOLDIERY RESPECTING THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT; THE SLAUGHTER OF CAIUS'S WIFE AND DAUGHTER; AND THE CHARACTER OF CAIUS'S MORALS.

WHEN the public affairs were in this posture, Claudius was suddenly hurried away out of his house. For the soldiers had a meeting together; and when they had debated about what was to be done, they saw that a democracy was incapable of managing such a vast weight of public affairs;‡ and that if it should be set up, it would not be for their advantage: and in case any one of those already in the government should obtain the supreme power, it would in all respects be to their grief, if they were not assisting to him in that advancement. That it would therefore be right for them, while the public affairs were unsettled, to choose Claudius emperor; who was uncle to the deceased Caius, and of a superior dignity and worth to every one of those that were assembled in the senate; both on account of the virtues of his ancestors, and of the learning he had acquired in his education; and who, if once settled in the empire, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. These were their consultations, and they executed the same immediately. Claudius was therefore seized upon suddenly by the soldiery. But Cneus Sentius Saturninus, although he understood that Claudius was seized, and that he intended to claim the government, unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality by his own free consent; stood up in the senate, and, without being dismayed, made an oration to them; and such a one as was fit for men of freedom and generosity; and spake thus:—

"Although it be a thing incredible, O Romans, because of the great length of time, that so unexpected an event hath happened, yet are we now in possession of liberty. How long indeed this will last is uncertain; and lies at the disposal of the gods, whose grant it is. Yet such it is as is sufficient to make us rejoice and be happy for the present; although we may soon be deprived of it. For one hour is sufficient to those that are exercised in virtue, wherein we may live with a mind accountable only to ourselves, in our own country,

‡ The administration of public affairs is weighty and serious to those who design properly to discharge their duty. Such will most eagerly covet it, who are more intent upon their own private gain than the general good of society. B.

now free, and governed by such laws as this country once flourished under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former time of liberty, as being born after it was gone; but am beyond measure filled with joy at the thoughts of our present freedom. I also esteem those that were born and brought up in that our former liberty happy men; and that those men are worthy of no less esteem than the gods themselves, who have given us a taste of it in this age. And I heartily wish that this quiet enjoyment of it which we have at present might continue to all ages. However, this single day may suffice for our youth, as well as for us that are in years. It will seem an age to our old men, if they might die during its happy duration. It may also be for the instruction of the younger sort, what kind of virtue those men, from whose loins we are derived, were exercised in. As for ourselves, our business is, during this space of time, to live virtuously; than which nothing can be more to our advantage: which course of virtue it is alone that can preserve our liberty. For as to our ancient state, I have heard of it by the relation of others; but as to our later state, during my life time, I have known it by experience; and learned thereby what mischiefs tyrannies have brought upon this commonwealth; discouraging all virture, depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and proving the teachers of flattery, and slavish fear; because it leaves the public administration not to be governed by wise laws, but by the humour of those that govern. For since Julius Cæsar took it into his head to dissolve our democracy, and by overbearing the regular system of our laws, to bring disorders into our administration, and to get above right and justice, and to be a slave to his own inclinations, there is no kind of misery but what hath tended to the subversion of this city. While all those that have succeeded him have striven, one with another, to overthrow the ancient laws of their country, and have left it destitute of such citizens as were of generous principles: because they thought it tended to their safety to have vicious men to converse with; and not only to break the spirits of those that were best esteemed for their virtue, but to resolve upon their utter destruction. Of all which emperors, who have laid upon us insufferable hardships during the times of their government, this Caius, who hath been slain to-day, hath brought more terrible calamities upon us than did all the rest; not only by exercising his ungoverned rage upon his fellow-citizens, but also upon his kindred and friends, and alike upon all others; and by inflicting still greater miseries upon them, as punishments, which they never deserved; he being equally furious against men, and against the gods. For tyrants are not content to gain their pleasure, and this by acting injuriously, and in the vexation they bring both upon men's estates, and their wives; but they look upon that to be their principal advantage, when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of their enemies. While all lovers of liberty are the enemies of tyranny: nor can those that patiently endure what miseries they bring on them gain their friendship. For as they are conscious of the abundant mischiefs they have brought on these men, and how magnanimously they have borne their hard fortunes, they cannot but be sensible what evils they have done; and thence only depend on security from what they are suspicious of, if it may be in their power to take them quite out of the world. Since then we are now gotten clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another; which form of government affords us the best assurance of our present concord, and promises us the best security from evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in settling the city in good order; you ought, every one of you in particular, to make provision for his own, and in general for the public utility; or, on the contrary, they may declare their dissent to such things as have been proposed; and this without any hazard of danger to come upon them, because they have now no lord set over them, who, without fear of punishment, could do mischief to the city, and had an uncontrolable power to take off those that freely declared their opinions. Nor has any thing so much contributed to this increase of tyranny of late, as sloth, and a timorous forbearance of contradicting the emperor's will. While men had an over great inclination to the sweetness of peace, and had learned to live like slaves; and as many of us as either heard of intolerable calamities that happened at a distance from us, or saw the miseries that were near us, out of the dread of dying virtuously, endured a death joined with the utmost infamy. We ought then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honours we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Cherea Cassius: for this one man, with the assistance of the gods, hath, by his counsel and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him, now we have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregoing tyranny, took counsel beforehand, and hazarded himself for our liberty; but ought to decree him proper honours, and thereby freely declare that he from the beginning acted with our approbation. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and what becomes freemen, to requite their benefactors; as this man hath been a benefactor to us all: though not at all like Cassius and Brutus, who slew Caius Julius Cæsar: for those men laid the foundations of sedition and civil wars in our city; but this man, together with his slaughter of the tyrant, hath

set our city free from all those sad miseries which arose from the tyranny."*

This was the purport of Sentius's oration; which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took off Sentius's finger a ring, which had a stone with the image of Caius engraved upon it; and which, in his zeal in speaking, and his earnestness in doing what he was about, as it was supposed he had forgotten to take off himself. This sculpture was broken immediately. But as it was now far in the night, Cherea demanded of the consuls the watch-word; who gave him this word, Liberty. These facts were the subjects of admiration to themselves, and almost incredible: for it was a †hundred years since the democracy had been laid aside, when this giving the watch-word returned to the consuls. For before the city was subject to tyrants, they were the commanders of the soldiers: but when Cherea had received that watch-word, he delivered it to those who were on the senate's side; which were four regiments, who esteemed the government without emperors to be preferable to tyranny: so these went away with their tribunes. The people also now departed, full of hope and of courage; as having recovered their former democracy, and being no longer under an emperor: and Cherea was in very great esteem with them.

Now Cherea was very uneasy that Caius's daughter and wife were still alive, and that all his family did not perish with him; since whosoever was left of them must be left for the ruin of the city, and of the laws. In order to finish this matter, therefore, with the utmost zeal, and in order to satisfy his hatred against Caius, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius's wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lupus, as to a kinsman of Clement's; that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of having assisted his fellow-citizens; and that he might appear to have been a partaker with those that were first in their designs against him. Yet did this action appear to some of the conspirators to be too cruel, as to this using such severity to a woman; because Caius did more indulge his own ill nature, than use her advice in all that he did; from which ill nature it was that the city was in so desperate a condition with the miseries that were brought on it. But others accused her of giving her consent to these things; nay, they ascribed all that Caius had done to her as the cause of it; and said she had given a potion to Caius, which had tied him down to love her by such evil methods: insomuch that she, having rendered him distracted, was become the author of all the mischiefs that had befallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was subject to them. So that at length it was determined that she must die: nor could those of the contrary opinion at all prevail to have her saved; and Lupus was sent accordingly. Nor was any delay made in executing what he went about; but he was subservient to those that sent him, on the first opportunity; as desirous to be no way blameable in what might be done for the advantage of the people. So when he was come into the palace, he found Cesonia, who was Caius's wife, lying by her husband's dead body; which also lay on the ground, and destitute of all such things as the law allows to the dead; and herself besmeared with the blood of her husband's wounds, and bewailing the great afflictions she was under; her daughter lying by her also. And nothing else was heard in these circumstances, but her complaint of Caius; as if he had not regarded what she had often told him of beforehand. Which words of hers were taken in a different sense, even at that time; and are now esteemed equally ambiguous by those that hear of them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of the people. For some said the words denoted, that she had advised him to leave off his mad behaviour, and his barbarous cruelty to the citizens; and to govern the public with moderation and virtue; lest he should perish by the same way, upon their using him as he had used them. But some said, that as some words had passed concerning the conspirators, she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately to put them all to death; and this whether they were guilty or not; and that thereby he would be out of the fear of any danger: and that this was what she reproached him for, when she advised him so to do; but he was too slow and tender in the matter. And this was what Cesonia said; and what the opinions of men were about it. But when she saw Lupus approach, she shewed him Caius's dead body; and persuaded him to come nearer, with lamentation and tears. And as she perceived that Lupus was in disorder, and approached her in order to execute some design disagreeable to himself, she was well aware for what purpose he came; and cheerfully stretched out her naked throat, bewailing her case, like one that

* In this oration of Sentius Saturninus, we may see the great value virtuous men put upon public liberty, and the sad misery they underwent, while they were tyrannized over by such emperors as Caius. See Josephus's own short but pithy reflection, at the end of the chapter: "So difficult," says he, "it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary to a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they please, without control."

† Hence we learn, that, in the opinion of Saturninus, the sovereign authority of the consuls and senate had been taken away just 100 years before the death of Caius, A. D. 41, or on the sixtieth year before the Christian era, when the first triumvirate began, under Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

utterly despaired of her life, and bidding him not to hesitate in finishing the tragedy they had resolved upon relating to her. She then boldly received her death's wound* at the hand of Lupus; as did the daughter after her: and Lupus made haste to inform Cherea of what he had done.

This was the end of Caius; after he had reigned †four years, within four months. He was, even before he came to be emperor, ill natured; and one that had arrived at the utmost pitch of wickedness. A slave to his pleasures, and a lover of calumny. Greatly affected by every terrible accident; and on that account of a very cruel disposition, where he durst shew it. He enjoyed his exorbitant power to this only purpose, to injure those who least deserved it, with unreasonable insolence: and got his wealth by murder and injustice. He laboured to appear above regarding either what was divine, or agreeable to the laws: but was a slave to the commendations of the populace. And whatsoever the laws determined to be shameful, and punished, that he esteemed more honourable than what was virtuous. He was unmindful of his friends, how intimate soever; and though they were persons of the highest character. And if he were once angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them, on the smallest occasions: and esteemed every man that endeavoured to lead a virtuous life his enemy: and in whatsoever he commanded he would not admit of any contradiction. Whence it was that he had criminal conversation with his own ‡sister. From which occasion chiefly it was also that a bitter hatred first sprang up against him among the citizens: that sort of incest not having been known of a long time: and so this provoked men to distrust him, and to hate him that was guilty of it. And for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the present and for future ages, nobody can name any such; but only the haven that he made about Rhegium and Sicily, for the reception of the ships that brought corn from Egypt. This was indeed a work very great in itself, and of great advantage to the navigation: yet was it not brought to perfection by him: but the one half of it was left imperfect; by reason of his want of application to it. The cause of which was, that he employed his studies about useless matters: and that by spending his money upon such pleasures as concerned no one's benefit but his own, he could not exert his liberality in things that were undeniably of great consequence. Otherwise he was an excellent orator; and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue; as well as with his own country or Roman language. He was able readily to give answers to compositions made by others, of considerable length, and accuracy. He was also more skilful in persuading others to very great things than any one else: and this from a natural affability of temper, which had been improved by much exercise. For as he was the §grandson of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was; this was a strong inducement to his acquiring of learning; because Tiberius aspired after the highest pitch of that sort of reputation: and Caius aspired after the like glory for eloquence; being induced thereto by the letters of his kinsman, and his emperor. He was also among the first rank of his own citizens. But the advantages he received from his learning did not countervail the mischief he brought upon himself in the exercise of his authority. So difficult it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary to a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they please, without control. At the first he got himself such friends as were in all respects the most worthy, and was greatly beloved by them: while he imitated their zealous application to the learning, and to the glorious actions, of the best men. But when he became insolent towards them, they laid aside the kindness they had for him; and began to hate him. From which hatred arose that plot, which they raised against him, and by which he perished.

CHAP. III.

OF THE SEIZURE OF CLAUDIUS BY THE SOLDIERY, AND THE AMBASSAGE SENT TO HIM BY THE SENATE.

NOW Claudius, as I have already said, went out of that way along which Caius was gone. And as the family was in a great disorder, upon the sad accident of the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself. And was found to have hidden himself in a certain ‖narrow place: though he had no other occasion for suspicion of danger, besides the dig-

* Suetonius confirms what Josephus here says, that Cesonia, Caius's wife, as well as her daughter, were slain at this time, in Caius, chap. LIX. as does also Dio in Xiphiline, page 143.

† Authors do not exactly agree in the length of the reign of Caius. Dio, page 669, giving him three years nine months and twenty-eight days, and Suetonius in Caius, chap. LIX. three years ten months and eight days; with whom agrees Clement of Alexandria, Strom. I. page 339. I agree with these, and suppose that Josephus agreed with them also: for although his present copies give him here two months less, yet does he elsewhere esteem his reign three years and ten months, and supposes him slain Jan. 24, chap. I. as before.

‡ Spanheim here notes from Suetonius, that the name of Caius's sister, with whom he was guilty of incest, was Drusilla; and that Suetonius adds, he was guilty of the same crime with all his other sisters. He notes farther, that Suetonius omits the mention of the haven for ships, which our author esteems the only public work, for the good of the present and future ages, which Caius left behind him; though in an imperfect condition.

§ This Caius was the son of that excellent person, Germanicus, who was the son of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, the emperor.

‖ This first place Claudius came to was inhabited, and called Hermeum: as Spanheim here informs us, from Suetonius, in Claud. chap. X.

nity of his birth. For while he was a *private man, he behaved himself with moderation; and was contented with his present fortune: applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks: and keeping himself entirely clear from every thing that might bring on any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers' madness; and the very emperor's guard seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called Pretorian, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he justly deserved such fortune: but they were rather considering their own circumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves. Especially while the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius: which yet was rather done to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the public. All these things disturbed Claudius, who was afraid of his own safety: and this particularly because he saw the heads of Asprenas and his partners carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither he had retired in the dark by himself. But when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but did not well know by his countenance, who he was, because it was dark; though he could well judge that it was a man who was privately there on some design; he came nearer to him; and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was. So he said to his followers, "This is a †Germanicus; come on, let us choose him for our emperor." But when Claudius saw they were making preparations for taking him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caius, he besought them to spare him; putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what had been done. Hereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand, and said, "Leave off, Sir, these low thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire, which the gods, out of their concern for the habitable world, by taking Caius out of the way, commit to your virtuous conduct. Accept, therefore, the throne of your ancestors." So they took him up, and carried him, because he was not able to go on foot: such was his dread, and his joy at what was told him.

Now there was already assembled about Gratus a great number of the guards. And when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked with a sad countenance, as supposing that he was carried to execution, for the mischiefs that had been lately done; while yet they thought him a man who never meddled with public affairs, and one that had met with no contemptible dangers under the reign of Caius. And some of them thought it reasonable that the consuls should take cognizance of these matters. And as still more and more of the soldiery got together, the crowd about him ran away, and Claudius could hardly go on, his body was then so weak. And those who carried his sedan, upon an inquiry that was made about his being carried off, ran away, and saved themselves, as despairing of their lord's preservation. But when they were come into the large court of the palace, (which, according to report, was inhabited first of all the parts of the city of Rome,) and had just reached the public treasury, many more soldiers came about him, as glad to see Claudius's face; and thought it exceeding right to make him emperor, on account of their kindness to Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behind him a vast reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected also on the covetous temper of the leading men of the senate, and what great errors they had been guilty of, when they had the government formerly. They also considered the impossibility of such an undertaking; as also what dangers they should be in if the government should come to a single person, and that such a one should possess it as they had no hand in advancing; and not to Claudius, who would take it as their grant, and as gained by their good will to him, and would remember the favours they had done him, and would make them a sufficient recompense for the same.

These were the discourses the soldiers had one with another by themselves; and they communicated them to all such as came in to them. Now those that inquired about this matter willingly embraced the invitation to join with the rest. So they carried Claudius into the camp; crowding about him, as his guard, and encompassing him about: one chairman still succeeding another, that their vehement endeavours might not be hindered. But as to the populace, and the senators, they disagreed in their opinions. The latter were very desirous to recover their former dignity; and were zealous to get clear of the slavery that had been

* Private and public life require very different endowments of mind. Some are amiable in the shade of retirement, who, in the open walks of life, cannot conciliate or obtain esteem. It is but seldom that men are so well acquainted with themselves, or disposed to judge impartially concerning their own qualifications, as to choose that station, in which they may appear to the most advantage. B.

* How Claudius, another son of Drusus, which Drusus was the father of Germanicus, could be here himself called Germanicus, Suetonius informs us, when he assures us, that, by a decree of the senate, the surname of Germanicus was bestowed on Drusus, and his posterity. In Claud. chap. I.

brought on them by the injurious treatment of the tyrants, which the present opportunity afforded them. But the people, who were envious against them, and knew that the emperors were capable of curbing their covetous temper, and were a refuge from them, were very glad that Claudius had been seized upon, and brought to them; and thought, that if he were made emperor, he would prevent a civil war; such as there was in the days of Pompey. But when the senate knew that Claudius was brought into the camp by the soldiers, they sent to him those of their body which had the best character for their virtues, that they might inform him, that he ought to do nothing by violence, in order to gain the government: that he, who was a single person, one either already, or hereafter to be a member of their body, ought to yield to the senate, which consisted of so great a number: that he ought to let the law take place, in the disposal of all that related to the public order; and to remember how greatly the former tyrants had afflicted their city; and what dangers both he and they had escaped under Caius: and that he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyranny, when the injury is done by others; while he did himself wilfully treat his country after a mad and insolent manner. That if he would comply with them, and demonstrate his firm resolution to live quietly and virtuously, he would have the greatest honours decreed to him that a free people could bestow: and by subjecting himself to the law, would obtain this branch of commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue, both as a ruler and a subject. But that if he would act foolishly, and learn no wisdom by Caius's death, they would not permit him to go on: that a great part of the army was got together for them, with plenty of weapons, and a great number of slaves, which they could make use of: that good hope was a great matter in such cases, as was also good fortune; and that the gods would never assist any others but those that undertook to act with virtue and goodness; who could be no other than such as were willing to fight for the liberty of their country.

Now these ambassadors, *Veranius and Brocchus, who were both of them tribunes of the people, made this speech to Claudius: and falling down upon their knees, they begged of him, that he would by no means throw the city into wars and misfortunes. But when they saw what a multitude of soldiers encompassed and guarded Claudius, and that the forces that were with the consuls were in comparison of them perfectly inconsiderable, they added, that if he did desire the government, he should accept of it, as given by the senate: that he would prosper better, and be happier, if he came to it, not by injustice, but by the good will of those that would bestow it upon him.

CHAP. IV.

CLAUDIUS SUCCEEDS TO THE IMPERIAL DIGNITY, AND COMMANDS THE MURDERERS OF CAIUS TO BE SLAIN.

CLAUDIUS was sensible after what an insolent manner the senate had sent to him; yet did he, according to their advice, behave himself for the present with moderation. But not so far that he could not recover himself out of his fright. So he was encouraged to claim the government, partly by the boldness of the soldiers, and partly by the persuasion of king Agrippa; who exhorted him not to let such a dominion slip out of his hands, when it came thus to him of its own accord. Now this Agrippa, with relation to Caius, did what became one that had been much honoured by him. For he embraced Caius's body after he was dead, and laid it upon a bed, and covered it as well as he could; and went out to the guards, and told them, that Caius was still alive: but he said that they should call for his physicians, since he was very ill of his wounds. But when he had learned that Claudius was carried away violently by the soldiers, he rushed through the crowd to him: and when he found that he was in disorder, and ready to resign up the government to the senate, he encouraged him, and desired him to keep the government. But when he had said this to Claudius he retired home. And upon the senate's sending for him, he anointed his head with ointment, as if he had lately accompanied with his wife, and had dismissed her, and then came to them. He also asked of the senators, what Claudius did? who told him the present state of affairs: and then asked his opinion about the settlement of the public. He told them that he was ready to lose his life for the honour of the senate: but desired them to consider what was for their advantage, without any regard to what was the most agreeable to them. For that those who grasp at government will stand in need of weapons and soldiers to guard them: unless they will set up without any preparation for it, and so fall into danger. And when the senate replied, that they would bring in weapons in abundance, and money; and that, as to an army, a part of it was already collected together for them; and they would raise a larger one by giving the slaves their liberty; Agrippa made answer: "O senators! may you be able to accomplish your designs. Yet will I immediately tell you my thoughts, because

* The names of these two ambassadors, sent to Claudius, by the senate, are wanting both in Suetonius and Dio, though this ambassage be mentioned by them both. Sueton. chap. X; Dio. lib. LX. page 665. These names Josephus might easily have from Agrippa, jun. his great friend.

they tend to your preservation. Take notice then that the army which will fight for Claudius has been long exercised in warlike affairs: but our army will be no better than a rude multitude of raw men: and those such as have been unexpectedly made free from slavery, and ungovernable. We must then fight against those that are skilful in war, with men who know not so much as how to draw their swords. So that my opinion is, that we should send some persons to Claudius, to persuade him to lay down the government: and I am ready to be one of your ambassadors."

Upon this speech of Agrippa's the senate complied with him. And he was sent among others: and privately informed Claudius of the disorder the senate was in; and gave him instructions to answer them in a somewhat commanding strain, and as one invested with dignity and authority. Accordingly Claudius sent to the ambassadors, that he did not wonder the senate had no mind to have an emperor over them, because they had been harassed by the barbarity of those that had formerly been at the head of their affairs, but that they should taste of an equitable government under him,* and moderate times: while he should only be their ruler in name, but the authority should be equally common to them all. And since he had passed through many and various scenes of life before their eyes, it would be good for them not to distrust him. So the ambassadors, upon hearing this answer, were dismissed. But Claudius discoursed with the army which was there gathered together, who took oaths that they would presist in their fidelity to him. Upon which he gave the guards every man †five thousand drachmæ apiece; and a proportionable quantity to their captains: and promised to give the same to the rest of the armies wheresoever they were.

And now the consuls called the senate together into the temple of Jupiter the Conqueror, while it was still night. But some of those senators concealed themselves in the city, being uncertain what to do, upon the hearing of this summons; and some of them went out of the city to their own farms, as foreseeing whither the public affairs were tending, and despairing of liberty; nay, these supposed it much better for them to be slaves without danger to themselves, and to live an idle inactive life, than by claiming the dignity of their forefathers, to run the hazard of their own safety. However, a hundred and no more were gotten together. And as they were in consultation about the present posture of affairs, a sudden clamour was made by the soldiers that were on their side, desiring that the senate would choose them an emperor, and not bring the government into ruin by setting up a multitude of rulers. So they fully declared themselves to be for giving the government not to all, but to one: but they gave the senate leave to look out for a person worthy to be set over them. Insomuch that now the affairs of the senate were much worse than before; because they had not only failed in the recovery of their liberty, which they boasted themselves of, but were in dread of Claudius also. Yet were there those that hankered after the government, both on account of the dignity of their families, and that accruing to them by their marriages. For Marcus Minucianus was illustrious, both by his own nobility, and by his having married ‡Julia, the sister of Caius: who accordingly was very ready to claim the government. Although the consuls discouraged him, and made one delay after another in proposing it. That Minucianus also, who was one of Caius's murderers, restrained Valerius of Asia from thinking of such things. And a prodigious slaughter there had been, if leave had been given to these men to set up for themselves, and oppose Claudius. There were also a considerable number of gladiators besides, and of those soldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and rowers of ships, who all ran unto the camp. Insomuch that of those who put in for the government, some left off their pretensions in order to spare the city; and others out of fear for their own persons.

But as soon as it was day, Cherea and those that were with him came into the senate, and attempted to address the soldiers. However, the multitude of those soldiers, when they saw that they were making signals for silence with their hands, and were ready to begin to speak to them, grew tumultuous, and would not let them speak at all, because they were all zealous to be under a monarchy. And they demanded of the senate one for their ruler, as not enduring any longer delays. But the senate hesitated about either their own governing, or how they should themselves be governed: while the soldiers would not admit them to govern; and the murderers of Caius would not permit the soldiers to dictate to them. When they were in these circumstances, Cherea was not able to contain the anger he had; and promised that if they desired an emperor, he would give them one, if any one would bring him the watch-word from Eutychus. Now this

* Equity and moderation should ever characterize government. The more these qualities predominate in the general administration of affairs, the greater will be the security and happiness of the people. B.

† This number of drachmæ to be distributed to each private soldier, 5000 = 20,000 sesterces, or 161*l.* sterling, seems much too large; and directly contradicts Suetonius, chap. X. who makes them in all but fifteen sesterces, or 2*s.* 4*d.* Yet might Josephus have this number from Agrippa, jun. though I doubt the thousands, or at least the hundreds, have been added by the transcribers: of which we have had several examples already in Josephus.

‡ Suetonius calls this Julia, Livilla: as Josephus still calls Livia, the daughter of Augustus, Julia. See the note on XVI. 5.

Eutychus was charioteer to the green band faction, styled Prasine, and a great friend of Caius's, who used to harass the soldiery with building stables for the horses; and spent his time in ignominious labours. This occasioned Cherea to reproach them with him, and to abuse them with much other scurrilous language; and he told them, he would bring them the head of Claudius. And that it was an amazing thing that, after their former madness, they should commit their government to a fool. Yet were not they moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went to Claudius, to join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the senate were left without any body to defend them: and the very consuls differed nothing from private persons. They were also under consternation and sorrow, like men not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them. So they began reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinus, one of Caius's murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into the midst of them, and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them. He also abused Cherea, for loving his life too well: while he, who was the first in his contempt of Caius, could think it a good thing to live, when, even by all that they had done for the recovery of their liberty, they found it impossible to do it. Cherea replied, he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; but he would first sound the intentions of Claudius before he did it.

These were the debates about the senate: but in the camp every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius. And the other consul, Quintus Pomponius, was reproached by the soldiery, as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty. Whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him: and they had done it, if Claudius had not snatched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. He did not, however, receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honourable manner: but some of them received blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Claudius. Nay, Aponius went away wounded; and they were all in danger. However, king Agrippa went up to Claudius, and desired he would treat the senators more gently: for, if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senate together into the palace; and was carried thither himself, through the city; while the soldiery conducted him: though this was to the great vexation of the multitude. For Cherea and Sabinus, two of Caius's murderers, went in the forefront of them, in an open manner: when Pollio, whom Claudius a little before had made captain of his guards, had sent them an epistolary edict, to forbid them to appear in public. Then did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get his friends together; and desired their suffrages about Cherea. They said that the work he had done was a glorious one: but they accused him that did it of perfidiousness, and thought it just to inflict the punishment of death upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Cherea was led to execution; and Lupus, and many other Romans, with him. Now it is reported that Cherea bore this calamity courageously: and this, not only by the firmness of his own behaviour under it, but by the reproaches he laid upon Lupus, who fell into tears. For when Lupus laid his garment aside, and complained of the *cold, he said, that cold was never hurtful to †Lupus. And as a great many men went along with them to see the sight, when Cherea came to the place, he asked the soldier, who was to be their executioner, whether this office were what he was used to? or whether this were the first time of his using his sword in that manner? and desired him to bring him that very sword, with which he himself slew Caius. So he was happily killed at one stroke. But Lupus did not meet with such good fortune in going out of the world: since he was timorous, and had many blows levelled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly, as he ought to have done.

A few days after this, as the parental solemnities were just at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual oblations to their several ghosts; and put portions into the fire, in honour of Cherea; and besought him to be merciful to them, and not continue his anger against them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the life that Cherea came to. But for Sabinus, although Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army, yet did he think it would be unjust in him to fail of performing his obligations to his fellow confederates, so he fell upon his sword, and killed himself; the wound reaching up to the very hilt of his sword.‡

* This piercing cold, here complained of by Lupus, agrees well with the time of year when Claudius began his reign. It being for certain about the months of November, December, or January; and most probably a few days after January 24th, and a few days before the Roman Parentalia.

† To a wolf.

‡ It is both here and elsewhere very remarkable, that the murderers of the vilest tyrants, who yet highly deserved to die, when those murderers were under oaths, or other obligations of fidelity to them, were usually revenged; and the murderers were cut off themselves, and that after a remarkable manner: and this sometimes, as in the present case, by those very persons who were not sorry for such murders, but got kingdoms by them. The examples are very numerous both in sacred and profane histories: and seem generally indications of divine vengeance on such murderers. Nor is it unworthy of remark, that such murderers of tyrants do it usually on such ill principles; in such a cruel manner; and as ready to involve the

CHAP. V.

OF THE GENEROSITY OF CLAUDIUS TO KING AGRIPPA; AND HIS PROMULGATION OF AN EDICT IN BEHALF OF THE JEWS.

NOW when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, he published an edict; and therein confirmed that kingdom to Agrippa, which Caius had given him; and commended the king highly. He also made an addition to it, of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned; that is Judea and Samaria. And this he restored to him as due to his family. But for *Abila of Lysanias, and all that lay at mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territories. He also made a league with this Agrippa, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome. He then took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of; but gave him a certain part of Cilicia, and Commagene. He also set Alexander Lysimachus the alabarch at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother Antonia; but had been imprisoned by Caius. Whose son, Marcus, married Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod; and begged for him of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis.

About this time there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexandria. For when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews, which had been very much mortified, under his reign, and reduced to very great distresses by the people of Alexandria, recovered itself; and immediately took up their arms, to fight for themselves. So Claudius sent an order to the president of Egypt to quiet that tumult. He also sent an edict, at the requests of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria; whose contents were as follows: "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, high-priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called Alexandrians, have been joint inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexandrians; and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them: as is evident by the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves: and that after Alexandria had been subjected to our empire by Augustus, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those presidents who have at different times been sent thither; and that no dispute had been raised about those rights and privileges, even when Aquila was governor of Alexandria; and that when the Jewish ethnarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit the making such ethnarchs: as willing that all men should be so subject to the Romans as to continue in the observance of their own customs, and not be forced to transgress the ancient rules of their own religion: but that in the time of Caius the Alexandrians became insolent towards the Jews that were among them: which Caius, out of his great madness, and want of understanding, reduced the nation of the Jews very low; because they would not transgress the religious worship of their country, and call him a god. I will, therefore, that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the madness of Caius: but that those rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed be preserved to them; and that they may continue in their own customs. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no troubles may arise after the promulgation of this edict."

Such were the contents of this edict on behalf of the Jews that were sent to Alexandria. But the edict that was sent into the other parts of the habitable earth was this which follows: "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, high-priest, tribune of the people, chosen consul† the second time, ordains thus: Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges should be preserved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those at Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith: and this grant I make not only for the sake of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favour, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Grecian city should be deprived of such rights and privileges: since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. It will,

innocent with the guilty: which was the case here, chap. 1 and 2, as justly deserved the divine vengeance upon them. Which seems to have been the case of Jehu also, when, besides the house of Ahab, for whose slaughter he had a commission from God; without any such commission, and without any justice or commiseration, he killed Ahab's great men, and acquaintance, and priests, and forty-two of the kindred of Ahaziah, 2 Kings x. 11, 13, 14. See Hosea i. 4. I do not mean here to condemn Ehud, or Judith, or the like executioners of God's vengeance on those wicked tyrants, who had unjustly oppressed God's own people, under their theocracy. Who, as they appear still to have had no selfish designs, nor intentions to slay the innocent, so had they still a divine commission or impulse for what they did. Judges iii. 15, 19, 20; Judith ix. 2; Test. Levi, § 5. in Authent. Rec. page 312. See also page 432.

* Here St. Luke is in some measure confirmed, when he informs us, chap. iii. 1, that Lysanias was some time before tetrarch of Abilene, whose capital was Abila. As is farther confirmed by Ptolemy, the great geographer, which Spanheim here observes, when he calls that city Abila of Lysanias. See the note on XVII. 11, and Prideaux at the year 36, and 22. I esteem this principality to have belonged to the land of Canaan originally; to have been the burying place of Abel; and referred to as such, Matt. xxiii. 35; Luke xi. 5. See Authent. Rec. Part II. page 383—385.

† A. D. 42.

therefore, be fit to permit the Jews, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient customs, without being hindered from doing so. And I do now charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation; and not to shew a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I will that this decree of mine be engraven on tables by the magistrates of the cities, and colonies, and municipal places, both those within Italy, and those without it, both kings and governors, by the means of their ambassadors; and to have them exposed to the public for full thirty days, in *such a place, whence it may plainly be read from the ground."

CHAP. VI.

OF THE CONDUCT OF AGRIPPA ON HIS RETURN TO JUDEA; AND OF THE EPISTLE WHICH PETRONIUS WROTE TO THE INHABITANTS OF DORIS, ON BEHALF OF THE JEWS.

NOW Claudius Cæsar by those decrees which he sent to Alexandria, and to all the habitable earth, made known what opinion he had of the Jews. So he sent Agrippa away, to take his kingdom, now he was advanced to a more illustrious dignity than before: and sent letters to the presidents and procurators of the provinces, that they should treat him very kindly. Accordingly he returned in haste, and came to Jerusalem; where he offered all the sacrifices that belonged to him, and omitted† nothing which the law required. On which account he ordained that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shorn. And for the golden chain which had been ‡given him by Caius, of equal weight with that iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the limits of the temple, over §the treasury: that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better: that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall; and that God sometimes raises up what is fallen down. For this chain thus dedicated afforded a document to all men, that king Agrippa had been once bound in a chain for a small cause, but recovered his former dignity again: a little while afterward got out of his bonds, and was advanced to be a more illustrious king than he was before. Whence men may understand that all that partake of human nature, how great soever they are, may fall: and that those that fall may regain their former illustrious dignity again.

When Agrippa had entirely finished all the duties of the divine worship, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the high-priesthood, and bestowed that honour on Simon, the son of Boethus, whose name was also Cantheras: whose daughter king Herod had married, ‖as I have already related. Simon, therefore, had the high-priesthood, with his brethren, and with his father; in like manner as the three sons of Simon, the son of Onias, had it formerly under the government of the Macedonians: as we have related in a former book.¶

When the king had settled the high-priethood after this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had shewn him. For he released them from the tax upon houses, every one of which paid it before: thinking it a good thing to requite the tender affection of those that loved him. He also made Silas the general of his forces; as a man who had partaken with him in many of his troubles. But after a very little while the young men of Doris, preferring a rash attempt before piety, and being naturally bold and insolent, carried a statue of Cæsar's into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa. For it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his country. So he came without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then president of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor did he less resent what was done than did Agrippa. For he judged it a piece of impiety to transgress the laws that regulate the actions of men. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris, in an angry strain:—

"Publius Petronius, the president, under Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus; to the magistrates of Doris, ordains as follows: Since some of you have had the boldness, or madness rather, after the edict of Claudius Cæsar was published, for permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their country, not to obey the same; but have acted in entire opposition thereto: as forbidding the Jews to assemble together in their synagogue, by removing Cæsar's statue, and setting it up therein; and thereby have offended not

* This form was so known and frequent among the Romans, as Dr. Hudson here tells us, from the great Selden, that it used to be thus represented at the bottom of their edicts by the initial letters only, U. D. P. R. L. P. Unde De Plano Recte Legi Possit. Whence it may plainly be read from the ground.

† Josephus shews both here, and chap. 7, that he had a much greater opinion of king Agrippa I. than Simon the learned Rabbi; than the people of Cæsarea, and Sebaste, chap. 7, and, indeed, than his double dealing between the senate and Claudius, chap. 4, than his slaughter of James the brother of John, and his imprisonment of Peter, or his vain-glorious behaviour before he died, both in Acts xii. 1, 2, 3, and here XIX. 4, will justify or allow. Josephus's character was probably taken from his son Agrippa, jun.

‡ See Book XVIII. chap. 6.

§ This treasury-chamber seems to have been the same in which our Saviour taught; and where the people offered their donations for the repairs or other uses of the temple. Mark xii. 41, &c.; Luke xxi. 1; John viii. 20.

‖ Book XV. chap. 9.

¶ Book XII. chap. 3.

only the Jews, but the emperor himself; whose statue is more commodiously placed in his own temple, than in a foreign one; where is the place of assembling together; while it is but a part of natural justice, that every one should have the power over the places belonging peculiarly to themselves, according to the determination of Cæsar. To say nothing of my own determination; which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor's edict; which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs; as also gives order that they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the Greeks themselves. I therefore ordain, that Proculus Vitellius, the centurion, bring those men to me, who, contrary to Augustus's edict, have been so insolent, as to do this thing: at which those very men who appear to be of principal reputation among them have an indignation also; and allege for themselves that it was not done with their consent, but by the violence of the multitude; that they may give an account of what hath been done. I also exhort the principal magistrates among them, unless they have a mind to have this wicked action esteemed to be done with their consent, to inform the centurion of those that were guilty of it; and take care that no handle be hence taken for raising a sedition or quarrel among them: which those seem to me to seek after, who encourage such doings. While both I myself, and king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, have nothing more under our care, than that the nation of the Jews may have no occasion given them of getting together under the pretence of avenging themselves, and become tumultuous. And that it may be the more publicly known what Cæsar hath resolved about this whole matter, I have subjoined those edicts which he hath lately caused to be published at Alexandria: and which although they may be well known to all, yet did king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, read them at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived of those rights which Augustus hath granted them. I therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time to come, seek for any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that every one be allowed to follow their own religious customs."

Thus did Petronius take care of this matter: that such a breach of the law might be corrected; and that no such thing might be attempted afterwards against the Jews. And now king Agrippa took the high-priesthood away from Simon Cantheras, and put Jonathan, the son of Ananus, into it again; and owned that he was more worthy of that dignity than the other. But this was not a thing acceptable to him, to recover his former dignity. So he refused it, and said, "O king, I rejoice in the honour thou hast for me; and take it kindly that thou wouldest give me such a dignity of thine own inclinations: although God hath judged that I am not at all worthy of the high-priesthood. I am satisfied with having once put on the sacred garments. For I then put them on after a more holy manner, than I should now receive them again. But if thou desirest that a person more worthy than myself should have this honourable employment, give me leave to name thee such a one. I have a brother, that is pure from all sin against God, and of all offences against thyself. I recommend him to thee, as one that is fit for this dignity." So the king was pleased with these words of his; and passed by Jonathan; and, according to his brother's desire, bestowed the high-priesthood upon Matthias. Nor was it long before Marcus succeeded Petronius as president of Syria.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE CAUSE OF AGRIPPA'S ANGER AGAINST SILAS; HIS REPARATION OF THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM; AND THE BENEFITS WHICH HE BESTOWED ON THE INHABITANTS OF BERYTUS.

NOW Silas, the general of the king's horse, because he had been faithful to him under all his misfortunes, and had never refused to be a partaker with him in any of his dangers, but had oftentimes undergone the most hazardous pains for him; was full of assurance, and thought he might expect a sort of equality with the king, on account of the firmness of the friendship he had shewn to him. Accordingly, he would no where let the king sit as his superior; and took the like liberty in speaking to him upon all occasions: till he became troublesome to the king when they were merry together; extolling himself beyond measure, and often putting the king in mind of the severity of fortune he had undergone; that he might, by way of ostentation, demonstrate what zeal he had shewn in his service; and was continually harping upon this string, what pains he had taken for him; and much enlarged still upon that subject. The repetition of this so frequently seemed to reproach the king: insomuch that he took this ungovernable liberty of talking very ill at his hands. For the commemoration of times when men have been under ignominy, is by no means agreeable to them; and he is a very silly man who is perpetually relating to a person what kindness he had done him. At last, therefore, Silas had so thoroughly provoked the king's indignation, that he acted rather out of passion than good consideration; and did not only turn Silas out of his place, as general of his horse, but sent him in bonds into his own country. But the edge of his anger wore off by length of time, and made room for more just reasoning as to his judgment about this man; and he considered how many labours he had undergone for his sake. So when

Agrippa was solemnizing his birth-day, and he gave festival entertainments to all his subjects, he sent for Silas on the sudden to be his guest. But as he was a very frank man, he thought he had now a just handle given him to be angry; which he could not conceal from those that came for him; but said to them, "What honour is this the king invites me to; which I conclude will soon be over? For the king hath not let me keep those original marks of the good will which I once had from him; but he hath plundered me, and that unjustly. Does he think that I can leave off that liberty of speech, which, upon the consciousness of my deserts, I shall use more loudly than before: and shall relate how many misfortunes I have delivered him from; how many labours I have undergone for him: whereby I procured him deliverance and respect; as a reward for which I have borne the hardships of bonds, and a dark prison; I shall never forget this usage: nay, perhaps my very soul, when it is departed out of the body, will not forget the glorious actions I did on his account." This was the clamour he made: and he ordered the messenger to tell it to the king. So he perceived that Silas was incurable in his folly, and still suffered him to lie in prison.

As for the walls of Jerusalem,* that were adjoining to the new city, he repaired them at the expense of the public, and built them wider in breadth and higher in altitude. And he had made them too strong for all human power to demolish, unless Marcus, then president of Syria, had by letters informed Claudius Cæsar of what he was doing. And when Claudius had some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he sent to Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls presently; so he obeyed, as not thinking it proper to contradict Claudius.

Now this king was by nature very beneficent, and liberal in his gifts, and very ambitious to oblige people with large donations, and he made himself very illustrious by the many chargeable presents he made them: he took delight in giving, and rejoiced in living with good reputation. He was not at all like that Herod who reigned before him. For that Herod was ill-natured, and severe in his punishments, and had no mercy on them that he hated; and every one perceived that he was more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews: for he adorned foreign cities with large presents in money, with building them baths and theatres besides; nay, in some of those places he erected temples, and porticoes in others; but he did not vouchsafe to raise one of the least edifices in any Jewish city, or make them any donation that was worth mentioning. But Agrippa's temper was mild, and equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and made them sensible of his liberality: he was in like manner rather of a gentle and compassionate temper. Accordingly he loved to live continually at Jerusalem; and was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. He, therefore, kept himself entirely pure; nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice.

However, there was a certain man, named Simon, of the Jewish nation, at Jerusalem, who appeared to be very accurate in the knowledge of the law. This man got together an assembly, while the king was absent at Cæsarea, and had the insolence to accuse him as not living holily; and that he might justly be excluded out of the temple, since it belonged only to native Jews. But the general of Agrippa's army informed him, that Simon had made such a speech to the people. So the king sent for him: and as he was then sitting in the theatre, he bade him sit down by him: and said to him with a low and gentle voice, "What is there done in this place that is contrary to the law?" But he had nothing to say for himself, but begged his pardon. So the king was more easily reconciled to him than one could have imagined; as esteeming mildness a better quality in a king than anger, and knowing that moderation is more becoming in great men than passion. So he made Simon a small present, and dismissed him.

Now as Agrippa was a great builder in many places, he paid a peculiar regard to the people of Berytus. For he erected a theatre for them, superior to many other of that sort, both in sumptuousness and elegance: as also an amphitheatre, built at vast expense: and besides these, he built them baths and porticoes; and spared for no costs in any of his edifices, to render them both handsome and large. He also spent a great deal upon their dedication, and exhibited shews upon them; and brought thither musicians of all sorts, and such as made the most delightful music, of the greatest variety. He also shewed his magnificence upon the theatre, in his great number of gladiators: and there it was that he exhibited the several antagonists, in order to please the spectators; no fewer, indeed, than †seven hundred men to fight with seven hundred other men; and allotted all the malefactors‡ he had for this exercise: that both the malefactors might receive their punishment, and that this operation of war might be a recreation in peace. And thus were these criminals all destroyed at once.

* In ancient times, when the people were much exposed to hostile armies, they were compelled to dwell in fortified cities. Great and strong walls, were, therefore, commonly erected for defence. Hence it was always usual for a besieging enemy to destroy the walls in order to obtain a triumph; and it was consequently the care of the people to repair them in the season of leisure and peace. B.

† A strange number of condemned criminals to be under the sentence of death at once; no fewer, it seems, than 1400.

‡ Such persons as were accused of great crimes, capitally punished, were frequently exposed to fight either with men or wild beasts. See 1 Cor. xv. 32, and Oriental Customs, Vol. 2, No. 1348. B.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE ACTIONS AND DEATH OF AGRIPPA.

WHEN Agrippa had finished what I have above related at Berytus, he removed to Tiberias, a city of Galilee. Now he was in great esteem among other kings. Accordingly there came to him *Antiochus, king of Commagena; Sampsigeramus, king Emesa; Cotys, who was king of the Lesser Armenia; and Polemo, who was king of Pontus: as also Herod his brother, who was king of Chalcis. All these he treated with agreeable entertainments, and after an obliging manner; and so as to exhibit the greatness of his mind, and to appear worthy of those respects which the kings paid to him, by coming thus to see him. However, while these kings staid with him, Marcus, the president of Syria, came thither. So the king, in order to preserve the respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city to meet him, as far as seven furlongs. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marcus: for he took with him in his chariot those other kings, as his assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings one with another, and did not think so close an agreement of so many potentates to be for the interest of the Romans: he therefore sent some of his domestics to every one of them, and enjoined them to go their ways home, without farther delay. This was very ill taken by Agrippa; who, after that, became his enemy. And now †he took the high-priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elioneus, the son of Cantheras, high-priest in his stead.

Now when Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city Cæsarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shews in honour of Cæsar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival a great multitude was gotten together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his province. On the second ‡day of these shews, he put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theatre early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the first reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner; and was so resplendent as to spread a sort of dread over those that looked intently upon him. And presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place, and another from another, that he was a god. And they added, "Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto reverenced thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery; but as he presently afterward looked up, he §saw an owl sitting on a certain rope over his head; and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him; and fell into the deepest sorrow: a severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in the most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends, and said, "I, whom you call a god, am commanded presently to depart this life; while Providence thus reproves the lying words you just now said to me. And I who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what Providence allots, as it pleases God; for we have by no means lived ill; but in a splendid and happy manner." When he said this, his pain was become violent. Accordingly he was carried into the palace; and the rumour went about every where, that he would certainly die in a little time. But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber; and as he saw them below lying prostrate on

* Of these five kings, Antiochus, king of Commagena, is mentioned by Josephus elsewhere, in his War of the Jews, II. 18. Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa, by him in his Antiquities, XVIII. 5, and by Strabo, XVI. page 753. Polemo, king of Pontus, by Tacitus Annal. and II. 56, as also by Eutropius, VII. 9, who says, "He granted Pontus to the Romans; and thence it became a province under them:" Herod of Chalcis by Josephus, just before. But Cotys, king of Armenia, is, I think, no where else named.

† A. D. 43.

‡ Acts xii. 21, 22, 23.

§ We have a mighty cry made here by some critics, as if the great Eusebius had, on purpose, falsified this account of Josephus's; so as to make it agree with the parallel account in the Acts of the Apostles. Because the present copies of his citation of it, Hist. Eccles. II. 10, omit the words βυβῶνα ἐπι χοινὶς τινος, i. e. an owl on a certain rope; which Josephus's present copies retain, and only have the explicatory word ἄγγελον, or angel: as if he meant that angel of the Lord which St. Luke mentions as smiting Herod; Acts xii. 23, and not that owl which Josephus called an angel or messenger, formerly of good, but now of bad news to Agrippa. This accusation is a somewhat strange one in the case of the great Eusebius; who is known to have so accurately and faithfully produced a vast number of other ancient records, and particularly not a few out of our Josephus also, without any suspicion of prevarication. Now not to allege how uncertain we are, whether Josephus's and Eusebius's copies of the fourth century were just like the present in this clause, which we have no distinct evidence of, the following words, preserved still in Eusebius, will not admit of any such exposition. This [bird] says Eusebius, Agrippa presently perceived to be the cause of ill fortune, as it was once of good fortune to him. Which can only belong to that bird the owl; which as it had formerly foreboded his happy deliverance from imprisonment, Antiq. XVIII. 6, so was it then foretold to prove afterward the unhappy forerunner of his death, in five days' time. If the improper word αἴτιον, or cause, be changed for Josephus's proper word ἄγγελον, angel or messenger; and the foregoing words βυβῶνα—ἐπὶ χοινὶς τινος be inserted, Eusebius's text will truly represent that in Josephus. Had this imperfection been in some heathen author that was in good esteem with our modern critics, they would have readily corrected these, as barely errors in the copies: but being in an ancient Christian writer, not so well relished by many of those critics, nothing will serve but the ill grounded supposal of wilful corruption and prevarication.

the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life ;* being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign. For he reigned four years under Caius Cæsar; three of them were over Philip's tetrarchy only; and on the fourth he had that of Herod added to it. And he reigned, besides those, three years under the reign of Claudius Cæsar. In which time he reigned over the aforementioned countries, and also had Judea added to them, as well as Samaria and Cæsarea. The revenues that he received out of them were very great; no less than †twelve millions of drachmæ. Yet did he borrow great sums from others; for he was so very liberal that his expenses exceeded his income, and his generosity was boundless.‡

But before the multitude were made acquainted with Agrippa's being expired, Herod, the king of Chalcis, and Helcias, the master of his horse, and the king's friend, sent Aristo, one of the king's most faithful servants, and slew Silas, who had been their enemy, as if it had been done by the king's own command.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE JEWS AFTER THE DEATH OF AGRIPPA; AND THE APPOINTMENT OF CUSPIUS FADUS TO BE PROCURATOR OF JUDEA.

AGRIPPA left behind him a son, Agrippa by name, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age; and three daughters: one of which, Bernice, was married to Herod, his father's brother, and was sixteen years old. The other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins; the former was ten years old, and Drusilla six. Now these daughters were thus espoused by their father: Mariamne to Julius Archelaus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, the son of Chelcias; and Drusilla to the king of Commagena. But when it was known that Agrippa was departed this life, the inhabitants of Cæsarea and of Sebaste forgot the kindness he had bestowed on them, and acted the parts of the bitterest enemies: for they cast such reproaches upon the deceased as are not fit to be spoken of. And so many of them as were then soldiers, which were very numerous, went to his house, and hastily carried off the §statues of this king's daughters into the brothel houses; and when they had set them on the tops of those houses, they abused them to the utmost of their power. They also laid themselves down in public places, and celebrated general feastings, with garlands on their heads, and with ointments and libations to Charon; and drinking to one another, for joy that the king was expired. Nay, they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who had extended his liberality to them in abundance, but of his grandfather Herod also; who had himself rebuilt their cities, and had raised them havens and temples at vast expenses.

Now Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at Rome, and brought up with Claudius Cæsar. And when Cæsar was informed that Agrippa was dead, and that the inhabitants of Sebaste and Cæsarea had abused him, he was sorry for the first news, and was displeased at the ingratitude of those cities. He was, therefore, disposed to send Agrippa junior away presently, to succeed his father in the kingdom; and was willing to confirm it by his oath. But those freedmen and friends of his who had the greatest authority with him, dissuaded him from it, and said, that it was a dangerous experiment to permit so large a kingdom to come under the government of so very young a man, and one hardly yet arrived at years of discretion, who would not be able to take sufficient care of its administration. So Cæsar thought what they said to be reasonable. Accordingly he sent Cuspius Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire kingdom; and paid that respect to the deceased, as not to introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined in the first place to send orders to Fadus, that he should chastise the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste, for those abuses they had offered to him that was deceased, and their madness towards his daughters that were still alive; and that he should remove that body of soldiers that were at Cæsarea and Sebaste, with the five regiments, into Pontus, that they might do their military duty there; and that he should choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria, to supply their place. Yet were not those that had such orders actually removed: for by sending ambassadors to Claudius, they mollified him, and got leave to abide in Judea still. And these were the very men that became the source of great calamites to the Jews in after times, and sowed the seed of that war which began under Florus. Whence it was that when Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed them out of his province.

* A. D. 44.

† This sum of 12,000,000 drachmæ, which is equal to 3,000,000 shekels, i. e. at 2*s*. 10*d*. a shekel, equal to 425,000*l*. sterling, was Agrippa the Great's yearly income, or about three quarters of his grandfather Herod's income. He having abated the tax upon houses at Jerusalem, chap. 6, and was not so tyrannical as he had been to the Jews. See the note on XVII. 11. A large sum this! but not, it seems, sufficient for his extravagant expenses.

‡ Reland takes notice here, not improperly, that Josephus omits the reconciliation of this Herod Agrippa to the Tyrians and Sidonians, by the means of Blastus the king's chamberlain, mentioned Acts xii. 20. Nor is there any history in the world so complete, as to omit nothing that other historians take notice of, unless the one be taken out of the other, and accommodated to it.

§ Photius, who made an extract out of this chapter, says they were not the statues or images, but the ladies themselves which were thus basely abused by the soldiers. Cod. CCXXXVIII.

BOOK XX.

Containing an Interval of Twenty-two Years.

FROM FADUS THE PROCURATOR, TO FLORUS.

CHAP. I.

OF A SEDITION OF THE PHILADELPHIANS AGAINST THE JEWS; AND OF THE VESTMENTS OF THE HIGH-PRIEST.

UPON the death of king Agrippa, which we have related in the foregoing book, Claudius Cæsar sent Cassius Longinus as successor to Marcus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa; who had often desired of him by letters, while he was alive, that he would not suffer Marcus to be any longer president of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was come procurator into Judea, found quarrelsome doings between the Jews that dwelt in Perea, and the people of Philadelphia, about their borders at a village called Mia, that was filled with men of a warlike temper: for the Jews of Perea had taken up arms without the consent of their principal men, and had destroyed many of the Philadelphians. When Fadus was informed of this procedure, it provoked him very much, that they had not left the determination of the matter to him, if they thought that the Philadelphians had done them any wrong; but had rashly taken up arms against them. So he seized upon three of their principal men, who were also the causes of this sedition, and ordered them to be bound; and afterward had one of them slain, whose name was Hannibal; and he banished the other two, Amram and Eleazar. Tholomy also, a noted robber, was, after some time, brought to him bound, and slain; but not till he had done much mischief to Idumea and the Arabians: and, indeed, from that time Judea was cleared of robberies, by the care and providence of Fadus. He also at this time sent for the high-priests, and the principal citizens of Jerusalem, and this at the command of the emperor; and admonished them, that they should lay up the long garment, and the sacred vestment, which it is customary for nobody but the high-priest to wear, in the tower of Antonia; that it might be under the power of the Romans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he said; but they desired Fadus, and Longinus, (which last was come to Jerusalem, and had brought a great army with him out of fear that the rigid injunctions of Fadus should force the Jews to rebel,) that they might, in the first place, have leave to send ambassadors to Cæsar; to petition him that the holy vestments might remain under their own power; and that, in the next place, they would tarry till they knew what answer Claudius would give to that request. So they replied, that they would give them leave to send their ambassadors, provided they would give them their sons as pledges for their peaceable behaviour.* And when they had agreed so to do, and had given them the pledges they desired, the ambassadors were sent accordingly. But when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa junior, the son of the deceased, understood the reason why they came, (for he dwelt with Claudius Cæsar, as †we said before,) he besought Cæsar to grant the Jews their request, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly.

* The detention of persons as hostages to secure to one party the good conduct of the other, has been a general practice. In proportion to the importance of the occasion, and the existence of jealousy, or the fear of treachery, has always been the care with which they were selected or approved. B.

† Book XIX. chap. 9.

Hereupon Claudius called for the ambassadors, and told them, that he granted their request; and bade them return their thanks to Agrippa for this favour, which had been bestowed on them upon his entreaty; and besides these answers, he sent the following letter by them :—

"Claudius Cæsar, Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, designed consul the fourth time, and imperator the tenth time, the father of his country; to the magistrates, senate, and people, and the whole nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by my friend Agrippa, whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a person of very great piety; who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earnest and obliging manner, that they may have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power; I grant their request; as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear to me, had done before. And I have complied with your desire, in the first place out of regard to that piety which I profess, and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country. And this I do also, because I shall hereby highly gratify king Herod and Agrippa junior, whose sacred regards to me, and earnest good will to you, I am well acquainted with; and with whom I have the greatest friendship, and whom I highly esteem, and look on as persons of the best character. Now I have written about these affairs to Cuspius Fadus my procurator. The names of those that brought me your letter are, Cornelius, the son of Cero; Trypho, the son of Theudio; Dorotheus, the son of Nathaniel; and John, the son of John. This letter is dated before the fourth of the calends of July, when Rufus and Pompeius Sylvanus are consuls."

Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Cæsar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the high-priests; and obtained all that he petitioned for. So that after that time, this authority continued *among his descendants till the end of the war. Accordingly Herod removed the last high-priest, called Cantheras, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Camus.

CHAP. II.

OF THE CONVERSION OF HELENA, QUEEN OF ADIABENE, AND HER SON IZATES, TO THE JEWISH RELIGION; AND OF HELENA'S BENEVOLENCE TO THE POOR, WHEN THERE WAS A GREAT FAMINE AT JERUSALEM.

ABOUT this time †Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs: and this on the following occasion: Monobazus, king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife; and as he was in bed with her one night, he fell asleep, and seemed to hear a voice, which told him, that the infant with which she was pregnant should, by God's providence, be safely born, and have a happy end. This voice put him into disorder: so he awaked immediately, and told the story to his wife: and when his son was born, he called him Izates. He had, indeed, Monobazus his elder son by Helena also, as he had other sons by other wives: yet did he openly place all his affections on this his ‡only begotten son Izates: which was the origin of that envy which his other brethren, by the same father, bore to him; while on this account they hated him more and more, and were all under great affliction that their father should prefer Izates before them. Now although their father was very sensible of their passions, yet did he forgive them; as not indulging those passions out of an ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates, with many presents, to Abennerig, the king of Charax-Spasini, and that out of the great dread he was in about him, lest he should come to some misfortune by the hatred his brethren bore him; and he committed his son's preservation to him. Upon which Abennerig gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him; and married him to his own daughter, whose name was Samacha. He also bestowed a country upon him, from which he received large revenues.

But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he had but a little time to live, he had a mind to come to the sight of his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him after the most affectionate manner, and bestowed on him the country called Carræ.

* Here is some error in the copies, or mistake in Josephus. For the power of appointing high priests, after Herod king of Chalcis was dead, and Agrippa, jun. was made king of Chalcis in his room, belonged to him; and he exercised the same all along till Jerusalem was destroyed, as Josephus elsewhere informs us, chap. 8.

† Concerning Monobazus and Helena, and their son Izates, and the contents of this and of the two next chapters, see Moses Chorenensis, page 132—141, and Authentic Records, Part II. page 954—961, and page 1083—1123. Only this I shall now add, that Orosius confirms my determination, that Helena, queen of Adiabene, was not converted to the Jewish, but to the Christian, religion; and thence sent supplies to the Christians in Judea, during the famine under Claudius Cæsar, L. VII. c. 6. The Talmud also has a full account of this Helena and Monobazus; and of their great favours to the Jews; as Hudson and Reland observe upon these chapters.

‡ Josephus here uses the word μονογενη, an only begotten son, for no other than one best beloved; as do both the Old and New Testament; I mean where there were one or more sons besides. Gen. xxii. 2; Heb. xi. 17.

It was a soil that bare amomum in great plenty: there are also in it the remains of that ark, wherein it is related that Noah escaped the deluge; and where they are *still shewed to such as are desirous to see them. Accordingly Izates abode in that country until his father's death. But the very day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandees and governors of the kingdom, and for those that had the armies committed to their command: and when they were come, she made the following speech to them: "I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband was desirous Izates should succeed him in the government; and thought him worthy so to do. However, I wait your determination. For happy is he who receives a kingdom, not from a single person only, but from the willing suffrages of a great many." This she said in order to try those that were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon the hearing of which, they first of all paid their homage to the queen, as their custom was; and then said that they confirmed the king's determination, and would submit to it; and they rejoiced that Izates's father had preferred him before the rest of his brethren, as being agreeable to all their wishes. But that they were desirous first of all to slay his brethren and kinsmen, that so the government might come securely to Izates: because if they were once destroyed, all that fear would be over, which might arise from their hatred and envy to him. Helena replied, that she returned them thanks for their kindness to herself and to Izates; but desired that they would defer the execution of this slaughter of Izates's brethren till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it. So since these men had not prevailed with her, when they advised her to slay them, they exhorted her at least to keep them in bonds till he should come, and that for their own security. They also gave her counsel to set up some one whom she could put the greatest trust in, as a governor of the kingdom in the mean time. So queen Helena complied with this counsel, and set up Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king; and put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father's ring, with its signet; as also the ornament which they call Sampser; and exhorted him to administer the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come; who came suddenly, upon his hearing that his father was dead; and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned the government to him.

Now during the time that Izates abode at Charax-Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant whose name was Ananias, got among the women that belonged to the king, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish religion. He also, by their means, became known to Izates, and persuaded him in like manner to embrace that religion; and, at the earnest entreaty of Izates, he accompanied him, when he was sent for by his father to come to Adiabene. It also happened, that Helena, about the same time, was instructed by another Jew, and went over to them. But when Izates had taken the kingdom, and was come to Adiabene, and there saw his brethren and other kinsmen in bonds, he was displeased at it. And as he thought it an instance of impiety either to slay or to imprison them; but still thought it a hazardous thing for to let them have their liberty, with the remembrance of the injuries that had been offered them: he sent some of them and their children as hostages to Rome, to Claudius Cæsar; and he sent the others to Artabanus, king of Parthia, with the like intentions.

And when he preceived that his mother was highly pleased with the Jewish customs, he resolved to embrace them entirely: and as he supposed that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised, he was ready to have it done. But when his mother understood his design, she endeavoured to prevent it, and said, that this thing would bring him into danger; and that, as he was a king, he would thereby bring himself into great odium among his subjects, when they should understand that he was so fond of rites that were to them strange and foreign; and that they would never bear to be governed by a Jew. This for the present persuaded him to forbear. And when he related what she had said to Ananias, he confirmed what his mother had said: and when he had also threatened to leave him, unless he complied with them, he went away from him, and said, that he was afraid lest such an action being once become public, he should himself be in danger of punishment, for having been the occasion of it, and having been the king's instructor in actions that were of ill reputation; and he said that he might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely; which worship of God was of a †superior nature to circumcision. He added, that God would forgive him, though he did not perform the operation, while it was omitted out of necessity, and for fear of his subjects. So the king at that time complied with these persuasions of Ananias: but afterwards a certain other Jew that came out of Galilee, whose name was Eleazar, and who was esteemed very skilful in the learning of his country, persuaded him to do the thing. For as he entered into his palace to salute him, and found him reading the law of Moses, he said to him, "Thou dost not consider, O king, that thou unjustly breakest the principle of those laws, and art injurious

* It is here very remarkable, that the remains of Noah's ark were believed to be still in being in the days of Josephus. See the note on I. 3.

† See 1 Cor. vii. 19; Gal. vi. 15.

to God himself, by omitting to be circumcised: for thou oughtest not only to read them, but chiefly to practice what they enjoin. How long wilt thou continue uncircumcised? But if thou hast not yet read the law about circumcision, and dost not know how great impiety thou art guilty of by neglecting it, read it now." When the king had heard what he said, he delayed the thing no longer; but retired to another room, and sent for a surgeon, and did as he was commanded. He then sent for his mother, and Ananias his tutor, and informed them that he had done the thing. Upon which they were presently stricken with astonishment and fear, and that to a great degree, lest the thing should be openly discovered and censured, and the king should hazard the loss of his kingdom; while his subjects would not bear to be governed by a man that was so zealous in another religion; and lest they should themselves run some hazard, because they would be supposed the occasion of his so doing. But it was *God himself who hindered what they feared from taking effect: for he preserved both Izates himself and his sons, when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible; and demonstrated thereby that the fruit of piety does not perish as to those that have regard to him, and fix their faith upon him only. But these events we shall relate hereafter.

But as to Helena, the king's mother, when she saw that the affairs of Izates's kingdom were in peace, and that her son was a happy man, and admired among all men, and even among foreigners. by the means of God's providence over him; she had a mind to go to the city of Jerusalem, in order to worship at that temple which was so famous among all men, and to offer her thank-offerings there. So she desired her son to give her leave to go thither. Upon which he gave his consent to what she desired, and made great preparation for her dismission, and gave her a great deal of money; and she went down to the city Jerusalem, her son conducting her on her journey a great way. Now her coming was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem: for whereas a famine did oppress them at that time, and many people died for want of what was necessary to procure food withal, queen Helena sent some of her servants to Alexandria, with money to buy a great quantity of corn, and others of them to Cyprus, to bring a cargo of dried figs. And as soon as they were come back, and had brought those provisions, which was done very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it; and left a most excellent memorial behind her of this benefaction, which she bestowed on our whole nation. And when her son Izates was informed of the famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem. However, what favours this queen and king conferred upon our city Jerusalem, shall be †farther related hereafter.

CHAP. III.

OF THE ASSISTANCE RENDERED BY IZATES TO ARTIBANUS KING OF PARTHIA.

NOW Artabanus, king of the Parthians, perceiving that the governors of the provinces had framed a plot against him, did not think it safe to continue among them; but resolved to go to Izates, in hopes of finding some way of preservation by his means, and, if possible, for his return to his own dominions. So he came to Izates, and brought about a thousand of his kindred and servants with him; and met him upon the road; while he well knew Izates, but Izates did not know him. When Artabanus stood near him, and in the first place worshipped him, according to the custom, he said to him, with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance, "O king, do not overlook me thy servant, nor proudly reject the suit I make thee: for as I am reduced to a low estate by the change of fortune, and of a king am become a private man, I stand in need of thy assistance. Have regard, therefore, to the uncertainty of fortune, and esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of thyself also. For if I be neglected, and my subjects go unpunished, many other subjects will become the more insolent toward other kings also." Now as soon as Izates heard Artabanus's name, and saw him stand as a supplicant before him, he leaped down from his horse, and said to him, "Take courage, O king; nor be disturbed at thy present calamity, as if it were incurable; for the change of thy sad con-

* Josephus is very full and express in these three chapters, 3, 4, and 5, in observing how carefully Divine Providence preserved this Izates, king of Adiabene, and his sons, while he did what he thought was his bounden duty, notwithstanding the strongest political motives to the contrary.

† This farther account of the benefactions of Izates and Helena to the Jerusalem Jews, which Josephus here promises, is, I think, no where performed by him in his present works. But of this terrible famine in Judea, take Dr. Hudson's note here: "This," says he, "is that famine foretold by Agabus, Acts xi. 28, which happened when Claudius was consul the fourth time, A. D. 47, and not that other which happened when Claudius was consul the second time, and Cæsina was his colleague, A. D. 42, as Scaliger says upon Eusebius, page 174." Now when Josephus had said a little afterward, chap. 5, that Tiberius Alexander succeeded Cuspius Fadus as procurator, he immediately subjoins, that "Under these procurators there happened a great famine in Judea." Whence it is plain, that this famine continued for many years, on account of its duration under those two procurators. Now Fadus was not sent into Judea till after the death of king Agrippa; i. e. towards the latter end of the fourth year of Claudius (the end of A. D. 44, or beginning of 45:) so that this famine foretold by Agabus happened upon the 5th, 6th, and 7th years of Claudius (A. D. 45, 46, and 47,) as says Valesius on Euseb. II. 12. Of this famine also, and queen Helena's supplies, and her monument, see Moses Chorenensis, page 144, 145, where it is observed in the notes, that Pausanias mentions her monument also.

dition shall be sudden: for thou shalt find me to be more thy friend and thy assistant than thy hopes can promise thee. I will either re-establish thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose my own."

When he had said this, he set Artabanus upon his horse, and followed him on foot, in honour of a king whom he owned as greater than himself. Which when Artabanus saw he was very uneasy at it; and sware by his present fortune and honour, that he would get down from his horse, unless Izates would get upon his again, and go before him. So he complied with his desire, and leaped upon his horse; and when he had brought him to his royal palace, he shewed him all sorts of respect when they sat together; and he gave him the upper place at festivals also; as regarding not his present fortune, but his former dignity; and that upon this consideration, that the changes of fortune are common to all men. He also wrote to the Parthians, to persuade them to receive Artabanus again; and gave them his right hand, and his faith, that he should forget what was past and done; and that he would undertake for this, as a mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themselves refuse to receive him again; but pleaded, that it was not now in their power so to do, because they had committed the government to another person, who had accepted of it, and whose name was Cinnamus; and that they were afraid lest a civil war should arise on this account. When Cinnamus understood their intentions, he wrote to Artabanus himself; for he had been brought up by him, and was of a good and gentle nature; and desired him to put confidence in him, and to come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly Artabanus trusted him and returned home; when Cinnamus met him, and saluted him as king; and took the diadem off his own head, and put it upon the head of Artabanus.

Thus was Artabanus restored to his kingdom again by the means of Izates, when he had lost it by the grandees of the kingdom. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits he had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with such honours as were of greatest esteem among them.* For he gave him leave to wear his †tiara upright, and to sleep upon a golden bed; which are privileges and marks of honour peculiar to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off a large and fruitful country from the king of Armenia, and bestowed it upon him. The name of the country is Nisibis; wherein the Macedonians had formerly built that city which they called Antioch of Mygdonia. And these were the honours that were paid Izates by the king of the Parthians.

But in no long time Artabanus died, and left his kingdom to his son Bardanes. Now this Bardanes came to Izates, and would have persuaded him to join him with his army, and to assist him in the war he was preparing to make with the Romans; but he could not prevail with him. For Izates well knew the strength and good fortune of the Romans: and having besides sent his five sons, and they but young also, to learn accurately the language of our nation, together with our learning; as well as he had sent his mother to worship at our temple, as I have said already; was the more backward to a compliance; and restrained Bardanes, telling him perpetually of the great armies and famous actions of the Romans; and thought thereby to terrify and hinder him from that expedition. But the Parthian king was provoked at this behaviour, and denounced war immediately against Izates. Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein: for the Parthians, perceiving Bardanes's intention, and how he had determined to make war with the Romans, slew him, and gave his kingdom to his brother ‡Gotarzes. He also, in no long time, perished by a plot made against him; and Vologases his brother succeeded him. He committed two of his provinces to two of his brothers by the same father; that of the Medes to the elder Pacorus, and Armenia to the younger Tiridates.

CHAP. IV.

IZATES IS BETRAYED BY HIS OWN SUBJECTS, AND FOUGHT AGAINST BY THE ARABIANS; BUT BY THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD, IS DELIVERED OUT OF THEIR HANDS.

WHEN the king's brother Monobazus, and his other kindred, saw how Izates, by his piety to God, was become greatly esteemed by all men, they also had a desire to leave the religion of their country, and to embrace the customs of the Jews. But that act of theirs was discovered by Izates's subjects. Whereupon the grandees were much displeased, and could not contain their anger at them: but had an intention, when they should find a proper opportunity, to inflict a punishment upon them. Accordingly they wrote to Abia, king of the Arabians, and promised him great sums of money, if he would make an expedition against their king; promising that, on the first onset, they would desert him; because they were desirous to punish him,

* In danger men are apt to make promises which are forgotten in returning prosperity. When a favourable reverse of circumstances make no alteration in the disposition, as to its previous grateful intention, it discovers integrity and sincerity. B.

† This privilege of wearing the tiara upright, or with the tip of the cone erect, is known to have been of old peculiar to great kings, from Xenophon and others, as Dr. Hudson observes here.

‡ These names, Gotarzes and Vologases, as kings of Parthia, are no strangers to Tacitus, or the coins; as Dr. Hudson here informs us.

by reason of the hatred he had to their religious worship. Then they obliged themselves by oaths to be faithful to each other; and desired that he would make haste in this design. Accordingly the king of Arabia complied with their desires; and brought a great army into the field, and marched against Izates. And in the beginning of the first onset, and before they came to a close fight, those grandees, as if they had a panic terror upon them, all deserted Izates, as they had agreed to do; and turning their backs upon their enemies, ran away. Yet was not Izates dismayed at this: but when he understood that the grandees had betrayed him, he retired into his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that had made this conspiracy with the king of Arabia, he cut off those that were found guilty; and renewing the fight on the next day, he slew the greatest part of his enemies; and forced the rest to betake themselves to flight. He also pursued their king, and drove him into a fortress called Arasmus; and following on the siege vigorously, he took that fortress. And when he had plundered it of all the prey that was in it, which was not small, he returned to Adiabene. Yet did not he take Abia alive, because, when he found himself encompassed on every side, he slew himself.

But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not even then be quiet; but wrote again to Vologases, king of Parthia, and desired that he would kill Izates; and set over them some other potentate, who should be of a Parthian family. For they said, they hated their own king, for abrogating the laws of their forefathers, and embracing foreign customs. When the king of Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon Izates: and as he had no just pretence for this war, he sent to him, and demanded back those honourable privileges which had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war upon him. Upon hearing of this, Izates was under no small trouble of mind: as thinking it would be a reproach upon him to appear to resign those privileges out of cowardice. Yet because he knew, that though the king of Parthia should receive back those honours, yet would he not be quiet, he resolved to commit himself to God his protector, in the present danger he was in of his life. And as he esteemed him to be his principal assistant, he entrusted his children and his wives to a very strong fortress; and laid up his corn in his citadels; and set the hay and the grass on fire. And when he had thus put things in order, as well as he could, he awaited the coming of the enemy. And when the king of Parthia was come, with a great army of footmen and horsemen, which he did sooner than was expected, (for he had marched in great haste,) and had cast up a bank at the river that parted Adiabene from Media, Izates also pitched his camp not far off: having with him six thousand horsemen. But there came a messenger to Izates, sent by the king of Parthia, who told him, how large his dominions were; as reaching from the river Euphrates to Bactria: and enumerated that king's subjects. He also threatened him, that he should be punished, as a person ungrateful to his lords: and that the God whom he worshipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands. When the messenger had delivered the message, Izates replied, that he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own: but that he knew also that God was much more powerful than all men. And when he had returned him this answer, he betook himself to make *supplication to God; and threw himself upon the ground,† and put ashes upon his head,‡ in testimony of his confusion: and fasted, together with his wives and children. When he called upon God, and said, "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly determined that thou only art the Lord and principal of all beings, come now to my assistance, and defend me from my enemies; not only on my own account, but on account of their insolent behaviour with regard to thy power: while they have not feared to lift up their arrogant tongue against thee." Thus did he lament and bemoan himself, with tears in his eyes:

* This mourning, fasting, and praying, used by Izates, with prostration of his body, and ashes upon his head, are plain signs that he was become either a Jew, or an Ebionite Christian; who indeed differed not much from proper Jews. See chap. 6. However, his supplications were heard; and he was providentially delivered from that imminent danger he was in.

† Sitting or lying on the ground was a posture that denoted mourning and deep distress. 1 Sam. i. 8; Isaiah iii. 25. We find Judea, on several coins of Vespasian and Titus, in a posture that denotes sorrow and captivity, sitting on the ground. I fancy the Romans might have an eye on the customs of the Jewish nation, as well as those of their own country, in the several marks of sorrow they have set on this figure. The Psalmist describes the Jews lamenting their captivity in the same pensive posture. "By the waters of Babylon we sat down, and wept when we remembered thee, O Sion." But, what is more remarkable, we find Judea represented as a woman in sorrow, sitting on the ground, in a passage of the prophet, that foretells the very captivity recorded on this medal. *Addison on Medals*, Dial 2. B.

‡ This was a general practice with the people of the east, in token of the extremity of sorrow, and was common both to the Hebrews and the Greeks. Job ii. 12. They rent every one his mantle, and sprinkled dust upon their heads towards heaven. Ezek. xxvii. 30. And shall cast up dust upon their heads. Homer affords some instances of the same kind, as it respects the Greeks. Thus of Laertes he says:—

> Deep from his soul he sigh'd, and sorr'wing spread
> A cloud of ashes on his hoary head.
>
> Odyss. xxiv. 369. Pope.

And of Achilles:

> His purple garments, and his golden hairs,
> Those he deforms in dust, and these he tears.
>
> Iliad xviii.

Let men lament and implore ever so much, or pour ever so much dust upon their heads, God will not grant what ought not to be granted.
Maximus Tyrius, Diss. xxx. p. 366. B.

whereupon God heard his prayer. And immediately that very night Vologases received letters: the contents of which were, that a great band of Dahæ and Sacæ, despising him, now he was gone so long a journey from home, had made an expedition, and laid Parthia waste: so that he was forced to retire back, without doing any thing. And thus it was that Izates escaped the threatenings of the Parthians by the providence of God.

It was not long before Izates died: when he had completed fifty-five years of his life, and had ruled his kingdom twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four sons, and twenty-four daughters. However he gave orders that his brother Monobazus should succeed in the government: thereby requiting him, because while he was himself absent after their† her's death, he had faithfully preserved the government for him. But when Helena his mother heard of her son's death, she was in great heaviness; as was but natural upon her loss of such a dutiful son. Yet was it a comfort to her, that she heard the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly she went in haste. And when she was come into Adiabene, she did not long outlive her son Izates. But Monobazus sent her bones, as well as those of Izates his brother, to Jerusalem: and gave order that they should be buried at the *Pyramids, which their mother had erected. They were three in number; and distant no more than three furlongs from the city Jerusalem.

CHAP. V.

CONCERNING THEUDAS; AND THE SONS OF JUDAS, THE GALILEAN: ALSO OF THE CALAMITY WHICH BEFELL THE JEWS ON THE DAY OF THE PASSOVER.

NOW† it came to pass, while Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician, whose name was ‡Theudas, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and follow him to the river Jordan. For he told them he was a prophet; and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it. And many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit him to make any advantage of his wild attempt, but sent a troop of horsemen out against them. Who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befell the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus's government.

Then came Tiberius Alexander, as successor to Fadus. He was the son of Alexander, the alabarch of Alexandria: which Alexander was a principal person among all his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth. He was also more eminent for his piety than his son Alexander: for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in Judea, in which queen Helena bought corn in Egypt, at a great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want: §as I have related already. And besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain: I mean of that Judas, who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews; as we have shewn‖ in a preceding book. The names of those sons were James and Simon; whom Alexander commanded to be crucified. But now, Herod king of Chalcis removed Joseph the son of Camydus, from the high-priesthood; and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, his successor. And now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander: as also that Herod, brother of Agrippa, the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Cæsar. He left behind him three sons: Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, with Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus, both of whom he had by Bernice, his brother's daughter. But Claudius Cæsar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa, junior.

Now while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cumanus, there happened a great tumult at the city Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein. But I shall first explain the occasion whence it was derived. When that feast, which is called the Passover, was at hand, at which time a great multitude was gathered together from all parts to that feast; Cumanus was afraid lest some attempt of innovation should then be made by them. So he ordered that one regiment of the army should take their arms, and stand in the temple cloisters, to repress any attempts of innovation, if perchance any such should begin. And this was no more than what the former procurators of Judea did at such festivals. But on the fourth day of the feast, a certain soldier exposed his nudities to the multitude. This put those that saw him into a furious rage; and made them cry out, that this impious action was not done to reproach them, but God himself. Nay, some of them, reproached Cumanus, and pretended

* These pyramids or pillars, erected by Helena, queen of Adiabene, near Jerusalem, three in number, are mentioned by Eusebius, in his Eccles. Hist. II. 12, for which Dr. Hudson refers us to Valesius's notes upon that place. They are also mentioned by Pausanias, as hath been already noted, chap. 2. Reland guesses that now called Absalom's Pillar may be one of them.

† A. D. 46.

‡ This Theudas, who arose under Fadus the procurator, about A. D. 45 or 46, could not be that Theudas who arose in the days of the taxing under Cyrenius; or about A. D. 7. Acts v. 36, 37. Who that earlier Theudas was, see the note on XVII. 10.

§ See chap. 2. ‖ Book XVIII. chap. 1.

that the soldier was set on by him. Which, when Cumanus heard, he was also himself not a little provoked at such reproaches laid upon him: yet did he exhort them to leave off such seditious attempts, and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But when he could not induce them to be quiet, for they still went on in their reproaches against him, he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armour, and come to the fortress of Antonia. But when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted at them, and ran away hastily. But as the passages were but narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death. Nor indeed was the number fewer than twenty thousand that perished in this tumult. So instead of a festival, they had at last a mournful day of it: and they all of them forgot their prayers and sacrifices; and betook themselves to lamentation and weeping. So great an affliction did the obsceneness of a single soldier bring upon them.*

Now† before this mourning was over, another mischief befell them. For some of them that raised the first tumult, when they were travelling along the public road, about a hundred furlongs from the city, robbed Stephanus, a servant of Cæsar's, as he was journeying, and plundered him of all that he had with him. Which things when Cumanus heard of, he sent soldiers immediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighbouring villages, and to bring the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him. Now as this devastation was making, one of the soldiers seized the laws of Moses, that lay in one of those villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces. And this was done with reproachful language, and much scurrility. Which things when the Jews heard of, they ran together in great numbers; and came down to Cæsarea, where Cumanus then was, and besought him that he would avenge, not themselves, but the Deity, whose laws had been affronted. For that they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their forefathers must be affronted after this manner. Accordingly Cumanus, out of fear lest the multitude should go into a sedition; and by the advice of his friends also, took care that the soldier who had offered the affront to the laws should be beheaded: and thereby put a stop to the sedition which was ready to be kindled a second time.

CHAP. VI.

A QUARREL BREAKS OUT BETWEEN THE JEWS AND THE SAMARITANS; BUT IS TERMINATED BY CLAUDIUS CÆSAR.

NOW‡ a quarrel arose between the Samaritans and the Jews, on the following occasion. It was the custom of the Galileans, when they came to the holy city at the festivals, to take their journeys §through the country of the Samaritans. And at this time there lay in the road a village that was called Ginea, situate in the limits of Samaria, and the great plain; where certain persons thereto belonging fought with the Galileans, and killed a great many of them. But when the principal of the Galileans were informed of what had been done, they came to Cumanus, and desired him to avenge the murder of those that were killed. But he was induced by the Samaritans, with money, to do nothing in the matter. Upon which the Galileans were much displeased; and persuaded the multitude of the Jews to take up arms, and to regain their liberty; saying, that slavery was in itself a bitter thing; but that when it was joined with direct injuries, it was perfectly intolerable. And when their principal men attempted to pacify them, and promised to endeavour to persuade Cumanus to avenge those that were killed; they would not hearken to them; but took their weapons, and entreated the assistance of Eleazar, the son of Dineus, a robber, who had many years resided among the mountains; and with his assistance they plundered many villages of the Samaritans. When Cumanus heard of this action he took the band of Sebaste, with four regiments of footmen, and armed the Samaritans, and marched out against the Jews, and caught them, and slew many of them, and took a greater number alive. Whereupon those that were the most eminent persons at Jerusalem; both in regard of the respect that was paid them, and the families they were of, as soon as they saw to what a height things were gone, put on sackcloth, and heaped ashes upon their heads: and by all possible means besought the seditious, and persuaded them that they would set before their eyes,‖ the utter subversion of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the slavery of themselves, their wives, and children, which would be the consequences of what they were doing; unless

* This, and many more tumults and seditions, which arose at the Jewish festivals, in Josephus, illustrate that cautious procedure of the Jewish governors, when they said, Matt. xxvi. 5, Let us not take Jesus on the feast day; lest there be an uproar among the people; as Reland well observes on this place. Josephus also takes notice of the same thing, Of the War, I. 4.

† A. D. 50.

‡ A. D. 54.

§ This constant passage of the Galileans through the country of Samaria, as they went to Judea and Jerusalem, illustrates several passages in the Gospels to the same purpose, as Dr. Hudson rightly observes. See Luke xvii. 11; John iv. 4. See also Josephus in his own Life, sect. 52, where that journey is determined to three days.

‖ Our Saviour had foretold, that the Jews' rejection of his Gospel would bring upon them, among other miseries, these three; which they themselves here shew they expected would be the consequences of their present tumults and seditions. The utter subversion of their country; the conflagration of their temple; and the slavery of themselves, their wives, and children. See Luke xxi. 6, 24.

they would cast away their weapons, and for the future be quiet. These persuasions prevailed upon them. So the people dispersed themselves, and the robbers went again to their places of strength. And after this time all Judea was overrun with robberies.

But the principal of the Samaritans went to Ummidius Quadratus, president of Syria, who at that time was at Tyre; and accused the Jews of setting their villages on fire, and plundering them; and said withal, that they were not so much displeased at what they had suffered, as they were at the contempt thereby shewn to the Romans: while if they had received any injury, they ought to have made them the judges of what had been done; and not presently to make such devastations as if they had not the Romans for their governors. On which account they came to him in order to obtain that vengeance they wanted. This was the accusation which the Samaritans brought against the Jews. But the Jews affirmed that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult, and that, in the first place, Cumanus had been corrupted by their gifts; and passed over the murder of those that were slain in silence. Which allegations when Quadratus heard, he put off the hearing of the cause; and promised that he would give sentence when he should come into Judea, and should have a more exact knowledge of the matter. So these men went away, without success. Yet was it not long before Quadratus came to Samaria; when, upon hearing the cause, he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors of that disturbance. But when he was informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives. He then went to a certain village called Lydda, which was not less than a city in largeness: and there heard the Samaritan cause a second time, before his tribunal; and learned from a certain Samaritan, that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was Dortus, and four other innovators with him, persuaded the multitude to revolt from the Romans. Quadratus, therefore, ordered them to be put to death: but still he sent away Ananias the high-priest, and Ananus the commander of the temple, in bonds to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Cæsar. He also ordered the principal men, both of the Samaritans, and of the Jews; as also Cumanus, the procurator, and Celer, the tribune, to go to Italy, to the emperor; that he might hear their cause, and determinate their differences one with another. He then returned to the city of Jerusalem, out of his fear that the multitude of the Jews should attempt some innovations. But he found the city in a peaceable state, and celebrating one of the *usual festivals of their country to God. So he believed that they would not attempt any innovations; and left them at the celebration of the festival, and returned to Antioch.

Now Cumanus, and the principal of the Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the emperor, whereon they were to have pleaded their cause about the quarrels they had one with another. But Cæsar's freedmen, and his friends, were very zealous on the behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans. And they had prevailed over the Jews, unless Agrippa junior, who was then at Rome, had seen the principal of the Jews hard set, and had earnestly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to persuade her husband to hear the cause so, as was agreeable to his justice; and to condemn those to be punished who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government. Whereupon Claudius was so well disposed beforehand, that when he had heard the cause, and found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders in these mischievous doings, he gave orders that those who came up to him should be slain; and that Cumanus should be banished. He also gave order that Celer the tribune, should be carried back to Jerusalem; and should be drawn through the city† in the sight of all the people, and then should be slain.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE APPOINTMET OF FELIX TO BE PROCURATOR OF JUDEA: AS ALSO CONCERNING AGRIPPA JUNIOR, AND HIS SISTERS.

CLAUDIUS now‡ sent Felix, the brother of Pallans, to take care of the affairs of Judea. And when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, he bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip, and Batanea: and added thereto Trachonitis, with Abila: which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias. But he took from him Chalcis; when he had been governor thereof four years. And when Agrippa had received these countries, as the gift of Cæsar, he gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa: upon his consent to be circumcised. For Epiphanes, the son of king Antiochus, had refused to marry her; because after he had formerly promised her father to embrace the Jewish religion, he would not now perform that promise. He also gave Mariamne in marriage to Archelaus the son of Helcias; to whom she had been betrothed formerly by Agrippa her father: and from this marriage was derived a daughter, whose name was Bernice.

* The Passover.

† Not only with a view to mortify the individual, and give publicity to the action, but to render it monitory to others. This is certainly an important part of judicial punishment. B.

‡ A. D. 53.

But the marriage of Dursilla with Azizus was in no long time afterwards dissolved, upon the following occasion. While Felix was procurator of Judea, he saw this Drusilla, and fell in love with her: for she exceeded all other women in beauty: and he sent to her a person whose name was *Simon, one of his friends, a Jew he was, and by birth a Cypriot: and one who pretended to be a magician, and endeavoured to persuade her to forsake her present husband, and marry him: and promised that if she would not refuse him, he would make her a happy woman. Accordingly she acted ill; and because she was desirous to avoid her sister Bernice's envy; for she was very ill treated by her on account of her beauty; she was prevailed upon to transgress the laws of her forefathers, and to marry Felix: and when he had had a son by her, he named him Agrippa. But that young man, with his wife, perished at the †conflagration of the mountain Vesuvius, in the days of Titus Cæsar.

Bernice lived as a widow a long while after the death of ‡Herod: who was both her husband, and her uncle: but when the report went that she had criminal conversation with her §brother, she persuaded Polemo, king of Cilicia, to be circumcised, and to marry her: as supposing that by this means she should disprove those calumnies. And Polemo was prevailed upon; and that chiefly on account of her riches. Yet did not this matrimony endure long. But Bernice left Polemo; and, as was said, with impure intentions. So he forsook at once this matrimony, and the Jewish religion. And at the same time Mariamne put away Archelaus; and was married to Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews, both for his family, and his wealth. And, indeed, he was then their alabarch. So she named her son, which she had by him, Agrippinus.

* This Simon, a friend of Felix's, a Jew, born in Cyprus; though he pretended to be a magician, and seems to have been wicked enough, could hardly be that famous Simon, the magician, in the Acts of the Apostles, viii. 9, &c. as some are ready to suppose. This Simon, mentioned in the Acts, was not properly a Jew, but a Samaritan; of the town of Gittæ, in the country of Samaria; as the Apostolical Constitutions, VI. 7. The Recognitions of Clement, II. 6, and Justin Martyr, himself born in the country of Samaria, Apology I. 34, inform us. He was also the author, not of any ancient Jewish, but of the first Gentile heresies: as the aforementioned authors assure us. So I suppose him a different person from the other. I mean this only upon the hypothesis, that Josephus was not misinformed, as to his being a Cypriot Jew. For otherwise the time, the name, the profession, and the wickedness of them both, would strongly incline one to believe them the very same. As to that Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa junior, as Josephus informs us here; and a Jewess, as St. Luke informs us, Acts xxiv. 24, whom this Simon, mentioned by Josephus, persuaded to leave her former husband, Azizus, king of Emesa, a proselyte of Justice; and to marry Felix, the Heathen procurator of Judea; Tacitus Hist. V. 9, supposes her to be a heathen; and the grand-daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra: contrary both to St. Luke and Josephus. Now Tacitus lived somewhat too remote, both as to time and place, to be compared with either of those Jewish writers, in a matter concerning a sister of Agrippa junior's, with which Agrippa, Josephus was himself so well acquainted. It is probable that Tacitus may say true, when he informs us, that this Felix, (who had in all three wives, or queens, as Suetonius in Claudius, § 28, assures us,) did once marry such a grandchild of Antonius and Cleopatra. And finding the name of one of them to have been Drusilla, he mistook her for that other wife, whose name he did not know.

† This eruption of Vesuvius was one of the greatest we have in any history. See Bianchi's curious and important observations on this volcano, and its seven great eruptions, with their remains vitrified, and still existing, in so many different strata under ground; till the diggers came to the antediluvian waters, with their proportionable interstices: implying the deluge to have been above 2500 years before the Christian era; according to our exactest chronology.

‡ King of Chalcis.

§ Agrippa junior.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE DEATH OF CLAUDIUS CÆSAR; AND THE ACCESSION AND CRUELTIES OF NERO: ALSO CONCERNING THE ROBBERS, MURDERERS, AND IMPOSTORS, THAT AROSE, WHILE FELIX AND FESTUS WERE PROCURATORS OF JUDEA.

NOW ‖Claudius Cæsar died when he had reigned ¶thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days: and a report went about that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Cæsar; and her husband was Domitius Ænobarbus, one of the most illustrious persons that was in the city of Rome. After whose death, and her own long continuance in widowhood, Claudius took her to wife. She brought along with her a son, of the same name with his father Demetrius. He had before this slain his wife Messalina, out of jealousy; by whom he had had his children Britannicus, and Octavia. Their eldest sister was Antonia, whom he had by Pelina, his first wife. He also married Octavia to Nero; for that was the name that Cæsar gave him afterward, upon his adopting him for his son.

Now Agrippina was afraid, lest when Britannicus should come to man's estate, he should succeed his father in the government: and desired to seize upon the principality beforehand for her **own son, upon which it was reported that she caused the death of Claudius. Accordingly she sent Burrhus, the general of the army, and with him the tribunes; and such also of the freedmen as were of the greatest authority, to bring Nero into the camp; and to salute him emperor. And when Nero had thus obtained the government, he caused Britannicus to be so poisoned, that the multitude should not perceive it: although he publicly put his own mother to death, not long afterward. Making her this requital, not only for being born of her, but for

‖ A. D. 54.

¶ This duration of the reign of Claudius, agrees with Dio; as Dr. Hudson here remarks. As he also remarks that Nero's name, which was at first L. Domitius Ænobarbus, after Claudius had adopted him, was Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus.

** Nero.

bringing it so about by her contrivances, that he obtained the Roman empire. He also slew Octavia, his wife, and many other illustrious persons, under the pretence, that they plotted against him.

But I omit any farther discourse about these affairs. For there have been a great many who have composed the history of Nero. Some of whom have departed from the truth of facts, out of favour; as having received benefits from him; while others out of hatred and the great ill-will which they bare him, have so impudently raved against him, that they justly deserve to be condemned. Nor do I wonder at such as have asserted falsehoods of Nero; since they have not, in their writings, preserved the truth of history as to those facts that were earlier than his time, even when the actors could have no way incurred their hatred: since those writers lived a long time after them. But as to those that have no regard to truth, they may write as they please: for in that they take delight. But as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to this undertaking: but shall relate what hath happened to us Jews with great accuracy: and shall not grudge our pains in giving an account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the crimes we have been guilty of. I will now, therefore, return to the relation of our own affairs.

In the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Azizus king of Emesa, *Soemus his brother succeeded in his kingdom: and Aristobulus the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was intrusted by Nero with the government of the lesser Armenia. Cæsar also bestowed upon Agrippa a certain part of Galilee, †Tiberias, and Tarichæ: and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julias, a city of Perea, with fourteen villages that lay about it.

Now the affairs of the Jews grew worse continually, for the country was again filled with robbers, and impostors who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix catch and put to death many of those impostors every day; together with the robbers. He also caught Eleazar, the son of Dineus, who had gotten together a company of robbers; and this he did by treachery. For he gave him assurance that he should suffer no harm, and thereby persuaded him to come to him. But when he came he bound him, and sent him to Rome. Felix also bore an ill will to Jonathan the high-priest; because he ‡frequently gave him admonitions about governing the Jewish affairs better than he did; lest he should himself have complaints made of him by the multitude: since he it was who had desired Cæsar to send him as procurator of Judea. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rid of him, now he was become so continually troublesome: for such continual admonitions are grievous to those who are disposed to act unjustly. Felix, therefore, persuaded one of Jonathan's most faithful friends, a citizen of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon Jonathan, in order to kill him. And this he did by promising him a great deal of money. Doras complied with the proposal; and contrived matters so, that the robbers might murder him after the following manner. Certain of those robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God; while they had daggers under their garments: and by thus mingling among the multitude, they §slew Jonathan. And as this murder

---

* This Soemus is elsewhere mentioned, by Josephus, in his own life, as also by Dio Cassius, and Tacitus.

† This agrees with Josephus's frequent account elsewhere in his own life, that Tiberias, Tarichæ, and Gamala, were under this Agrippa junior, till Justus, the son of Pistus, seized upon them for the Jews, upon the breaking out of the war. ‡ See Acts xxiv. 25.

§ This treacherous and barbarous murder of the good high-priest, Jonathan, by the contrivances of this procurator, Felix, was the immediate occasion of the ensuing murders by the Sicarii or ruffians: and one great cause of the subsequent miseries of the Jewish nation: as Josephus here supposes. Whose excellent reflection on the gross wickedness of that nation, as the direct cause of their terrible destruction, is worthy the attention of every Jewish and of every Christian reader. And since we are soon coming to the catalogue of the Jewish high-priests, it may not be amiss, with Reland, to insert this Jonathan among them, and to transcribe his particular catalogue of the last 28 high-priests, taken out of Josephus, and begin with Ananelus, who was made by Herod the Great. See XV. 2.

1. Ananelus.
2. Aristobulus.
3. Jesus, the son of Fabus.
4. Simon, the son of Boethus.
5. Matthias, the son of Theophilus.
6. Joazar, the son of Boethus.
7. Eleazar, the son of Boethus.
8. Jesus, the son of Sie.
9. Annas, or Ananus, the son of Seth.
10. Ismael, the son of Fabus.
11. Eleazar, the son of Ananus.
12. Simon, the son of Camithus.
13. Josephus Caiaphas, son-in-law to Ananus.
14. Jonathan, the son of Ananus.
15. Theophilus, his brother, and son of Ananus.
16. Simon, the son of Boethus.
17. Matthias, the brother of Jonathan, and son of Ananus.
18. Aljoneus.
19. Josephus, the son of Camydus.
20. Ananias, the son of Nebedeus.
21. Jonathas.
22. Ismael, the son of Fabi.
23. Joseph Cabi, the son of Simon.
24. Ananus, the son of Ananus.
25. Jesus, the son of Damneus.
26. Jesus, the son Gamaliel.
27. Matthias, the son of Theophilus.
28. Phannias, the son of Samuel.

But here and elsewhere the reader must observe, that where Josephus does not set down the duration of any high-priest's office, or government, neither have I presumed to set it down: as not pretending to know more than he did in such matters. And when Dean Prideaux ventures to set those years down, as he does all along, from such a comparative late and weak authority as that of the Chronicon Alexandrinum, I rather wonder at his boldness, than venture to follow his example. As for Ananus, and Joseph Caiaphas, here mentioned about the middle of this catalogue, they are no other than those Annas and Caiaphas, so often mentioned in the four Gospels: and Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, was that high-priest before whom St. Paul pleaded his own cause, Acts xxiv.

was never avenged, the robbers went up with the greatest security at the festivals after this time: and having weapons concealed in like manner as before, and mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew certain of their own enemies, and were subservient to other men for money; and slew others not only in remote parts of the city, but even in the temple itself. For they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to have been the reason why God, out of his hatred of these men's wickedness, rejected our city; and as for the temple, he no longer esteemed it sufficiently pure for him to inhabit: but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it; and brought upon us our wives' and children's slavery: as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities.

These works that were done by the robbers, filled the city with all sorts of impiety. And now* these †impostors and deceivers persuaded the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, pretending that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs, that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were prevailed on by them suffered the punishments of their folly: for Felix brought them back, and then punished them. There also came out of Egypt, about this time to Jerusalem, one that said he was a prophet; and advised the multitude to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, which lay over against the city, at the distance of five furlongs. He said farther, that he would shew them from hence how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down: and he promised that he would procure them an entrance into the city through those walls, when they were fallen down. Now when Felix was informed of these things, he sent a great number of horse and foot soldiers, from Jerusalem, and attacked the Egyptian, and the people that were with him. He also slew four hundred of them, and took two hundred alive. But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the fight, and did not appear any more. The robbers, however, again stirred up the people to make war with the Romans; and said, they ought not to obey them at all: and when any persons would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and plundered them.

Now a great sedition arose ‡between the Jews that inhabited Cæsarea, and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens. For the Jews claimed the preeminence; because Herod their king was the builder of Cæsarea; and because he was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was alleged about Herod. But they said, that Cæsarea was formerly called Strato's Tower; and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant. When the presidents of that country heard of these disorders, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and punished them with stripes; and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But the Jewish citizens, depending on their wealth, and on that account despising the Syrians, reproached them again, and hoped to provoke them by such reproaches. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, yet valuing themselves highly on this account, that the greatest part of the Roman soldiers that were there, were either of Cæsarea or Sebaste; they also, for some time, used reproachful language to the Jews. And thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded, and fell on both sides; though still the Jews were the conquerors. But when Felix saw that this quarrel was become a kind of war, he came upon them suddenly, and desired the Jews to desist. And when they refused so to do, he armed his soldiers, and sent them out upon them, and slew many of them, and took a greater number alive: and permitted his soldiers to plunder some of the houses of the citizens, which were full of riches. Now those Jews that were more moderate, and of principal dignity among them, were afraid of themselves: and desired of Felix that he would sound a retreat to his soldiers, and spare them for the future: and afford them room for repentance for what they had done. And Felix was prevailed upon to do so.

About this time§ king Agrippa gave the high-priesthood to Ismael, who was the son of Fabi. And now arose a sedition between the ‖high-priests, and the principal men of the multitude of Jerusalem; each of which assembled a company of the boldest sort of men, and of those that loved innovations, and became leaders to them. And when they struggled together, they did it by casting reproachful words against one another; and by throwing stones also. And there was nobody to reprove them: but these disorders were done after a licentious manner in the city, as if it had no government over it. And such was the impudence¶ and

* A. D. 55.

† Of these Jewish impostors and false prophets, with many other circumstances and miseries of the Jews, till their utter destruction, foretold by our Saviour, see Lit. Accompl. of Proph. page 58—75.

‡ A. D. 56.

§ A. D. 57.

‖ Josephus, both here and elsewhere, frequently uses the word high-priests in the plural number: as we find it once in the New Testament also, Luke iii. 2. See the note on chap. 9, and Dr. Hudson's note on the History of the War, IV. 5, verse 13, and VI. 2.

¶ The wickedness here was very peculiar and extraordinary; that the high-priests should so oppress their brethren, the priests, as to starve the poorest of them to death. See the like, chap. 9. Such fatal crimes are covetousness and tyranny in the clergy, as well as in the laity in all ages!

boldness that had seized on the high-priests, that they had the hardiness to send their servants into the threshing-floors, to take away those tithes that were due to the priests. Insomuch that the poorest sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of the seditious prevail over all right and justice.

Now when Porcius Festus was sent *as successor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea went up to Rome, to accuse Felix. And he had certainly been brought to punishment, unless Nero had yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallas, who was at that time held in the greatest honour by him. Two of the principal Syrians in Cæsarea persuaded Burrus, who was Nero's tutor, and secretary for his Greek epistles, by giving him a great sum of money, to disannul that equality of the Jewish privileges of citizens which they hitherto enjoyed. So Burrus, by his solicitations, obtained leave of the emperor, that an epistle should be written to that purpose. This epistle became the occasion of the following miseries that befell our nation. For when the Jews of Cæsarea were informed of the contents of this epistle to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than before; till a war was kindled.

Upon Festus's coming into Judea, it happened, that the country was afflicted by the robbers; while all the villages were set on fire, and plundered by them. And then it was that the Sicarii, as they were called, who were robbers, grew numerous. They made use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian acinacæ, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman sicæ, or sickles. And from those weapons these robbers got their denomination; and with them they slew a great many. For they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were come up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God; and easily slew those that they had a mind to slay. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, with their weapons, and plundered them, and set them on fire. So Festus sent forces, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance from the miseries they were under, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. Accordingly those forces that were sent destroyed both the seducer and those that were his followers.

About the same time king †Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palace at Jerusalem, near to the portico. Now this palace had been originally erected by the children of Asmoneus, and was situate upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city, which prospect was desired by the king: as he could there lie down and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple. But the chief men of Jerusalem were very much displeased at it. For it was not agreeable to the institutions of our country or law, that what was done in the temple should be viewed by others; especially what belonged to the sacrifices.‡ They, therefore, erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to the inner court of the temple, towards the west. Which wall, when it was built, did not only intercept the prospect of the dining-room in the palace, but also of the western cloisters that belonged to the outer court of the temple also; where it was that the Romans kept guards for the temple at the festivals. At these doings both king Agrippa, and Festus the procurator, were much displeased. And Festus ordered them to pull the wall down again. But the Jews petitioned him to give them leave to send an ambassage about this matter to Nero. For they said, they could not endure to live if any part of the temple should be demolished. And when Festus had given them permission so to do, they sent ten of their principal men to Nero; as also Ismael the high-priest, and Helcias, the keeper of the sacred treasure. And when Nero had heard what they had to say, he not only §forgave them what they had already done; but also gave them leave to let the wall they had built stand. This was granted in order to gratify Poppea, Nero's wife; who was a religious woman, and had requested these favours of Nero: and who gave order to the ten ambassadors to return home; but retained Helcias and Ismael as hostages with herself. As soon as the king heard this news, he gave the high-priesthood to Joseph, who was called Cabi, the son of Simon, formerly high-priest.

CHAP. IX.

CONCERNING ALBINUS, UNDER WHOSE PROCURATORSHIP JAMES WAS SLAIN; ALSO OF THE EDIFICE BUILT BY AGRIPPA.

NOW Cæsar, upon hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procurator. But the king deprived Joseph of the high-priesthood; and

* A. D. 58. † A. D. 60.

‡ The Jews had the highest sense of the sanctity of the temple and its service, and were remarkably tenacious of every ceremony. This disposition they retained long after they had departed from the purity of the truth revealed to them, and of which the ordinances of the sanctuary were to be the depositaries. B.

§ We have here one eminent example of Nero's mildness in his government towards the Jews, during the first five years of his reign, so famous in antiquity. We have perhaps another in Josephus's own life. However, both these generous acts of kindness were obtained of Nero, by his queen Poppea; who was a religious lady, and perhaps privately a Jewish proselyte; and so were not owing entirely to Nero's own goodness.

bestowed the succession of that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called Ananus. Now it is reported, that this eldest Ananus proved a most fortunate man: for he had five sons, who had all performed the office of high-priest to God; and he had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly: which had never happened to any other of our high-priests. But this younger Ananus, who took the high-priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent. He was also of the sect of the *Sadducees; who are very rigid in judging offenders above all the rest of the Jews: as †we have already observed. When, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had a proper opportunity to exercise his authority. Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road. So he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some of his companions. And when he had laid an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned. But as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also sent to king Agrippa, desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more: for that what he had already done was not to be justified. Nay,‡ some of them went also to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria; and informed him, that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrim without his consent. Hereupon Albinus complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus; and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done. On which account king Agrippa took the high-priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months; and made Jesus, the son of Damneus, high-priest.

Now as soon§ as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavours and care that the country might be kept in peace: and this by destroying many of the Sicarii. But as for the high-priest ‖Ananus, he increased in glory every day, and this to a great degree; and had obtained the favour and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner. For he was a great hoarder up of money. He therefore cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the high-priest Jesus, by making them presents. He had also servants who were very wicked; who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to the threshing-floors, and took away the tithes that belonged to the priests by violence: and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them. So the other high-priest acted in the like manner, as did those his servants, without any one's being able to prohibit them. So that some of the priests, that of old were wont to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food.

But now the Sicarii went into the city by night, just before a festival, which was at hand, and took the scribe belonging to the governor of the temple, whose name was Eleazar, who was the son of Ananias, the high-priest, and bound him, and carried him away with them. They then sent to Ananias, and said, they would send the scribe to him, if he would persuade Albinus to release ten of those prisoners which he had caught of their party. So Ananias was forced to persuade Albinus, and gained his request of him. This was the beginning of greater calamities. For the robbers perpetually contrived to catch some of Ananias's servants: and when they had taken them alive, they would not let them go, till they thereby recovered some of their own Sicarii. And as they were again become numerous, they grew bold, and were a great affliction to the whole country.

About this time king Agrippa built Cæsarea Philippi larger that it was before; and in honour of Nero named it Neronias. And when he had built a theatre at Berytus, with vast expense, he bestowed on them shews, to be exhibited every year; and spent therein many thousand drachmæ. He also gave the people a largess of corn,¶ and distributed oil among them, and adorned the entire city with statues of his own donation; and

* It hence evidently appears, that Sadducees might be high-priests in the days of Josephus; and that these Sadducees were usually very severe and inexorable judges; while the Pharisees were much milder and more merciful: as appears by Reland's instances in his note on this place; and on Josephus's life, and those taken from the New Testament; from Josephus himself; and from the Rabbins. Nor do we meet with any Sadducees later than this high-priest in all Josephus.

† Book XIII. chap. 10.

‡ Of this condemnation of James the Just, and its causes; as also that he did not die till long afterwards; see Prim. Christ. Revived, Vol. III. 43—46. The sanhedrim condemned our Saviour: but could not put him to death without the approbation of the Roman procurator. Nor could, therefore, Ananias and his sanhedrim do more here: since they never had Albinus's approbation for putting this James to death.

§ A. D. 62.

‖ This Ananias was not the son of Nebedeus, as I take it, but he who was called Annas or Ananus the elder, the ninth in the catalogue, and who had been esteemed high-priest, for a long time; and, besides, Caiaphas, his son-in-law, had five of his own sons high-priests after him, (which were of those numbers 11, 14, 15, 17, 24, in the foregoing catalogue.) They were these: 1. was the 11th in the catalogue, Eleazar; the 2d. was the 14th, Jonathan; the 3d. was the 15th, Theophilus; the 4th was the 17th, Matthias; and the fifth was the 24th, Ananus. Nor ought we to pass slightly over what Josephus here says of this Annas or Ananias, that he was high-priest a long time before his children were so. He was the son of Seth, and is set down first for high-priest in the preceding catalogue, under number 9. He was made by Quirinius, and continued till Ismael, the 10th in number, for about 23 years. Which long duration of his high-priesthood, joined to the succession of his son-in-law, and five children of his own, made him a sort of perpetual high-priest: and was perhaps the occasion that former high-priests kept their titles ever afterwards. For I believe it is hardly met with before him.

¶ By the distribution of largeses many important advantages have occasionally been secured. So much are men devoted to their personal interest, that they will not only sacrifice the benefit of others to it, but even their own future good, for present gratification. E.

with original images made by ancient hands. Nay he almost transferred all that was most ornamental in his own kingdom thither. This made him more than ordinarily hated by his subjects; because he took those things away that belonged to them, to adorn a foreign city. And now Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, became the successor of Jesus, the son of Damneus, in the high-priesthood; which the king had taken from the other. On this account a sedition arose between the high-priests, with regard to one another: for they got together bodies of the boldest sort of the people; and frequently came from reproaches to throwing of stones at each other. But Ananias was too hard for the rest, by his riches: which enabled him to gain those that were most ready to receive. Costobarus also, and Saulus, got together a multitude of wicked wretches: and this because they were of the royal family; and so they obtained favour among them, because of their kindred to Agrippa. But still they used violence with the people; and were very ready to plunder those that were weaker than themselves. And from that time it principally came to pass, that our city was greatly disordered; and that all things grew worse and worse among us.

But when Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he was desirous to appear to do somewhat that might be grateful to the people of Jerusalem.* So he brought out all those prisoners who seemed to him to be the most worthy of death, and ordered them to be put to death accordingly. But as to those who had been put into prison, on some trifling occasions, he took money of them, and dismissed them: by which means the prisons were emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

Now as many of the †Levites as were singers of hymns, persuaded the king to assemble a sanhedrim, and to give them leave to wear linen garments, as well as the priests. For they said that this would be a work worthy of his government; that he might have a memorial of such a novelty, as being his doing. Nor did they fail of obtaining their desire. For the king, with the suffrages of those that came into the sanhedrim, granted the singers of hymns this privilege, that they might lay aside their former garments, and wear such a linen one as they desired. And as a part of this tribe ministered in the temple, he also permitted them to learn those hymns as they had besought him for. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country; which, whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to avoid the punishment of such transgressions.

And now it was that the ‡temple was finished. So when the people saw that the workmen, who were above eighteen thousand, were unemployed, and that they, receiving no wages, were in want, because they had earned their bread by their labours about the temple: and while they were unwilling to keep by them the treasures that were there deposited, out of fear of their being carried away by the Romans: and while they had regard to making provision for the workmen; they had a mind to expend those treasures upon them. For if any one of them did but labour for a single hour, he received his pay immediately. So they persuaded him to rebuild the eastern cloisters, which belonged to the outer court, and were situate in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits in length; and were built of square and very white stones: the length of each of which stones was twenty cubits, and their height six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon, who first of all built the entire temple. But king Agrippa, who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Cæsar, considering it easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again; and that it was particularly hard to do it to these cloisters, which would require a considerable time, and great sums of money; he denied the petitioners their request about that matter. But he did not obstruct them when they desired the city might be paved with white stone. He also deprived Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, of the high-priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the war with the Romans took its beginning.

CHAP. X.

AN ENUMERATION OF THE HIGH-PRIESTS.

NOW I think it proper and agreeable to this history to give an account of our high-priests; how they began, and who those are which are capable of that dignity; and how many of them there had been at the end of the war. In the first place, therefore, history informs us, that Aaron, the brother of Moses, officiated before God as a high-priest, and that after his death, his sons succeeded him immediately: and that this dignity has been continued down from them to all their posterity. Whence it is the custom of our country, that no one should take the high priesthood of God, but he who is of the blood of Aaron; while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never obtain that high-priesthood. Accordingly the number

* A. D. 63.

† This insolent petition of some of the Levites to wear the sacerdotal garments, when they sung hymns to God in the temple, was very probably owing to the great depression and contempt the haughty high-priests had now brought their brethren the priests into. Of which see chap. 8, 9.

‡ Of this finishing, not of the holy-house, but of the courts about it, called in general the temple, see the note on XVII. 10.

of all the high-priests from Aaron, of whom we have spoken already as of the first of them, until Phanas, who was made high-priest during the war by the seditious, was eighty-three. Of these, thirteen officiated as high-priests in the wilderness, from the days of Moses, while the tabernacle was standing, until the people came into Judea, when king Solomon erected the temple to God. For at first they held the high-priesthood till the end of their life: although afterward they had successors while they were alive. Now these thirteen, who were the descendants of two of the sons of Aaron, received this dignity by succession one after another: for their form of government was an aristocracy, and after that a monarchy. Now the number of years during the rule of these thirteen, from the day when our fathers departed out of Egypt, under Moses their leader, until the building of that temple which king Solomon erected at Jerusalem, were six hundred and twelve. After those thirteen high-priests, eighteen took the high-priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon made an expedition against that city, and burnt the temple, and removed our nation into Babylon, and then took Josedek the high-priest captive. The time of these high-priests was four hundred and sixty-six years, six months and ten days; while the Jews were still under the regal government. But after the term of the seventy years' captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon to their own land again; and gave them leave to rebuild their temple. At which time Jesus, the son of Josedek took the high-priesthood over the captives, when they were returned home. Now he and his posterity, who were in all fifteen, until Antiochus Eupator, were under a democratical government for four hundred and fourteen years. And then the aforementioned Antiochus, and Lysias the general of his army, deprived Onias, who was also named Menelaus, of the high-priesthood, and slew him at Berea; and driving the son of Onias the Third, put Jacimus into the place of the high-priest. One that was, indeed, of the stock of Aaron, but not of the family of Onias. On this account Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was dead, and bore the same name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendship of Ptolemy Philometor, and of Cleopatra his wife; and persuaded them to make him the high-priest of that temple which he built to God in the prefecture of Heliopolis; and this in imitation of that at Jerusalem. But as for that temple which was built in Egypt, we have spoken of it *frequently already. Now when Jacimus had retained the high-priesthood three years, he died; and there was no one that succeeded him: but the city continued seven years without a high-priest. But then the posterity of the sons of Asmoneus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high-priest, who ruled over them seven years. And when he had been slain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as we have related,† Simon his brother took the high-priesthood: and when he was destroyed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his own son, whose name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him; after he had held the high-priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed that dignity thirty years, and died an old man, leaving the succession to Judas, who was also called Aristobulus: whose brother Alexander was his heir. Judas died of a sore distemper, after he had kept the priesthood, together with the royal authority, for this Judas was the first that put on his head a diadem, for one year. And when Alexander had been both king and high-priest twenty-seven years, he departed this life; and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint him that should be high-priest. So she gave the high-priesthood to Hyrcanus; but retained the kingdom herself, nine years, and then died. The like duration, and no longer, did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the high-priesthood; for after her death his brother Aristobulus fought against him, and deprived him of his principality; and he did himself both reign, and perform the office of high-priest to God. But when he had reigned three years, and as many months, Pompey came upon him, and not only took the city of Jerusalem by force, but put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the high-priesthood to Hyrcanus, and made him governor of the nation; but forbade him to wear a diadem. This Hyrcanus ruled, besides his first nine years, twenty-four years more, when Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, passed over Euphrates, and fought with Hyrcanus, and took him alive, and made Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king. And when he had reigned three years and three months, Sosius and Herod besieged and took him. When Antony had him brought to Antioch, and slain there. Herod was then made king by the Romans: but did no longer appoint high-priests out of the family of Asmoneus; but made certain men to be so that were of no eminent families, but barely of those that were priests: excepting that he once gave that dignity to Aristobulus. For when he made this Aristobulus, the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was taken by the Parthians, and had taken his sister Mariamne to wife, he thereby aim-

* See XII. 9. XIII. 3, and 10.

† Book XIII. chap. 6.

ed to win the good will of the people, who had a kind remembrance of Hyrcanus his grandfather. Yet did he afterward, out of his fear lest they should all bend their inclinations to Aristobulus, put him to death: and that by contriving to have him suffocated, as he was swimming at Jericho, as we have* already related. But after this man he never entrusted the high-priesthood to the sons of Asmoneus. Archelaus also, Herod's son, did like his father in the appointment of the high-priests: as did the Romans also, who took the government over the Jews into their hands afterward. Accordingly the number of the high-priests, from the days of Herod, until the day when Titus took the temple and the city, and burnt them, were in all twenty-eight. The time also that belonged to them was a hundred and seven years. Some of these were the political governors of the people under the reign of Herod, and under the reign of Archelaus his son: although after their death the government became an aristocracy; and the high-priests were intrusted with a dominion over the nation. And thus much may suffice concerning our high-priests.

CHAP. XI.

CONCERNING FLORUS THE PROCURATOR, WHO PROVOKED THE JEWS TO TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THE ROMANS.—THE CONCLUSION.

NOW Gessius Florus, who was sent as successor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judea with abundance of miseries. He was by birth of the city Clazomenæ, and brought along with him his wife Cleopatra, by whose friendship with Poppea, Nero's wife, he obtained this government, and who was no way different from himself in wickedness. This Florus was so violent in the use of his authority, that the Jews considered Albinus to have been comparatively their benefactor; so excessive were the mischiefs that he brought upon them. For Albinus concealed his wickedness, and was careful that it might not be discovered to all men. But Gessius Florus, as though he had been sent on purpose to shew his crimes to every body, made a pompous ostentation of them to our nation; as never committing any sort of violence, nor any unjust punishment, for he was not to be moved by pity, and never was satisfied with any degree of gain that came in his way. Nor had he any more regard to great than to small acquisitions; but became a partner with the robbers themselves. For a great many fell then into that practice without fear, as having him for their patron, and depending on him, that he would save them harmless in their particular robberies. So that there were no bounds set to the miseries of the nation; but the unhappy Jews, when they were not able to bear the devastations which the robbers made among them, were all under a necessity of leaving their own habitations, and of fleeing away; as hoping to dwell more easily any where among foreigners than in their own country. And what need I say any more upon this head, since it was this Florus who necessitated us to take up arms against the Romans; while we thought it better to be destroyed at once, than by little and little.† Now this war began in the second year of the government of Florus, and the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. But then what actions we were forced to do, or what miseries we were enabled to suffer, may be accurately known by such as will peruse those books which I have written about the Jewish war.

I shall now, therefore, make an end here of my Antiquities: after the conclusion of which events I began to write that account of the war. And these Antiquities contain what hath been delivered down to us from the original creation of man, until the twelfth year of the reign of Nero: as to what hath befallen us Jews, as well in Egypt as in Syria and in Palestine; and what we have suffered from the Assyrians and Babylonians; and what afflictions the Persians and Macedonians, and after them the Romans, have brought upon us: for I think I may say that I have composed this history with sufficient accuracy in all things. I have attempted to enumerate those high-priests that we have had, during the interval of two thousand years. I have also carried down the succession of our kings, and related their actions and political administration, without any considerable errors; as also the power of our monarchs; and all according to what is written in our sacred books: for this it was that I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I am so bold as to say, now I have so completely perfected the work I proposed to myself to do, that no other person, whether he were a Jew or a foreigner, had he never so great an inclination to it, could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books: for those of my own nation freely acknowledge that I far exceed them in the learning belonging to Jews. I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language; although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with suffi-

* Book XV. chap. 3.

† It is certainly better, in many cases, to know the extent of calamity, than for it to creep on gradually. When life, however, is concerned, urgent indeed must be the danger that can justify the wilful anticipation of the worst result. B.

cient exactness. For our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods; because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of freemen, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them. But they give him the testimony of being a wise man, who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning. On this account, as there have been many who have done their endeavours, with great patience, to obtain this learning, there have yet hardly been two or three that have succeeded therein, who were immediately rewarded for their pains.

I shall now put an end to these Antiquities, which are contained in twenty books, and sixty thousand verses. And if *God permit me, I shall briefly run over this war again, with what befell us therein, to this very day: which is the thirteenth year of the reign of Cæsar Domitian, and the fifty-sixth year of my own life. I have also an intention to write three books concerning our Jewish opinions about God, and his essence; and about our laws; why, according to them, some things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.

* What Josephus here declares his intention to do, if God permitted, is not, that I have observed, taken distinct notice of by any. Nor do we ever hear of it elsewhere, whether he performed what he now intended or not. Some of the reasons of this design might possibly be his observation of the many errors he had been guilty of in the two first of those seven books Of the War, which were written when he was comparatively young, and less acquainted with the Jewish Antiquities than he now was; and in which abridgement we might have hoped to find those many passages which himself, as well as those passages which others refer to, as written by him, but which are not extant in his present works. However, since many of his own references to what he had written elsewhere, as well as most of his own errors, belong to such early times, as could not well come into this abridgement of the Jewish War; and since none of those that quote things not now extant in his works, including himself as well as others, ever cite any such abridgement; I am forced rather to suppose that he never did publish any such work at all; I mean as distinct from his own life, written by himself, and this at least above seven years after these Antiquities were finished. Nor does it appear to me, that Josephus ever published that other work here mentioned, as intended by him for the public also; I mean the books concerning God and his essence, and concerning the Jewish laws; why, according to them, some things were permitted the Jews, and others prohibited: which last seems to be the same work Josephus had also promised, if God permitted, at the conclusion of his preface to these Antiquities. The death of all his friends at court, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and the coming of those he had no acquaintance with to the crown, I mean Nerva and Trajan; together with his removal from Rome to Judea, with what followed it; might easily interrupt such intentions, and prevent his publication of those works.

END OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

THE

JEWISH WAR.

BOOK I.

Containing an Interval of One Hundred and Sixty-seven Years.

FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT.

CHAP. I.

OF THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM, AND THE PILLAGING OF THE TEMPLE, BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES: ALSO CONCERNING THE ACTIONS OF THE MACCABEES, MATTHIAS, AND JUDAS; AND CONCERNING THE DEATH OF JUDAS.

AT the same time that Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy, about his right to the whole country of Syria, a great sedition broke out among the men of power in Judea, and they had a contention about obtaining the government; while each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias, one of the high-priests, got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city. Hereupon they fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to make an expedition into Judea: and the king being thereto disposed beforehand, complied with them, and came upon the Jews with a great army, and took their city by force, and slew a great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also spoiled the temple; and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for three years and six months. But Onias, the high-priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the nomus of Heliopolis: where he built a little city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was *like its temple, concerning which we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.

Now Antiochus was not satisfied, either with his unexpected taking the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but being overcome with his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he compelled the Jews to dissolve the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar. Against which they all opposed themselves: and the most approved among them were put to death. Bacchides also, who was sent to keep the fortresses, having these wicked commands joined to his own natural barbarity, indulged all sorts of wickedness: and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, man by man, and threatened the city every day with open destruction; till at length he provoked the sufferers, by the extremity of his wicked doings, to avenge themselves.

* I see little difference in the several accounts in Josephus about this Egyptian temple Onion; of which large complaints are made by his commentators. Onias, it seems, hoped to have it made very like that at Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions: and so he appears to have really done, as far as he was able, and thought proper. Of this temple, see Antiq. XIII. 3, and Of the War, VII. 10.

Accordingly Matthias, the son of Asmoneus, one of the priests who lived at a village called Modin, armed himself together with his own family, which had five of his sons in it, and slew Bacchides with daggers; and thereupon out of the fear of the garrisons of the enemy, he fled to the mountains. And so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come down from the mountains, and to give battle to Antiochus's generals; whom he defeated, and drove out of Judea. So he came to the government by this success, and became the prince of his own people by their own free consent, and then died, leaving the government to Judas, his eldest son.

Now Judas, supposing that Antiochus would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans; and drove Epiphanes out of the country, when he had made a second expedition into it; and this by giving him a great defeat. And when he was warmed by this success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city; for it had not been cut off hitherto. So he ejected them out of the upper city, and drove the soldiers into the lower: which part of the city was called the Citadel. He then got the temple under his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple; because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar, and began to offer the sacrifices. And when the city had received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus died; and his son Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews.

So this Antiochus assembled fifty thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, and eighty elephants, and marched through Judea into the mountainous parts. He then took Bethsura, which was a small city. But at a place called Bethzacharias, where the passage was narrow, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Judas's brother, Eleazar, seeing the highest of the elephants* adorned with a large tower, and with military trappings of gold, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, he ran a great way before his own army; and cutting his way through the enemy's troops he got up to the elephant. Yet could he not reach him who seemed to be the king, by reason of his being so high; but he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death: having done no more than attempted great things, and shewed that he preferred glory before life. Now he that governed the elephant was but a private man: and had he proved to be Antiochus, Eleazar had performed nothing more by this bold stroke, than that it might appear he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of thereby doing a glorious action. Nay, this disappointment proved an omen to his brother Judas how the entire battle would end. It is true, the Jews fought bravely for a long time; but the king's forces being superior in number, and having fortune on their side, obtained the victory. And when a great many of his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the toparchy of Gophna. So Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and staid there but a few days; for he wanted provisions; and so he went his way. He left, indeed, a garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient to keep the place; but drew the rest of his army off, to take their winter quarters in Syria.

Now after the king was departed, Judas was not idle: for as many of his own nation came to him, so did he gather those that had escaped out of the battle together, and again attacked Antiochus's generals, at a village called Adaza: and being too hard for his enemies in the battle, and killing a great number of them, he was at last himself slain also. Nor was it many days afterward that his brother John had a plot laid against him by Antiochus's party, and was slain by them.

* In the eastern countries these animals usually accompany an army. The majesty of the prince is frequently measured by their number, or the splendour of their habiliments. B.

CHAP. II.

CONCERNING JONATHAN, SIMON, AND JOHN HYRCANUS, THE SUCCESSORS OF JUDAS.

WHEN Jonathan, who was Judas's brother, succeeded him, he behaved himself with great circumspection in other respects, with relation to his own people: and corroborated his authority by preserving his friendship with the Romans. He also made a league with Antiochus the son. Yet was not all this sufficient for his security: for the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus's son, laid a plot against him; and besides that endeavoured to take off his friends; and caught Jonathan by a stratagem, as he was going to Ptolemais to Antiochus, with a few persons in his company, and put him in bonds: and then made an expedition against the Jews. But when he was afterward driven away by Simon, who was Jonathan's brother, and was enraged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

However, Simon managed the public affairs after a courageous manner; and took Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia, which were cities in his neighbourhood. He also got the garrison under, and demolished the citadel. He was afterwards an auxiliary to Antiochus against Trypho, whom he besieged in Dora, before he went on his expedition against the Medes. Yet could not he make the king ashamed of his ambition, though he had assisted him in the killing Trypho, for it was not long before Antiochus sent Cendebeus, his general, with an army to ravage Judea, and to subdue Simon. Yet he, though he were now in years, conducted the war as if he were a much younger man. He also sent his sons with a band of strong men against Antiochus; while he took part of the army himself with him, and fell upon him from another quarter. He also laid a great many men in ambush in many places of the mountains, and was superior in all his attacks upon them. And when he had been conqueror after so glorious a manner, he was made high-priest; and also freed the Jews from the dominion of the Macedonians, after one hundred and seventy years of the empire of Seleucus.

This Simon also had a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his wife and two sons into prison; and sent some persons to kill John,

who was also *called Hyrcanus. But the young man being previously informed of their coming, made haste to get to the city; as having a great confidence in the people there, both on account of the memory of the glorious actions of his father, and of the hatred they could not but bear to the injustice of Ptolemy. Ptolemy also made an attempt to get into the city by another gate; but was repelled by the people, who had just then admitted Hyrcanus. So he retired to one of the fortresses that were above Jericho, which was called Dagon. Now when Hyrcanus had received the high-priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might afford relief to his mother and brethren.†

Accordingly he laid siege to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy, in other respects; but was overcome by him as to the just affection he had for his relations. For when Ptolemy was distressed, he brought forth his mother and his brethren, and set them upon the wall, and beat them with rods, in every body's sight: and threatened that, unless he would go away immediately, he would throw them down headlong. At this sight Hyrcanus's commiseration and concern overcame his anger. But his mother was not dismayed, neither at the stripes she received, nor at the death with which she was threatened; but stretched out her hands, and prayed her son not to be moved by the injuries that she suffered, to spare the wretch; since it was better for her to die by the means of Ptolemy, than to live ever so long; provided he might be punished for the injuries he had done to their family. Now John's case was this: when he considered the courage of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he set about his attacks; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces with the stripes, he was entirely overcome by his affections. And as the siege was delayed by this means, the year came on upon which the Jews rest every seventh year, as they do on every seventh day. On this year, therefore, Ptolemy was freed from being besieged, and slew the brethren of John, with their mother, and fled to Zeno, also called Cotylas, who was the tyrant of Philadelphia.

Now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered from Simon, that he made and expedition into Judea, and sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus. But Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who was the richest of all kings, and took thence about three thousand talents in money; and induced Antiochus, by the promise of three thousand talents, to raise the siege. Moreover, he was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and that began to hire foreign auxiliaries.

However, at another time, when Antiochus was gone upon an expedition against the Medes, and so gave Hyrcanus an opportunity of being revenged upon him, he made an attack upon the cities of Syria, as thinking, what proved to be the case, that he should find them empty of good troops. So he took Medaba and Samea, with the towns in their neighbourhood: as also Shechem and Gerizzim: and besides these he subdued the nation of the Chutheans, who dwelt round about that temple which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem. He also took a great many other cities of Idumea,‡ with Adoreon, and Marissa.

He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city Sebaste, which was built by Herod the king, and encompassed it all round with a wall, and set his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that a famine so far prevailed within the city, that they were forced to eat what never was esteemed food. They also invited Antiochus, who was called Cyzicenus, to come to their assistance. Accordingly he got ready, and complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristobulus and Antigonus. And indeed he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by these brethren, and fled away from them. So they returned back to Samaria, and shut the multitude again within the wall: and when they had taken the city they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. And as they had still great success in their undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within mount Carmel.

These successes of John, and of his sons, made them be envied, and occasioned a sedition in the country: and many there were who got together, and would not be at rest till they brake out into open war: but in that war they were beaten. So John lived the rest of his life very happily, and administered the government after a most extraordinary manner: and this for thirty-three years together. He died leaving five sons behind him. He was certainly a very happy man, and afforded no occasion to have any complaint made of fortune on his account. He it was who alone had three of the most desirable things in the world; the government of his nation, the high-priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For the Deity conversed with him; and he was not ignorant of any thing that was to come afterward: insomuch, that he foresaw and foretold that his two eldest sons would not continue masters of the government. And it will highly deserve our narration, to describe their catastrophe, and how far inferior these men were to their father in felicity.

CHAP. III.

ARISTOBULUS SUCCEEDS HIS FATHER IN THE GOVERNMENT, AND ASSUMES A DIADEM; CAUSES HIS MOTHER AND BROTHER TO BE PUT TO DEATH; AND DIES HIMSELF AFTER A REIGN OF ONE YEAR.

AFTER the death of Hyrcanus, the elder son, Aristobulus, changed the government into a kingdom, and was the first that put a diadem about his head, four hundred and seventy-one years, and three months, after our people came down into the country, when they were set free from the

* Why this John, son of Simon, the high-priest and governor of the Jews, was called Hyrcanus, Josephus no where informs us: nor is he called other than John at the end of the first book of the Maccabees. However, Sixtus Senensis, when he gave us an epitome of the Greek version of the book here abridged by Josephus, or of the Chronicles of this John Hyrcanus then extant, assures us, that he was called Hyrcanus from his conquest of one of that name. See Authent. Rec. Part I. page 27. But of this younger Antiochus, see Dean Aldrich's note here.

† See Antiquities, XIII. 8.

‡ Antiq. XIII. 9.

Babylonian slavery.* Now of his brethren he appeared to have an affection for Antigonus, who was next to him: and made him his equal. But for the rest, he bound them, and put them in prison. He also put his mother in bonds, for her contesting the government with him: for John had left her governess of the public affairs. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity, as to cause her to be starved to death in prison.

But vengeance circumvented him in the affair of his brother Antigonus whom he loved, and whom he made his partner in the kingdom. For he slew him by the means of the calumnies which ill men about the palace contrived against him. At first indeed Aristobulus would not believe their reports, partly out of the affection he had for his brother, and partly because he thought that a great part of these tales were owing to the envy of the relators. However, as Antigonus came once in a splendid manner from the army to that festival, wherein our ancient custom is to make tabernacles for God, it happened, in those days, that Aristobulus was sick: and that at the conclusion of the feast Antigonus came up to it with his armed men about him, and adorned in the finest manner possible: and that, in great measure, to pray to God on the behalf of his brother. Now at this time some malicious men came to the king, and told him, in what a pompous manner the armed men came; and with what insolence Antigonus marched; and that such his insolence was too great for a private person; and that accordingly he was come with a great band of men to kill him. For that he could not endure the bare enjoyment of royal honour, when it was in his power to take the kingdom himself.

Now Aristobulus, by degrees, and unwillingly, gave credit to these accusations. Accordingly he took care not to discover his suspicion openly; though he provided to be secure against any accidents. So he placed his body guards in a certain dark subterranean passage; (for he lay sick in a place formerly called the Citadel, though afterwards its name was changed to Antonia;) and gave orders, that if Antigonus came unarmed, they should let him alone; but if he came in his armour,† they should kill him. He also sent some to let him know beforehand, that he should come unarmed. But upon this occasion the queen very cunningly contrived the matter with those that plotted his ruin: for she persuaded those that were sent to conceal the king's message, and to tell Antigonus, that his brother had heard he had a very fine suit of armour, made with fine martial ornaments, in Galilee: and because his present sickness hindered him from coming, and seeing all that finery, he very much desired to see him now in his armour.

As soon as Antigonus heard this, the good temper of his brother not allowing him to suspect any harm from him: he came with his armour on, to shew it his brother. But when he was going along that dark passage, which was called Strato's Tower, he was slain by the body guards: and became an eminent instance how calumny destroys all good will, and natural affection; and how none of our good affections are strong enough to resist envy perpetually.

And truly, any one would be surprised at Judas upon this occasion. He was of the sect of the Essenes; and had never failed or deceived men in his predictions before. Now this man saw Antigonus as he was passing along by the temple; and cried out to his acquaintance who attended upon him as his scholars, "O strange! it is good for me to die now; since truth is dead before me: and somewhat that I have foretold hath proved false. For this Antigonus is alive, who ought to have died this day; and the place where he ought to be slain, according to that fatal decree, was Strato's Tower: which is at the distance of six hundred furlongs from this place: and yet four hours of this day are over already: which point of time renders the prediction impossible to be fulfilled." And when the old man had said this he was dejected in his mind, and so continued. But in a little time news came, that Antigonus was slain in a subterraneous place, which was also called Strato's Tower, by the same name with that in Cæsarea which lay by the sea side. And this ambiguity it was which caused the prophet's disorder.

Hereupon Aristobulus repented of the great crime he had been guilty of: and this gave occasion to the increase of his distemper. He also grew worse and worse, and his soul was constantly disturbed at the thoughts of what he had done; till his very bowels being torn to pieces by the intolerable grief he was under, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And as one of those servants that attended him carried out that blood, he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonus had been slain: and so he spilt some of the murderer's blood upon the spots of the blood of him that had been murdered, which still appeared. Hereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators: as if the servant had spilled the blood on purpose in that place. And as the king heard that cry, he inquired what was the cause of it? and while nobody durst tell him, he pressed them so much the more to let him know what was the matter. So at length, when he had threatened them, and forced them to speak out, they told him. He then burst into tears, and said, "I perceive I am not like to escape the all-seeing eye of God, as to the great crimes I have committed: but the vengeance of the blood of my kinsman pursues me hastily. O thou most impudent body, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die on account of that punishment it ought to suffer for a mother and a brother slain? How long shall I spend my blood drop by drop? Let them take it all at once: and let their ghosts no longer be disappointed by a few parcels of my bowels offered to them." As soon as he had said these words, he presently died, when he had reigned no longer than a year.‡

CHAP. IV.

OF THE ACTIONS OF ALEXANDER JANNEUS, WHO REIGNED TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS.

NOW the queen liberated the king's brethren, and made Alexander king, who appeared both elder in age, and more moderate in his temper, than the rest. When he came

* See Antiquities, XIII. 11.

† In ancient times warriors were almost always clothed with, and fought in, armour. It served to defend them, when, the present methods of distant assault not being known, they engaged in close or single combat. B.

‡ See Antiquities, XIII. 11.

to the government, he slew one of his brethren, as affecting to govern himself, but had the other in great esteem; as loving a quiet life, without meddling with public affairs.*

Now it happened that there was a battle between him and Ptolemy Lathyrus, who had taken the city Asochis. He indeed slew a great many of his enemies; but the victory rather inclined to Ptolemy. But when this Ptolemy was pursued by his mother Cleopatra, and retired into Egypt, Alexander besieged Gadara, and took it: as also he did Amathus; which was the strongest of all the fortresses that were about Jordan: and therein were the most precious of all the possessions of Theodorus, the son of Zeno. Hereupon Theodorus marched against him, and took what belonged to himself, as well as the king's baggage; and slew ten thousand of the Jews. However Alexander recovered this blow; and turned his force towards the maritime parts; and took Raphia, and Gaza, with Anthedon, which was afterward called Agrippas, by king Herod.

But when he had made slaves of the citizens of all these cities, the nation of the Jews made an insurrection against him at a festival. For at those feasts seditions are generally begun; and it looked as if he should not be able to escape the plot they had laid for him; had not his foreign auxiliaries, the Pisidians and Cilicians, assisted him. For as to the Syrians, he never admitted them among his mercenary troops; on account of their innate enmity against the Jewish nation. And when he had slain more than six thousand of the rebels, he made an incursion into Arabia. And when he had taken that country, together with the Gileadites and Moabites, he enjoined them to pay him tribute, and returned to Amathus, and as Theodorus was surprised at his great success, he took the fortress, and demolished it.

However, when he fought with Obodas, king of the Arabians, who had laid in ambush for him near Golan, and a plot against him, he lost his entire army, which was crowded together in a deep valley, and broken to pieces by the multitude of camels. And when he had made his escape to Jerusalem, he provoked the multitude, which hated him before, to make an insurrection against him: and this on account of the greatness of the calamity that he was under. However, he was then too hard for them: and in the several battles that were fought on both sides he slew not fewer than fifty thousand of the Jews, in the interval of six years. Yet had he no reason to rejoice in these victories; since he did but consume his own kingdom: till at length he left off fighting, and endeavoured to come to a composition, by talking with his subjects. But this mutability and irregularity of his conduct made them hate him still more. And when he asked them, why they so hated him, and what he should do in order to appease them? they told him to kill himself; for that it would be then all they could do to be reconciled to him, who had done such tragical things to them, even when he was dead. At the same time they invited Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, to assist them. And as he readily complied with their request, in hopes of great advantages, and came with his army, the Jews joined with those auxiliaries about Shechem.

Alexander met both these forces with one thousand horsemen, and eight thousand mercenaries, that were on foot. He had also with him that part of the Jews which favoured him to the number of ten thousand. While the adverse party had three thousand horsemen, and fourteen thousand footmen. Now before they joined battle, the kings made proclamation and endeavoured to draw off each other's soldiers, and make them revolt. While Demetrius hoped to induce Alexander's mercenaries to leave him: and Alexander hoped to induce the Jews that were with Demetrius, to leave him. But since neither the Jews would leave off their rage; nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement; in which Demetrius was the conqueror: although Alexander's mercenaries performed the greatest exploits, both in soul and body. Yet did the result of this battle prove different from what was expected, as to both of them. For those that invited Demetrius to come to them did not continue firm to him, though he were conqueror: and six thousand Jews, out of pity to the change of Alexander's condition, when he was fled to the mountains, came over to him. Demetrius could not bear this turn of affairs; but supposing that Alexander was already become a match for him again, and that all the nation would at length run in to him, he left the country.

However, the rest of the Jewish multitude did not lay aside their quarrels with Alexander when the foreign auxiliaries were gone; but they had a perpetual war with him, until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the rest into the city Bemeselis: and when he had demolished that city, he carried the captives to Jerusalem. Nay, his rage was grown so extravagant, that his barbarity proceeded to the degree of impiety. For when he had ordered eight hundred to be hung upon crosses in the midst of the city, he had the throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes: and those executions he saw, as he was drinking, and lying down with his concubines. Upon which, so deep a surprise seized on the people, that eight thousand of his opposers fled away, the very next night, out of all Judea: whose flight was only terminated by Alexander's death. So at last, though not till late, and with great difficulty, he, by such actions, procured quiet to his kingdom, and left off fighting any more.

Yet did that Antiochus, who was also called Dionysius, become an origin of troubles again. This man was the brother of Demetrius, and the †last of the race of the Seleucidæ. Alexander was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabians. So he cut a deep trench between Antipatris, which was near the mountains, and the shores of Joppa. He also erected a high wall before the trench, and built wooden towers, in order to hinder any sudden approaches. But still he was not able to exclude Antiochus: for he burnt the towers, and filled up the trenches, and marched on with his army. And as he looked upon taking his revenge on Alexander, for endeavouring to stop him, as a thing of less consequence, he marched directly against the Arabians. Whose king retired into such parts of the country as were fittest for engaging the enemy: and then on the

* See Antiquities, XIII. 12.

† Josephus here calls this Antiochus the last of the Seleucidæ; although there remained still a shadow of another king of that family, Antiochus Asiaticus, or Commagenus, who reigned, or rather lay hid; till Pompey turned him out; as Dean Aldrich here notes, from Appian and Justin.

sudden made his cavalry run back: which were in number ten thousand; and fell upon Antiochus's army, while they were in disorder. A terrible battle now ensued: Antiochus's troops, so long as he was alive, fought it out; although a mighty slaughter was made among them by the Arabians: but when he fell, (for he was in the fore-front, in the utmost danger, in rallying his troops,) they all gave ground: and the greatest part of his army were destroyed, either in the action or in the flight. And the rest, who fled to the village of Cana, were all consumed by want of necessaries, a few only excepted.

About this time the people of Damascus, out of their hatred to Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, invited Aretas to take the government; and made him king of Cœlesyria. This man also made an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, but afterward retired by mutual agreement. But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Gerasa again, out of the covetous desire he had of Theodorus's possessions. And when he had built a triple wall about the garrison, he took the place by force. He also demolished Golan, and Seleucia, and what was called the Valley of Antiochus, besides which he took the strong fortress of Gamala; and stripped Demetrius, who was governor therein, of what he had, on account of the many crimes laid to his charge; and then returned into Judea: after he had been three whole years in this expedition. And now he was kindly received of the nation; because of the good success he had had.

So when he was at rest from war, he fell into a distemper: for he was afflicted with a quartan ague: and supposed that, by exercising himself again in martial affairs, he should get rid of his distemper. But by making such expeditions at unseasonable times; and forcing his body to undergo greater hardships than it was able to bear, he brought himself to his end. He died, therefore, in the midst of his troubles; after he had reigned seven and twenty years.*

CHAP. V.

OF THE REIGN OF ALEXANDRA, DURING WHICH THE PHARISEES WERE THE REAL RULERS OF THE NATION.

ALEXANDER left the kingdom to Alexandra his wife; and depended upon it, that the Jews would very readily submit to her: because she had been very averse to such cruelty as he had treated them with; and had opposed his violation of their laws; and had thereby got the good will of the people. Nor was he mistaken as to his expectations. For this woman kept the dominion, by the opinion that the people had of her piety. For she chiefly studied the ancient customs of her country; and cast those men out of the government that offended against their holy laws. And as she had two sons by Alexander, she made Hyrcanus, the elder, high-priest; on account of his age; as also, besides that, on account of his inactive temper, no way disposing him to disturb the public. But she retained the younger Aristobulus, with her, as a private person; by reason of the warmth of his temper.†

And now the Pharisees joined themselves to her, to assist her in the government. These are a certain sect of Jews, that appear more religious than others; and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. Now Alexandra hearkened to them to an extraordinary degree: as being herself a woman of great piety towards God. But these Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her favour by little and little; and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs; they banished and reduced whom they pleased; they bound‡ and loosed men at their pleasure; and, to say all at once, they had the enjoyment of the royal authority; while the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexandra. She was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs; and intent always upon gathering soldiers together: so that she increased the army the one half, and procured a great body of foreign troops: till her own nation became not only very powerful at home, but terrible also to foreign potentates. While she governed other people, however, the Pharisees governed her.

Accordingly they slew Diogenes, a person of figure, and one that had been a friend to Alexander; and accused him as having assisted the king with his advice, for crucifying the eight hundred men §before mentioned. They also prevailed with Alexandra to put to death the rest of those who had irritated him against them. Now she was so superstitious as to comply with their desires: and accordingly they slew whom they pleased: but the principal of those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus; who persuaded his mother to spare the men, on account of their dignity; but to expel them out of the city; unless she took them to be innocent. So they were suffered to go unpunished; and were dispersed all over the country.

But when Alexandra sent out her army to Damascus, under pretence that Ptolemy was always oppressing that city, she got possession of it. Nor did it make any considerable resistance. She slso prevailed with Tigranes, king of Armenia; who lay with his troops about Ptolemais, and besieged ‖Cleopatra; by agreements and presents to go away. Accordingly Tigranes soon arose from the siege, by reason of those domestic tumults which happened upon Lucullus's expedition into Armenia.

In the mean time Alexandra fell sick: and Aristobulus, her younger son, took hold of this opportunity, with his domestics, of which he had a great many, who were all of them his friends, on account of the warmth of their youth, and got possession of all the fortresses. He also used the sums of money he found in them to get together a number of mercenary soldiers, and made himself king. And be-

* Antiq. XIII. 15.

† Antiq. XIII. 16.

‡ Here we have the oldest and most authentic Jewish exposition of binding and loosing, for punishing or absolving men, not for declaring actions lawful or unlawful, as some more modern Jews and Christians vainly pretend.

§ Chap. 4.

‖ Strabo, XVI. page 720, relates, that this Selene Cleopatra was besieged by Tigranes; not in Ptolemais, as here; but after she had left Syria in Seleucia; a citadel in Mesopotamia: and adds, that when he had kept her a while in prison, he put her to death. Dean Aldrich supposes here that Strabo contradicts Josephus: which does not appear to me. For although Josephus says both here, and in the Antiquities, XIII. 16, that Tigranes besieged her now in Ptolemais and that he took the city; yet does he no where intimate that he now took the queen herself. So that both the narration of Strabo and Josephus may still be true notwithstanding.

sides this, upon Hyrcanus's complaint to his mother, she compassionated his case; and put Aristobulus's wife and sons under restraint in Antonia: which was a fortress that adjoined to the north part of the temple. It was, as I have *already said, formerly called the citadel: but afterward got the name of Antonia, when Antony was lord of the East: just as the other cities Sebaste, and Agrippias, had their names changed; and these given them, from †Sebastus and Agrippa. But Alexandra died before she could punish Aristobulus, for disinheriting his brother, after she had reigned nine years.‡

CHAP. VI.

OF THE QUARREL WHICH AROSE BETWEEN HYRCANUS AND ARISTOBULUS, RESPECTING THE KINGDOM; THEIR SUBSEQUENT CONDUCT, AND THE ARBITRATION OF THEIR DISPUTE BY POMPEY.

NOW Hyrcanus was heir to the kingdom; and to him did his mother commit it before she died. But Aristobulus was superior to him in power and magnanimity. And when there was a battle between them, near Jericho, to decide the dispute about the kingdom, the greatest part deserted Hyrcanus, and went over to Aristobulus. But Hyrcanus, with those of his party who staid with him, fled to Antonia; and got into his power the hostages that might be for his preservation: which were Aristobulus's wife, with her children. But they came to an agreement before things should come to extremities; that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should resign that; but retain all the rest of his dignities, as being the king's brother. Hereupon they were reconciled in the temple; and embraced one another, in a very kind manner: while the people stood round about them. They also changed their houses; while Aristobulus went to the royal palace; and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus.

Now those other people which were at variance with Aristobulus were afraid, upon his unexpected obtaining the government: and especially §Antipater, whom Aristobulus hated of old. He was by birth an Idumean; and one of the principal of that nation, on account of his ancestors, and riches, and other authority to him belonging. He also persuaded Hyrcanus to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia; and to lay claim to the kingdom: and persuaded Aretas to receive Hyrcanus, and to reinstate him in his authority. He also cast great reproaches upon Aristobulus, as to his morals; and gave great commendations to Hyrcanus: and exhorted Aretas to receive him, and told him how becoming a thing it would be for him, who ruled so great a kingdom, to afford his assistance to such as were injured: alleging that Hyrcanus was treated unjustly, by being deprived of that dominion which belonged to him by the prerogative of his birth. And when he had predisposed them both to do what he would have them, he took Hyrcanus by night, and ran away from the city; and continuing his flight with great swiftness, he escaped to the place called Petra; which is the royal seat of the king of Arabia: where he put Hyrcanus into Aretas's hand: and by discoursing much with him, and gaining upon him with many presents, he prevailed with him to give him an army, that might restore him to his kingdom. This army consisted of fifty thousand footmen and horsemen: against which Aristobulus was not able to make any resistance: but was deserted on his first onset, and was driven to Jerusalem. He also had been taken at first by force, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not come, and seasonably interposed, and raised the siege. This Scaurus was sent into Syria, from Armenia, by Pompey the great, when he fought against Tigranes. So Scaurus came to Damascus, which had been lately taken by Metellus and Lollius; and caused them to leave the place. And upon his hearing how the affairs of Judea stood, he hastened thither, as to a certain booty.

As soon, therefore, as he was come into the country, there came ambassadors from both the brothers, each of them desiring his assistance. But Aristobulus's three hundred talents had more weight with him than the justice of the cause. Which sum when Scaurus had received, he sent a herald to Hyrcanus, and the Arabians; and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans, and of Pompey, unless they would raise the siege. So Aretas was terrified, and retired out of Judea to Philadelphia; and Scaurus returned to Damascus. Nor was Aristobulus satisfied with escaping out of his brother's hands, but gathered all his forces together, and pursued his enemies, and fought them, at a place called Papyron; and slew about six thousand of them; and, together with them, Antipater's brother, Phalion.

When Hyrcanus and Antipater were thus deprived of their hopes from the Arabians, they transferred the same to their adversaries. And because Pompey‖ had passed through Syria, and was come to Damascus, they fled to him for assistance. And, ¶without any bribes, they made the same equitable pleas that they had used to Aretas: and besought him to hate the violent behaviour of Aristobulus; and to bestow the kingdom on him to whom it justly belonged; both on account of his good character, and his superiority in age. However, neither was Aristobulus wanting to himself in this case: as relying on the bribes that Scaurus had received. He was also there, and adorned himself after a manner the most agreeable to royalty that he was able. But he soon thought it beneath him to come in such a servile manner; and could not endure to serve his own ends in a way so much more abject than he was used to: so he departed **from Diospolis.

At this his behaviour Pompey had great indignation. Hyrcanus also and his friends made great intercession to Pompey. So he took not only his Roman forces, but many

* Chap. 3.

† Augustus.

‡ Antiq. XIII. 16.

§ That this Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, was an Idumean, as Josephus affirms here, see the note on Antiq. XIV. 15.

‖ Here Dean Aldrich refers us to the many writers of the affairs of Pompey, concerning the expedition into Syria.

¶ It is somewhat probable, as Havercamp supposes, and partly Spanheim also, that the Latin copy is here the truest: that Pompey did take the many presents offered him by Hyrcanus: as he would have done the others, from Aristobulus. Although his remarkable abstinence from the 2000 talents that were in the Jewish temple, when he took it a little afterward, chap. 7, and Antiq. XIV. 4, will hardly permit us to desert the Greek copies: all which agree that he did not take them.

** Or to the city Dios. See Antiq. XIV. 3.

of his Syrian auxiliaries, and marched against Aristobulus. But when he had passed by Pella, and Scythopolis, and was come to Corea; where you enter into the country of Judea, when you go up to it through the Mediterranean parts; he heard that Aristobulus was fled to Alexandrium; which is a strong hold, fortified with the utmost magnificence; and situate upon a high mountain: and he sent to him, and commanded him to come down. Now his inclination was to try his fortune in a battle since he was called in such an imperious manner, rather than to comply with that call. However, he saw the multitude were in great fear; and his friends exhorted him to consider that the power of the Romans was irresistible. So he complied with their advice, and came down to Pompey: and when he had made a long apology for himself, and for the justness of his cause in taking the government, he returned to the fortress. And when his brother invited him again to plead his cause, he came down, and spake about the justice of it, and then went away without any hindrance from Pompey. So he was between hope and fear. And when he came down, it was to prevail with Pompey to allow him the government entirely: and when he went up to the citadel it was that he might not appear to debase himself too low. However, Pompey commanded him to give up his fortified places, and forced him to write to every one of their governors to yield them up; they having had this charge given them, to obey no letters but what were of his own hand-writing. Accordingly he did what he was ordered, but had still an indignation at what was done, and retired to Jerusalem, and prepared for battle.

Pompey, however, did not give him time to make any preparations for a siege; but followed him at his heels. He was also obliged to make haste in his attempt, by the death of Mithridates; of which he was informed about Jericho. Now here is the most fruitful country of Judea; which bears a vast number of *palm-trees; besides the balsam-tree; whose sprouts they cut with sharp stones, and at the incisions they gather the juice, which drops down like tears. So Pompey pitched his camp in that place one night, and then hastened away the next morning to Jerusalem. But Aristobulus was so affrighted at his approach, that he came and met him, by way of supplication. He also promised him money; and that he would deliver up both himself and the city into his disposal; and thereby mitigated the anger of Pompey. Yet did not he perform any of the conditions he had agreed to: for Aristobulus's party would not so much as admit Gabinius into the city, who was sent to receive the money that he had promised.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE ADMISSION OF POMPEY INTO JERUSALEM; THE TAKING AND PROFANATION OF THE TEMPLE; AND OTHER OCCURRENCES WHICH HAPPENED IN JUDEA.

POMPEY was highly incensed at the behaviour of Aristobulus, and took him into custody; and when he was come to the city, he looked about where he might make his attack. For he saw the walls were so firm, that it would be hard to overcome them; and that the valley before the walls was terrible; and that the temple, which was within that valley, was itself encompassed with a very strong wall. Insomuch, that if the city were taken, that temple would be a second place of refuge for the enemy to retire to.

Now as he was long in deliberating about this matter, a sedition arose among the people within the city. Aristobulus's party being willing to fight, and to set their king at liberty: while the party of Hyrcanus were for opening the gates to Pompey. And the terror of the people occasioned these last to be a very numerous party; when they looked upon the excellent order the Roman soldiers were in.† So Aristobulus's party was worsted, and retired into the temple, and cut off the communication between the temple and the city, by breaking down the bridge that joined them together; and prepared to make an opposition to the utmost. But as the others had received the Romans into the city, Pompey sent Piso, one of his great officers, into the palace, with an army, who distributed a garrison about the city: because he could not persuade any one of those that had fled to the temple to come to terms of accommodation. He then disposed all things that were round about them so as might favour their attacks: as having Hyrcanus's party ready to afford them both counsel and assistance.

But Pompey himself filled up the ditch that was on the north side of the temple, and the entire valley also: the army itself being obliged to carry the materials for that purpose. And indeed it was a hard thing to fill up that valley by reason of its immense depth: especially as the Jews used all possible means to repel them from their superior situation. Nor had the Romans succeeded to their endeavours, had not Pompey taken notice of the seventh day; on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work, on a religious account; and raised his bank, but restrained his soldiers from fighting on those days. For the Jews only acted defensively on sabbath days. But as soon as Pompey had filled up the valley, he erected high towers upon the bank, and brought those engines which they had fetched from Tyre near to the wall, and tried to batter it down. And the slingers of stones beat off those that stood above them, and drove them away. But the towers on this side of the city made very great resistance; and were indeed extraordinary, both for largeness and magnificence.

Now here it was that, upon the many hardships which the Romans underwent, Pompey could not but admire, not only at the other instances of the Jews' fortitude, but especially, that they did not intermit their religious services, even when they were encompassed with darts on all sides. For, as if the city were in perfect peace, their daily sacrifices, and purifications, and every branch of religious worship was still performed to God, with the utmost exactness. Nor indeed, when the temple was actually taken, and they were every day slain about the altar, did they leave off the instances of their divine worship that were appointed by their law. For it was in the third month of the siege before the Romans could, even with great difficulty, overthrow one of

* Of the famous palm-trees and balsam about Jericho and Engaddi, see the notes in Havercamp's edition, both here, and 11. 9. They are somewhat too long to be transcribed in this place.

† The discipline of the Roman army was very strict. This certainly gave them great advantages in fighting, and accelerated their victories. B.

the towers, and get into the temple. Now he that ventured to get over the wall was Faustus Cornelius, the son of Sylla; and next after him were two centurions, Furius and Fabius: and every one of these was followed by a cohort of his own: who encompassed the Jews on all sides, and slew them: some of them as they were running for shelter to the temple; and others as they, for a while, fought in their own defence.*

And now did many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies assailing them with their swords in their hands, go on with their divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink-offerings, and burning their incense: as preferring the duties about their worship to God before their own preservation. The greatest part of them were slain by their countrymen of the adverse faction; and an innumerable multitude threw themselves down precipices. Nay, some there were who were so distracted among the insuperable difficulties they were under, that they set fire to the buildings that were near to the wall, and were burnt together with them. Now of the Jews were slain twelve thousand; but of the Romans very few were slain: but a greater number was wounded.

But there was nothing that affected the nation so much, in the calamities they were then under, as that their holy place, which had been hitherto seen by none, should be laid open to strangers. For †Pompey, and those that were about him, went into the temple himself, whither it was not lawful for any one to enter, but the high-priest, and saw what was deposited therein: the candlestick, with its lamps; and the table, and the pouring vessels, and the censers: all made entirely of gold; as also a great quantity of spices heaped together: with two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did not he touch that money, nor any thing else that was there deposited. But he commanded the ministers about the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to cleanse it; and to perform their accustomed sacrifices. Moreover, he made Hyrcanus high-priest; as one that not only in other respects had shewn great alacrity on his side, during the siege; but as he had been the means of hindering the multitude, that was in the country, from fighting for Aristobulus: which they were otherwise very ready to have done. By which means he acted the part of a good general; and reconciled the people to him more by benevolence than by terror. Now among the captives, Aristobulus's father-in-law was taken; who was also his uncle. So those that were the most guilty he punished with decapitation, but rewarded Faustus, and those that were with him, that had fought so bravely, with glorious presents; and laid a tribute upon the country, and upon Jerusalem itself.

He also took away from the nation all those cities that they had formerly taken, and that belonged to Cœlesyria, and made them subject to him that was at that time appointed to be the Roman president there: and reduced Judea within its proper bounds. He also rebuilt ‡Gadara, that had been demolished by the Jews; in order to gratify one Demetrius, who was of Gadara, and was one of his own freed-men. He also made other cities free from their dominion, that lay in the midst of the country: such, I mean, as they had not demolished before that time. Hippos, and Scythopolis, as also Pella, Semaria, and Marissa; and, besides these, Ashdod, Jamnia, and Arethusa; and in like manner he dealt with the maritime cities, Gaza, Joppa, and Dora; and that which was anciently called Strato's Tower, but was afterwards rebuilt, with most magnificent edifices, and had its name changed to Cæsarea, by king Herod. All which he restored to their own citizens; and put them under the province of Syria. Which province, together with Judea, and the countries as far as Egypt and Euphrates, he committed to Scaurus, as their governor: and gave him two legions to support him. He then made all the haste he could to go through Cilicia, in his way to Rome; having Aristobulus, and his children along with him, as his captives. They were two daughters, and two sons: one of which sons, Alexander, ran away as he was going; but the younger, Antigonus, with his sisters, were carried to Rome.§

CHAP. VIII.

ALEXANDER, SON OF ARISTOBULUS, MAKES AN EXPEDITION AGAINST HYRCANUS; BUT BEING OVERCOME BY GABINIUS, HE DELIVERS UP THE FORTRESSES TO HIM.—ARISTOBULUS ESCAPES FROM ROME, AND ASSEMBLES AN ARMY: BUT BEING BEATEN BY THE ROMANS, HE IS BROUGHT BACK TO ROME.—ALSO THE AFFAIRS OF GABINIUS, CRASSUS, AND CASSIUS.

IN the mean time Scaurus made an expedition into Arabia; but was stopped by the difficulty of the places about Petra. However he laid waste the country about Pella: though even here he was under great hardship: his army afflicted with famine. To supply want, however, Hyrcanus afforded him assistance, and sent him provisions, by the means of Antipater; whom also Scaurus sent to Aretas, as one well acquainted with him, to induce him to pay him money to buy his peace. The king of Arabia‖ complied with the proposal; and gave him three hundred talents. Upon which Scaurus drew his army out of Arabia.

Now Alexander, that son of Aristobulus, who ran away from Pompey, got a considerable band of men together, and lay heavy upon Hyrcanus, and over-ran Judea; and was likely to overturn him quickly; and, indeed, he had come to Jerusalem, and had ventured to rebuild its wall that was thrown down by Pompey, had not Gabinius, who

* Antiq. XIV. 4.

† Thus, says Tacitus, Cn. Pompeius first of all subdued the Jews, and went into their temple, by right of conquest, Hist. V. 9. Nor did he touch any of its riches; as has been observed on the parallel place of the Antiquities, XIV. 4, out of Cicero himself.

‡ The coin of this Gadara, still extant, with its date from this era, is a certain evidence of this rebuilding by Pompey: as Spanheim here assures us.

§ Antiq. XIV. 4.

‖ Take the like attestation to the truth of this submission of Aretas, king of Arabia, to Scaurus the Roman general, in the words of Dean Aldrich: "Hence, says he, is derived that old and famous Denarius, belonging to the Emilian family, represented in Havercamp's edition, wherein Aretas appears in a posture of supplication, and taking hold of a camel's bridle with his left hand, and with his right hand presenting a branch of the frankincense tree: with this inscription: M. SCAURUS EX S. C. and beneath, REX ARETAS."

was sent as successor to Scaurus into Syria, shewed his bravery, as in many other points, so in making an expedition against Alexander. Who, as he was afraid that he would attack him, so he got together a large army, composed of ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. He also built walls about proper places; Alexandrium, Hyrcanium, and Machœrus, that lay upon the mountains of Arabia.

However, Gabinius sent before him Marcus Antonius; and followed himself with his whole army. But the select body of soldiers that were about Antipater, and another body of Jews under the command of Malichus and Pitholaus, joined themselves to those captains that were about Marcus Antonius, and met Alexander; and this body was soon afterwards joined by Gabinius, with his main army. And as Alexander was not able to sustain the charge of the enemies' forces, now they were joined, he retired. But when he was come near to Jerusalem, he was forced to fight; and lost six thousand men in the battle, three thousand of whom fell down dead; and three thousand were taken alive. So he fled, with the remainder to Alexandrium.

When Gabinius was come to Alexandrium, because he found a great many there encamped, he tried, by promising them pardon for their former offences, *to induce them to come over to him, before it came to an engagement. But when they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, he slew a great number of them; and shut up many more in the citadel. Now Marcus Antonius, their leader, signalized his courage in this battle. But Gabinius, leaving forces to take the citadel, went away; and settled the cities that had not been demolished, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed. Accordingly, upon his injunctions, the following cities were restored; Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Marissa, Adoreus, Gamala, Ashdod, and many others; while a great number of men readily ran to each of them, and became their inhabitants.†

When Gabinius had taken care of these cities, he returned to Alexandrium; and pressed on the siege. So when Alexander despaired of obtaining the government, he sent ambassadors to him, and prayed him to forgive what he had offended him in; and gave up to him the remaining fortresses, Hyrcanium and Macherus, as he put Alexandrium into his hands afterwards. All of these Gabinius demolished; at the persuasion of Alexander's mother; that they might not be receptacles of men in a second war. She was now there, in order to mollify Gabinius; out of her concern for her relations that were captives of Rome; which were her husband, and her other children. After this, Gabinius brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem; and committed the care of the temple to him; but ordained the other political government to be by an aristocracy. He also parted the whole nation into five conventions: assigning one portion to Jerusalem; another to Gadara; that another should belong to Amathus; a fourth to Jericho: and to the fifth division was alloted Sepphoris, a city of Galilee. So the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchical government; and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.

Yet did Aristobulus afford another foundation for new disturbances. He fled away from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were desirous of a change: such as had borne an affection to him of old. And when he had taken Alexandrium, he attempted to build a wall about it. But as soon as ‡Gabinius had sent an army against him, under Sisenna, Antonius, and Servilius, he was aware of it; and retreated to Macherus. And as for the unprofitable multitude, he dismissed them: and only marched on with those who were armed: being to the number of eight thousand. Among these was Pitholaus; who had been the lieutenant at Jerusalem: but deserted to Aristobulus, with a thousand of his men. So the Romans followed him. And when it came to a battle, Aristobulus's party, for a long while, fought courageously, but at length they were overpowered by the Romans: and five thousand of them fell down dead; and about two thousand fled to a certain little hill; but the thousand that remained with Aristobulus brake through the Roman army, and marched together to Macherus. And when the king had lodged the first night upon its ruins, he was in hopes of raising another army; if the war would but cease a while. Accordingly he fortified that strong hold, though it were done after a poor manner. But the Romans falling upon him, he resisted, even beyond his abilities, for two days: and then was taken, and brought a prisoner to Gabinius with his son, who had fled away together with him from Rome. And from Gabinius he was carried to Rome again. Wherefore the senate put him under confinement; but returned his children back to Judea: because Gabinius informed them by letters that he had promised Aristobulus's mother to do so, for her delivering the fortresses up to him.§

But now, as Gabinius was marching to the war against the Parthians, he was hindered by Ptolemy: whom, upon his return from Euphrates, he brought back into Egypt: making use of Hyrcanus, and Antipater, to provide every thing that was necessary for this expedition. For Antipater furnished him with money, weapons, corn, and auxiliaries. He also prevailed with the Jews that were there, and guarded the avenues at Pelusium, to let them pass. But now, upon Gabinius's absence, the other part of Syria was in motion: and Alexander, the son of Aristobulus brought the Jews to a revolt again. Accordingly he assembled a very great army, and set about killing all the Romans that were in the country: hereupon ‖Gabinius was afraid: (for he was come back already out of Egypt, in consequence of these tumults;) and sent Antipater: who prevailed with some of the revolters to be quiet. However, thirty thousand still continued with Alexander: who was himself eager to fight. Accordingly Gabinius went out,

* This method was frequently adopted in order to gain men over to the opposing party; thereby to weaken the ranks they forsook, and proportionably to strengthen these to which they acceded. B.

† Antiq. XIV. 5.

‡ This history is confirmed by Dio Cassius, XXXIX. page 117, excepting his mistake, as though Gabinius were now in Judea, before he went down into Egypt: and as if he subdued Aristobulus by his own labours. Which it hence appears he did not by himself, but by his three lieutenants only Sisenna, Antonius and Servilius.

§ Antiq. XIV. 6.

‖ Here Dean Aldrich refers us to the writers of the affairs of Gabinius.

and the Jews met him; and as the battle was fought near mount Tabor, ten thousand of them were slain; and the rest of the multitude dispersed themselves, and fled away. So Gabinius came to Jerusalem; and settled the government as Antipater would have it. Thence he marched, and fought, and beat the Nabateans. As for Mithridates and Orsanes, who fled out of Parthia, he sent them away privately: but gave it out among the soldiers that they had run away.

In the mean time Crassus came as successor to Gabinius in Syria. He took away all the rest of the gold belonging to the temple of Jerusalem, in order to furnish himself for his expedition against the Parthians. He also took away the two thousand talents, which Pompey had not touched. But when he had passed over Euphrates, he perished himself, and his army with him. Concerning which affairs, this is not a proper time to speak more largely.

Now Cassius, after Crassus, put a stop to the Parthians; who were marching in order to enter Syria. Cassius had fled into that province: and when he had taken possession of the same, he made an hasty march into Judea. And upon his taking Tarichæ, he carried thirty thousand Jews into slavery. He also, at the instigation of Antipater, slew Pitholaus, who had supported the seditious followers of Aristobulus. Now Antipater married a wife of an eminent family among the Arabians, whose name was Cypros; and had four sons born to him by her: Phasaelus, and Herod, who was afterwards king; and besides these, Joseph and Pheroras: and he had a daughter whose name was Salome. Now as he made himself friends among the men of power every where, by the kind offices he did them, and the hospitable manner that he treated them; so did he contract the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia, by marrying his relation. Insomuch that when he made war with Aristobulus, he sent and intrusted his children with him. So when Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms, and to be quiet, he returned to Euphrates; in order to prevent the Parthians from repassing it. Concerning which matter *we shall speak elsewhere.

CHAP. IX.

ARISTOBULUS AND HIS SON ALEXANDER ARE PUT TO DEATH; THE FORMER BY POMPEY'S FRIENDS, AND THE LATTER BY SCIPIO.—ANTIPATER CULTIVATES A FRIENDSHIP WITH CÆSAR, AFTER POMPEY'S DEATH; HE ALSO PERFORMS GREAT ACTIONS IN THAT WAR, WHEREIN HE ASSISTED MITHRIDATES.

NOW upon the flight of Pompey, and of the senate, beyond the Ionian Sea, Cæsar got Rome and the empire under his power; and released Aristobulus from his bonds.† He also committed two legions to him, and sent him in haste into Syria: as hoping that, by his means, he should easily conquer that country, and the parts adjoining to Judea. But envy prevented any effect of Aristobulus's alacrity, and the hopes of Cæsar: for he was taken off by poison, given him by those of Pompey's party: and for a long while he had not so much as a burial vouchsafed him in his own country; but his dead body lay above ground, preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the royal sepulchres.

His son Alexander also was beheaded by Scipio, at Antioch; and that by the command of Pompey: and upon an accusation laid against him before his tribunal, for the mischiefs he had done to the Romans. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was then ruler of Chalcis, under Libanus, took his brethren to him, by sending his son Philippio for them to Ascalon: who took Antigonus, as well as his sisters, away from Aristobulus's wife; and brought them to his father. And falling in love with the younger daughter, he married her: and was afterward slain by his father on her account. For Ptolemy himself, after he had slain his son, married her; whose name was Alexandra: on account of which marriage he took the greater care of her brother and sister.

Now after Pompey was dead, Antipater changed sides; and cultivated a friendship with Cæsar. And since Mithridates of Pergamus, with the forces he led against Egypt, was excluded from the ‡avenues about Pelusium, and was forced to stay at Ascalon; he persuaded the Arabians, among whom he had lived, to assist him; and came himself to him at the head of three thousand armed men. He also encouraged the men of power in Syria to come to his assistance; as also of the inhabitants of Libanus, Ptolemy, and Jamblicus, and another Ptolemy. By which means the cities of that country came readily into this war. Insomuch that Mithridates ventured now, in dependence upon the additional strength he had gotten by Antipater, to march forward to Pelusium. And when they refused him a passage through it, he besieged the city. In the attack of which place Antipater principally signalized himself. For he brake down that part of the wall which was over against him, and leaped first of all into the city, with the men that were about him.

Thus was Pelusium taken. But still, as they were marching on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the country, called the country of Onias, stopped them. Then did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them; but to afford provisions for their army. On which account, even the people about Memphis would not fight against them; but of their own accord joined Mithridates. Whereupon he went round about Delta; and fought the rest of the Egyptians, at a place called the Jews' Camp. Nay, when he was in danger in the battle, with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled about, and came along the bank of the river to him: for he had beaten those that opposed him,

* Dr. Hudson supposes, that the words "We shall speak," are to be blotted out: because in the parallel place of the Antiquities, XIV. 7, the words are, "As others have declared." But I cannot agree to his emendation; since there are many more places in his present works where Josephus refers to things related in his writings, and yet not now extant: which I have noted in the margin. Possibly for "we shall speak," he wrote, "we have spoken," as in other cases. But I choose rather to follow the copies, than such uncertain conjectures; as in the like cases elsewhere.

† Antiq. XIV. 7.

‡ This is confirmed by Dio, xxxix. page 204.

as he led the left wing. After which success he fell upon those that pursued Mithridates; and slew a great many of them; and pursued the remainder so far, that he took their camp: while he lost no more than fourscore of his own men: as Mithridates lost, during the pursuit that was made after him, about eight hundred men. He was also himself saved unexpectedly: and became an irreproachable witness to Cæsar of the great actions of Antipater.

Hereupon Cæsar encouraged Antipater to undertake other hazardous enterprises for him; and that by giving him great commendations, and hopes of reward. In all which enterprises he readily exposed himself to many dangers, and became a most courageous warrior; and had many wounds almost all over his body, as demonstrations of his valour. And when Cæsar had settled the affairs of Egypt, and was returning into Syria again, he gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen; and freedom from taxes; and rendered him an object of admiration, by the honours and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him. On his account it was also that he confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood.

CHAP. X.

ANTIPATER IS APPOINTED TO BE PROCURATOR OF JUDEA; PHASAELUS TO BE GOVERNOR OF JERUSALEM, AND HEROD GOVERNOR OF GALILEE.—HEROD IS SUMMONED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE SANHEDRIM, BUT IS ACQUITTED, SEXTUS CÆSAR IS TREACHEROUSLY KILLED BY BASSUS AND SUCCEEDED BY MARCUS.

ABOUT this time *Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to Cæsar; and became, in a surprising manner, the occasion of Antipater's farther advancement. For whereas he ought to have lamented that his father appeared to have been poisoned on account of his quarrels with Pompey; and to have complained of Scipio's barbarity towards his brother, and not to mix any invidious passion when he was suing for mercy; besides those things he came before Cæsar, and accused Hyrcanus and Antipater, of having driven him and his brethren entirely out of their native country; and having acted in a great many instances unjustly, and extravagantly, with respect to their nation, and that, as to the assistance they had sent him into Egypt, it was not done out of good will to him, but out of the fear they were in from former quarrels; and in order to gain pardon for their friendship to his enemy Pompey.

Hereupon Antipater threw away his garments, and shewed the multitude of the wounds he had; and said, that "As to his good will to Cæsar, he had no occasion to say a word; because his body cried aloud, though he said nothing himself. He wondered, however, at Antigonus's boldness; while he was himself no other than the son of an enemy to the Romans, and of a fugitive; and had it by inheritance from his father to be fond of innovations, and seditions, that he should undertake to accuse other men before the Roman governor, and endeavour to gain some advantage to himself; when he ought to be contented that he was suffered to live. For that the reason of his desire of governing public affairs, was not so much because he was in want of it; but because, if he could once obtain the same, he might stir up a sedition among the Jews; and use what he should gain from the Romans, to the injury of those who gave it him."

When Cæsar heard this, he declared Hyrcanus to be the most worthy of the high-priesthood: and gave leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased. But he left the determination to him that bestowed the dignity upon him: so he was constituted procurator of all Judea; and obtained leave to †rebuild those walls of his country that had been thrown down. These honorary grants Cæsar sent orders to have engraved in the capitol; that they might stand there, as indications of his own justice, and of the virtue of Antipater.

But as soon as Antipater had conducted Cæsar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. And the first thing he did, was to rebuild that wall of Jerusalem which Pompey had overthrown: and then to go over the country, and to quiet the tumults that were therein. In doing this he partly threatened and partly advised, every one: and told them, that in case they would submit to Hyrcanus, they would live happily, and peaceably; and enjoy what they possessed; and that with universal peace and quietness. But that in case they hearkened to such as had some frigid hopes, by raising new troubles, to get themselves some gain, they should then find him to be their lord instead of their procurator; and find Hyrcanus to be a tyrant, instead of a king; and both the Romans and Cæsar to be their enemies, instead of rulers. For that they would not suffer him to be removed from the government, whom they had made their governor. And at the same time that he said this, he settled the affairs of the country by himself; because he saw that Hyrcanus was inactive, and not fit to manage the affairs of the kingdom, so he constituted his eldest son, Phasaelus, governor of Jerusalem, and of the parts about it: he also sent his next son, Herod, who was ‡very young, with equal authority into Galilee.

Now Herod was an active man, and soon found proper materials for his spirit to work upon. As, therefore, he found that Hezekias, the head of the robbers, over-ran the neigbbouring parts of Syria with a great band of men, he caught him, and slew him, and many more of the robbers with him: which exploit was chiefly grateful to the Syrians. Insomuch that hymns were sung in Herod's commendation, both in the villages, and in the cities; as having procured their quietness; and having preserved what they possessed to them. On this occasion he became acquainted with Sextus Cæsar, a kinsman of the great Cæsar's, and President of Syria. A just emulation of his glorious actions excited Phasaelus also to imitate him. Accordingly he

* See Antiq. XIV. 8.

† What is here noted by Hudson and Spanheim, that this grant of leave to rebuild the walls of the cities of Judea was made by Julius Cæsar, not as here to Antipater, but to Hyrcanus, Antiq. XIV. 8, has hardly an appearance of a contradiction. Antipater being now, perhaps, considered only as Hyrcanus's deputy, and minister. Although he afterwards made a cypher of Hyrcanus; and under great decency of behaviour to him, took the real authority to himself.

‡ About twenty-five years of age. See the note on Antiq. XIV. 9, and Polyb. XVII. page 752.

procured the good will of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, by his own management of the city affairs; and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner. Whence it came to pass, that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king; and the honours they all yielded him were equal to those due to an absolute lord. Yet did not he abate any part of that good will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

However, he found it impossible to escape envy in such prosperity.* For the glory of those young men affected even Hyrcanus himself, privately; though he said nothing of it to any body. But what he was principally grieved at was the great actions of Herod, and that so many messengers came one before another, and informed him of the great reputation he got in all his undertakings. There were also many people in the royal palace, who inflamed his envy at him: those I mean who were obstructed in their designs by the prudence either of the young men, or of Antipater. These men said, that by committing the public affairs to the management of Antipater and of his sons, he sat down with nothing but the bare name of a king, without any of its authority. And they asked him, how long he would so far mistake himself, as to breed up kings against his own interest? For that they did not now conceal the government of affairs any longer; but were plainly lords of the nation; and had thrust him out of his authority: that this was the case when Herod slew so many men without his giving him any command to do it, either by word of mouth, or by his letter: and this in contradiction to the Jews. "In case, therefore," said they, "he be not a king, but a private man, he ought to come to his trial, and answer it to the laws of his country: which do not permit any one to be killed, till he hath been condemned in judgment."

Hyrcanus was by degrees inflamed with these discourses; and at length could forbear no longer, but summoned Herod to take his trial. Accordingly, by his father's advice, and as soon as the affairs of Galilee would give him leave, he came up to Jerusalem, having previously placed garrisons in Galilee. However he came with a sufficient body of soldiers; so many, indeed, that he might not appear to have with him an army, able to overthrow Hyrcanus's government: nor yet so few as to expose him to the insults of those that envied him. However, Sextus Cæsar was in fear for the young man, lest he should be taken hold of by his enemies, and be brought to punishment. So he sent some to denounce expressly to Hyrcanus, that he should acquit Herod of the capital charge against him; who acquitted him accordingly: as being otherwise inclined also so to do, for he loved Herod.

But Herod, supposing that he had escaped punishment, without the consent of the king, retired to Sextus, to Damascus; and got every thing ready in order not to obey him, if he should summon him again. Hereupon those that were evil disposed irritated Hyrcanus, and told him, that Herod had gone away in anger, and was prepared to make war upon him. And as the king believed what they said, he knew not what to do: since he saw his antagonist was stronger than he was himself. And now, since Herod was made general of Cœlesyria, and Samaria, by Sextus Cæsar, he was formidable; not only from the good will which the nation bore him, but by the power he himself had. Insomuch, that Hyrcanus fell into the utmost degree of terror, and expected he would presently march against him with his army.

Nor was he mistaken in the conjecture he made. For Herod got his army together, out of the anger he bare him for his threatening him with the accusation in a public court, and led it to Jerusalem, in order to dethrone Hyrcanus. And this he had soon done, unless his father and brother had gone out together, and appeased his fury: and this by exhorting him to carry his revenge no farther than to threatening and affrighting; but to spare the king, under whom he had been advanced to such a degree of power; and that he ought not be so much provoked at his being tried, as to forget to be thankful that he was acquitted. Nor so long to think upon what was of a melancholy nature, as to be ungrateful for his deliverance. And if he ought to reckon that God is the arbitrator of success in war, an unjust cause is of more disadvantage than an army can be of advantage. And that, therefore, he ought not to be entirely confident of success, in a case, where he was to fight against his king, his supporter, and one that had often been his benefactor, and that had never been severe to him, any otherwise than as he had hearkened to evil counsellors: and this no farther than by bringing a shadow of injustice upon him. So Herod was prevailed upon by these arguments; and supposed that what he had already done was sufficient for his future hopes, and that he had sufficiently shewn his power to the nation.

In the mean time there was a disturbance among the Romans about Apamia; and a civil war occasioned by the treacherous †slaughter of Sextus Cæsar by Cecilius Bassus: which he perpetrated out of his good will to Pompey. He also took the authority over his forces. But as the rest of Cæsar's commanders attacked Bassus with their whole army, in order to punish him for his murder of Cæsar, Antipater also sent them assistance, by his sons, both on account of him that was murdered; and on account of that Cæsar who was still alive: both of whom were their friends. And as this war proved to be of a considerable length, Marcus came out of Italy as successor to Sextus.

CHAP. XI.

HEROD IS MADE PROCURATOR OF ALL SYRIA.—MALICHUS TAKES OFF ANTIPATER BY POISON; WHEREUPON THE TRIBUNES OF THE SOLDIERS ARE PREVAILED WITH TO KILL HIM.

THERE was at this time a mighty war raised among the Romans, upon the sudden and treacherous slaughter of Cæsar, by Cassius and Brutus; after he had held the

* "A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth virtue in others: for men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon other's evil: and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand by depressing another's fortune." *Lord Bacon's Essays*, p. 21. B.

† Many writers of the Roman history give an account of this murder of Sextus Cæsar; and of the war of Apamia upon that occasion. They are cited in Dean Aldrich's note.

government for *three years, and seven months. Upon this murder there were very great agitations: and the great men were mightily at difference one with another: and every one betook himself to that party where they had the greatest hopes of advancing themselves. Accordingly Cassius came into Syria, in order to receive the forces that were at Apamia; where he effected a reconciliation between Bassus and Marcus, and the legions which were at difference with him. So he raised the siege of Apamia; and took upon him the command of the army; and went about exacting tributes of the cities, and demanding their money to such a degree as they were not able to bear.

So he gave command that the Jews should bring in seven hundred talents. Whereupon Antipater, out of his dread of Cassius's threats, parted the raising of this sum among his sons, and among others of his acquaintance; that it might be done immediately: and among them he required that Malichus, who was at enmity with him, to do his part also: which necessity forced him to do. Now Herod, in the first place, mitigated the passion of Cassius, by bringing his share out of Galilee, which was a hundred talents. On which account he was in the highest favour with him. And when he reproached the rest for being tardy, he was angry at the cities themselves. So he made slaves of Gophna and Emmaus, and two others of less note. Nay, he proceeded as if he would kill Malichus, because he had not made greater haste in exacting his tribute. But Antipater prevented the ruin of this man, and of the other cities; and got into †Cassius's favour, by bringing in a hundred talents immediately.

However, when Cassius was gone, Malichus forgot the kindness that Antipater had done him; and laid frequent plots against him that had saved him: as making haste to get him out of the way, who was an obstacle to his wicked practices. But Antipater was so much afraid of the power and cunning of the man, that he went beyond Jordan, in order to guard himself against his treacherous designs. But when Malichus was caught in his plot, he put upon Antipater's sons by his impudence; for he thoroughly deluded Phasaelus, who was the guardian of Jerusalem, and Herod, who was intrusted with the weapons of war: and this by a great many excuses and oaths: and persuaded them to procure his reconciliation to his father. Thus was he preserved again by Antipater, who dissuaded Marcus, the then president of Syria, from his resolution of killing Malichus, on account of his attempts for innovation.

Upon the war between Cassius and Brutus on one side, against the ‡younger Cæsar and Antony on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together an army out of Syria. And because Herod was likely to have a great share in providing necessaries, they then made him a procurator of all Syria, and gave him an army of foot and horse. Cassius promised him also that, after the war was over, he would make him king of Judea. But it so happened, that the power and hopes of his son became the cause of his perdition. For as Malichus was afraid of this, he corrupted one of the king's cup-bearers§ with money, to give a poisoned potion to Antipater. So he became a sacrifice to Malichus's wickedness; and died at a feast. He was a man in other respects active in the management of affairs; and one that recovered the government to Hyrcanus, and preserved it in his hands.

However, Malichus, when he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, and when the multitude were angry at him for it, denied it; and made the people believe he was not guilty. He also prepared to make a great figure, and raised soldiers. For he did not suppose that Herod would be quiet. Who, indeed, came upon him with an army presently, in order to revenge his father's death. But upon hearing the advice of his brother Phasaelus, not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should fall into a sedition, he admitted of Malichus's apology, and professed that he cleared him of that suspicion; he also made a pompous funeral for his father.

So Herod went to Samaria, which was then in a tumult, and settled the city in peace. After which, at the ‖festival, he returned to Jerusalem; having his armed men with him. Hereupon Hyrcanus, at the request of Malichus, who feared his approach, forbade them to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, while they were ¶purifying themselves. But Herod despised the pretence, and him that gave that command, and come in by night. Upon which Malichus came to him, and bewailed Antipater. Herod also made him believe he admitted of his lamentations as real: although he had much ado to restrain his passion at him. However, he did himself bewail the murder of his father, in his letter to Cassius: who, on other accounts also, hated Malichus. Cassius sent him word back, that he should avenge his father's death upon him; and privately gave order to the tribunes, that were under him, that they should assist Herod in a righteous action he was about.

And because, upon the taking of Laodicea by Cassius, the men of power were gotten together from all quarters, with presents, and crowns in their hands, Herod allotted this time for the punishment of Malichus. When Malichus suspected that, and was at Tyre, he resolved to withdraw his son privately from among the Tyrians, who was a hostage there, while he got ready to flee away into Judea. The despair he was in of escaping, excited him to think of greater things. For he hoped that he should raise the nation to a revolt from the Romans, while Cassius was busy about the war against Antony; and that he should easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.

* In the Antiquities, XIV. 11, the duration of the reign of Julius Cæsar is three years and six months: but here three years and seven months; beginning rightly, says Dean Aldrich, from his second dictatorship. It is probable the real duration might be three years, and between six and seven months.

† It appears evidently by Josephus's accounts, both here, and in his Antiquities, XIV. 11, that this Cassius, one of Cæsar's murderers, was a bitter oppressor and exactor of tribute in Judea. These 700 talents amount to about 300,000*l.* sterling: and are about half the yearly revenue of king Herod afterwards. See the note on Antiq. XVII. 11. It also appears, that Galilee then paid no more than 100 talents; or the seventh part of the entire sum to be levied in all the country.

‡ Augustus.

§ This was an office of great consideration among the ancients. Great men were frequently appointed to it, and were held in honour and esteem. B.

‖ Pentecost.

¶ See John xi. 55.

But fate laughed at the hopes he had. For Herod foresaw what he was so zealous about; and invited both Hyrcanus and him to supper. But calling one of the principal servants that stood by him, to him, he sent him out, as though it were to get things ready for supper: but in reality to give notice beforehand about the plot that was laid against him. Accordingly they called to mind what orders Cassius had given them, and went out of the city with their swords in their hands, upon the sea shore; where they encompassed Malichus round about, and killed him with many wounds. Upon which Hyrcanus was immediately affrighted, till he swooned away, and fell down at the surprise he was in. And it was with difficulty that he was recovered: when he asked, who it was that had killed Malichus? And when one of the tribunes replied, that it was done by the command of Cassius: "Then," said he, "Cassius hath saved both me and my country; by cutting off one that was laying plots against them both." Whether he spake according to his own sentiments; or whether his fear was such that he was obliged to commend the action by saying so, is uncertain. However, by this method Herod inflicted punishment upon Malichus.

CHAP. XII.

A SEDITION IS RAISED AT JERUSALEM BY FELIX; HEROD OVERCOMES ANTIGONUS IN BATTLE; AND THE JEWS ACCUSE BOTH HEROD AND PHASAELUS; BUT ANTONY ACQUITS THEM, AND MAKES THEM TETRARCHS.

WHEN Cassius was gone out of Syria, another sedition arose at Jerusalem, wherein Felix assaulted Phasaelus with an army, that he might revenge the death of Malichus upon Herod, by falling upon his brother.* Now Herod happened then to be with Fabius, the governor of Damascus: and as he was going to his brother's assistance, he was detained by sickness. In the mean time Phasaelus was by himself too hard for Felix: and reproached Hyrcanus on account of his ingratitude, both for what assistance he had afforded Malichus, and for overlooking Malichus's brother, when he possessed himself of the fortresses. For he had several of them already: and among them the strongest of them all, Masada.

However, nothing could be sufficient for him against the force of Herod: who, as soon as he was recovered, took the other fortresses again, and drove him out of Masada, in the posture of a supplicant. He also drove away Marion, the tyrant of the Tyrians, out of Galilee, when he had already possessed himself of three fortified places. But as to those Tyrians whom he had caught, he preserved them all alive; nay, some of them he gave presents to, and so sent them away: and thereby procured good will to himself from the city, and hatred to the tyrant. Marion had, indeed, obtained that tyrannical power of Cassius: who †set tyrants over all Syria. And out of his hatred to Herod it was that he assisted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus; and principally on Fabius's account, whom Antigonus had made his assistant by money; and had him accordingly on his side, when he made his descent. But it was Ptolemy, the kinsman of Antigonus, that supplied all that he wanted.

When Herod had fought against these, in the avenues of Judea, he was conqueror in the battle, and drove away Antigonus, and returned to Jerusalem, beloved by every body, for the glorious action he had done. For those, who did not before favour him, did join themselves to him now; because of his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus. For as he had formerly married a wife out of his own country, of no ignoble blood, who was called Doris, by whom he had Antipater; so did he now marry Mariamne,‡ the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, and was become thereby a relation of the king's.

But when Cæsar and Antony had slain Cassius, near Philippi; and Cæsar was gone to Italy, and Antony to Asia; among the rest of the cities which sent ambassadors to Antony unto Bithynia, the great men of the Jews came also, and accused Phasaelus and Herod, that they kept the government by force, and that Hyrcanus had no more than an honourable name. Herod appeared ready to answer this accusation. And having made Antony his friend, by the large sums of money which he gave him, he brought him to such a temper, as not to hear the others speak against him. And thus did they part at this time.§

However, after this there came a hundred of the principal men among the Jews to Daphne by Antioch to Antony: who was already in love with Cleopatra, to a degree of slavery. These Jews put those men that were the most potent both in dignity and eloquence foremost, and accused the ‖brethren. But Messala opposed them, and defended the brethren; and that while Hyrcanus stood by him; on account of his relation to them. When Antony had heard both sides, he asked Hyrcanus, which party were the fittest to govern? He replied, that Herod and his party were fittest. Antony was glad of that answer: for he had been formerly treated in an hospitable and obliging manner by his father Antipater, when he marched into Judea with Gabinius: so he constituted the brethren tetrarchs; and committed to them the government of Judea.

But when the ambassadors had indignation at his procedure, Antony took fifteen of them, and put them into custody: whom he was also going to kill presently: and the rest he drove away with disgrace. On this occasion a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem. So they sent again a thousand ambassadors to Tyre, where Antony now abode, as he was marching to Jerusalem. Upon these men, who made a clamour, he sent out the governor of Tyre, and ordered him to punish all that he could catch of them: and to settle those in the administration whom he had made tetrarchs.

* See Antiquities, XIV. 11.

† Here we see that Cassius set tyrants over all Syria. So that his assisting to destroy Cæsar does not seem to have proceeded from his true zeal for public liberty; but from a desire to be a tyrant himself.

‡ This is right; for Alexandra was the daughter of Hyrcanus, the wife of Aristobulus, and the mother of Mariamne.

§ See Antiquities, XIV. 12.

‖ Phasaelus and Herod.

But before this, Herod and Hyrcanus went out upon the sea shore; and earnestly desired of these ambassadors that they would neither bring ruin upon themselves, nor war upon their native country, by their rash contentions. And when they grew still more outrageous, Antony sent out armed men, and slew a great many, and wounded more of them. Of whom those that were slain were buried by Hyrcanus: as were the wounded put under the care of physicians by him. Yet would not those that had escaped be quiet, but put the affairs of the city into disorder, and so provoked Antony, that he slew those whom he had previously put in bonds.

CHAP. XIII.

THE PARTHIANS BRING ANTIGONUS BACK INTO JUDEA, AND CAST HYRCANUS AND PHASAELUS INTO PRISON.—THE FLIGHT OF HEROD; AND THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM; AND THE SUFFERINGS OF HYRCANUS AND PHASAELUS.

NOW *two years afterward, when Barzapharnes, a governor among the Parthians, and Pacorus the king's son, had possessed themselves of Syria; and when Lysanias had already succeeded upon his father Ptolemy's, the son of Menneus's death, in the government of Chalcis; he prevailed with the governor, by the promise of a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to bring back Antigonus to his kingdom; and to turn Hyrcanus out of it. Pacorus was by these means induced so to do; and marched along the sea coast: while he ordered Barzapharnes to fall upon the Jews as he went along the Mediterranean part of the country. But of the maritime people, the †Tyrians would not receive Pacorus: although those of Ptolemais and Sidon had received him. So he committed a troop of his horse to a certain cup-bearer, belonging to the royal family, of his own name Pacorus, and gave him orders to march into Judea, in order to learn the state of affairs among their enemies, and to help Antigonus when he should want his assistance.‡

Now as these men were ravaging Carmel, many of the Jews ran together to Antigonus; and shewed themselves ready to make an incursion into the country. So he sent them before into that place called §Drymus, or the woodland, to seize upon the place. Hereupon a battle was fought between them, and they drove the enemy away, and pursued them, as far as Jerusalem. And as their numbers increased, they proceeded as far as the king's palace. But as Hyrcanus and Phasaelus received them with a strong body of men, there happened a battle in the market place: in which Herod's party beat the enemy, and shut them up in the temple; and set sixty men in the houses adjoining as a guard to them. But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in, and burnt those men. While Herod, in his rage for their killing them, attacked and slew many of the people: till one party made incursions on the other by turns, day by day, in the way of ambushes; and slaughters were made continually among them.

Now when that festival which we call Pentecost was at hand, all the places about the temple, and the whole city, was full of a multitude of people that were come out of the country; and who, for the most part, were armed. At this time Phasaelus guarded the wall, and Herod, with a few, guarded the royal palace; and when he made an assault upon his enemies, as they were out of their ranks, on the north quarter of the city, he slew a very great number of them; and put them all to flight: and some of them he shut up within the city; and others within the outward rampart. In the mean time Antigonus desired that Pacorus might be admitted, to be a reconciler between them. And Phasaelus was prevailed upon to admit the Parthians into the city, with five hundred horse; and to treat them in an hospitable manner; who pretended that he came to quell the tumult; but in reality he came to assist Antigonus. However, he laid a plot for Phasaelus; and persuaded him to go as an ambassador to Barzapharnes; in order to put an end to the war. Although Herod was very earnest with him to the contrary; and exhorted him to kill the plotter, but not expose himself to the snares he laid for him: because the barbarians are naturally perfidious. However, Pacorus went out, and took Hyrcanus with him, that he might be the less suspected. He also left some of the horsemen called the Freemen, with Herod; and conducted Phasaelus with the rest.‖

But when they were come to Galilee, they found that the people of that country had revolted, and were in arms. Who came very cunningly to their leader, and besought him to conceal his treacherous intentions by an obliging behaviour to them. Accordingly he at first made them presents; and afterward, as they went away, laid ambushes for them. And when they were come to one of the maritime cities, called Ecdippon, they perceived that a plot was laid for them. For they were there informed of the promise of a thousand talents, and how Antigonus had devoted the greatest number of the women that were with them, among the five hundred, to the Parthians. They also perceived that an ambush was always laid for them by the barbarians in the night-time. They had been also seized upon before this, unless they had waited for the seizure of Herod first at Jerusalem. Because, if he were once informed of this treachery, he would take care of himself. Nor was this a

* Take Dean Aldrich's note here: "In the second year, (i. e. after Antony was come into Asia; at the persuasion of Labienus;) Pacorus and Barzapharnes seized upon Syria. Ptolemy was also dead; and Lysanias, his son and successor, was entered into friendship with Antigonus. Barzapharnes uniting them: as in Antiq. XIV. 13. After which Lysanias, (as Josephus writes here,) or Antigonus; (as in the Antiquities:) i. e. they both joined their endeavours, and found means by money, &c. to induce the Parthians to undertake "the restoration of Antigonus."

† This escape of the Tyrians from the Parthians is confirmed by Dio XLVIII. page 372, as Dean Aldrich observes here.

‡ Antiq. XIV. 13.

§ This large and noted wood, or woodland, belonging to Carmel, called δρυμὸς by the Septuagint, is mentioned in the Old Testament, 2 Kings, xix. 23, and Isaiah xxxviii. 24, and by Strabo XVI. page 758, as both Aldrich and Spanheim here remark very pertinently.

‖ These accounts, both here, and Antiq. XIV. 13, that the Parthians fought chiefly upon horseback, and that only some few of their soldiers were freemen, perfectly agree with Trogus Pompeius, in Justin XLI. 2, 3, as Dean Aldrich well observes on this place.

mere report; but they saw the guards already not far off them.

Nor would Phasaelus think of forsaking Hyrcanus, and fleeing away: although Ophellius earnestly persuaded him to it. For this man had learned the whole scheme of the plot from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians; but Phasaelus went up to the Parthian governor, and reproached him to his face, for laying this treacherous plot against them; and chiefly because he had done it for money. And he promised that he would give him more money for their preservation, than Antigonus had promised to give for the kingdom. But the sly Parthian endeavoured to remove all this suspicion, by apologies, and by oaths: and then went to the other Pacorus. Immediately after which those Parthians who were left, and had it in charge, seized upon Phasaelus and Hyrcanus: who could do no more than execrate their perfidiousness, and their perjury.

In the mean time the cup-bearer was sent back, and laid a plot how to seize upon Herod, by deluding him, and getting him out of the city; as he was commanded to do. But Herod suspected the barbarians from the beginning: and having received intelligence that a messenger, who was to bring him the letters that informed him of the treachery intended, had fallen among the enemy, he would not go out of the city: though Pacorus said, very positively, that he ought to go out and meet the messengers that brought the letters; for that the enemy had not taken them; and that the contents of them were not accounts of any plots upon them; but of what Phasaelus had done. Yet he had heard from others that his brother was seized. And *Alexandra, the shrewdest woman in the world, Hyrcanus's daughter, begged of him that he would not go out, nor trust himself to those barbarians: who were now come to make an attempt upon him openly.

Now as Pacorus and his friends were considering how they might bring their plot to bear privately; because it was not possible to circumvent a man of so great prudence by openly attacking him; Herod prevented them: and went off with the persons that were the most nearly related to him by night; and this without their enemies being apprised of it.

But as soon as the Parthians perceived it, they pursued after them. And as he gave orders for his mother, and sister, and the young woman who was betrothed to him, with her mother, and his youngest brother, to make the best of their way; he himself, with his servants, took all the care they could to keep off the barbarians. And when, at every assault, he had slain a great many of them, he came to the strong hold of Masada.†

Nay, he found by experience that the Jews fell more heavily upon him than did the Parthians: and created him troubles perpetually: and this ever since he was gotten sixty furlongs from the city. These sometimes brought it to a sort of regular battle. Now in the place where Herod killed a great number of them, he afterwards built a citadel, in memory of the great actions he did there; and adorned it with the most costly palaces; and erected very strong fortifications; and called it, from his own name Herodium. Now, as they were in their flight, many joined themselves to him every day; and, at a place called Thressa of Idumea, his brother Joseph met him: and advised to ease himself of a great number of his followers. Because Masada would not contain so great a multitude: which were above nine thousand. Herod complied with this advice; and sent away the most cumbersome part of his retinue, that they might go into Idumea, and gave them provisions for their journey. But he got safe to the fortress, with his nearest relations: and retained with him only the stoutest of his followers. And there it was that he left eight hundred men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient for a siege: while he hastened to Petra of Arabia.

As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they betook themselves to plundering: and fell upon the houses of those that were fled; and upon the king's palace; and spared nothing, but Hyrcanus's money; which was not above three hundred talents. They seized other men's money also: but not so much as they hoped for. For Herod having a long while had a suspicion of the perfidiousness of the barbarians, had taken care to have what was most splendid among his treasures conveyed into Idumea: as every one belonging to him had in like manner done also. But the Parthians proceeded to that degree of injustice, as to fill all the country with war, without denouncing it: and to demolish the city Marissa; and not only to set up Antigonus for king, but to deliver Phasaelus and Hyrcanus bound into his hands; in order to their being tormented by him. Antigonus also himself bit off Hyrcanus's ears with his own teeth; as he fell down upon his knees to him: that so he might never be able, upon any mutation of affairs, to take the high-priesthood again. For the high-priests that officiated were to be complete, and without blemish.

However, he failed in his purpose of abusing Phasaelus, by reason of his courage: for though he neither had the command of his sword nor of his hands, he prevented all abuses, by dashing his head against a stone. So he demonstrated himself to be Herod's own brother, and Hyrcanus a most degenerate relation; and died with great bravery; and made the end of his life agreeable to the actions of it.

There is also another report about his end: viz. that he recovered of that stroke; and that a surgeon who was sent by Antigonus to heal him, filled the wound with poisonous ingredients, and so killed him.‡ It is also reported that, before he expired, he was informed, by a certain poor woman, how Herod had escaped out of their hands: and that he said thereupon, "I now die with comfort, since I leave behind me one alive, that will avenge me of mine enemies."

This was the death of Phasaelus. But the Parthians, although they had failed of the women they had chiefly desired, yet did they put the government of Jerusalem into the hand of Antigonus; and took away Hyrcanus, and bound him, and carried him to Parthia.

* Mariamne here in the copies.
† Antiq. XIV. 16.

‡ Those who practise treachery towards others may certainly expect a retaliation upon themselves. E.

CHAP. XIV.

HEROD, BEING REJECTED IN ARABIA, HASTENS TO ROME; WHERE ANTONY AND CÆSAR JOIN THEIR INTERESTS TO MAKE HIM KING OF THE JEWS.

NOW Herod did the more zealously pursue his journey into Arabia, as making haste to get money of the king, while his brother was yet alive: by which money alone it was that he hoped to prevail upon the covetous temper of the barbarians to spare Phasaelus. For he reasoned thus with himself: that if the Arabian king was too forgetful of his father's friendship with him, and was too covetous to make him a free gift, he would, however, borrow of him as much as might redeem his brother; and put into his hands, as a pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed. Accordingly he led his brother's son along with him, who was of the age of seven years. Now he was ready to give three hundred talents for his brother; and intended the intercession of the Tyrians, to get them accepted. However, fate had been too quick for his diligence: and, since Phasaelus was dead, Herod's brotherly love was now in vain. Moreover, he was not able to find any lasting friendship among the Arabians. For their king Malichus sent to him immediately, and commanded him to return back out of his country: and used the name of the Parthians as a pretence for so doing: as though these had denounced to him by their ambassadors to cast Herod out of Arabia. While in reality they had a mind to keep back what they had owed to Antipater: and not be obliged to make requitals to his sons, for the free gifts the father had made them. He also took the impudent advice of those who, equally with himself, were willing to deprive Herod of what Antipater had deposited among them. And these men were the most potent of all whom he had in his kingdom.

So when Herod had found that the Arabians were his enemies, and this for those very reasons whence he hoped they would have been the most friendly; and had given them such an answer as his passion suggested; he returned back, and went to Egypt. He lodged the first evening at one of the temples of that country, in order to meet with those whom he had left behind. But on the next day word was brought him, as he was going to Rhinocurura, that his brother was dead, and how he came by his death. And when he had lamented him as much as his present circumstances would bear, he laid aside such cares; and proceeded on his journey. But after some time the king of Arabia repented of what he had done; and sent away messengers to call him back. Herod, however, had prevented them; and was come to Pelusium; and as he could not obtain a passage from those that lay with the fleet, he besought their captains to let him go by them. Accordingly, out of the reverence they bore to the fame and dignity of the man, they conducted him to Alexandria. And when he came into the city he was received with great splendour by Cleopatra, who hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about. But he rejected the queen's solicitations: and being neither affrighted at the height of that storm which then happened, nor at the tumults that were now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.

But as he was in peril about Pamphylia, and obliged to cast out the greatest part of the ship's lading, he, with difficulty, got safe to Rhodes: a place which had been grievously harassed in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sappinius. And although he was then in want of money, he fitted up a three-decked ship, of very great magnitude; wherein he and his friends sailed to *Brundusium, and went thence to Rome, with all speed; where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the friendship his father had with him; and laid before him the calamities of himself and his family; and that he had left his nearest relations besieged in a fortress; and had sailed to him through a storm, to make a supplication to him for assistance.†

Hereupon Antony was moved to compassion at the change that had been made in Herod's affairs: and this both upon his calling to mind how hospitably he had been treated by Antipater; but more especially on account of Herod's own virtue. So he then resolved to get him made king of the Jews, whom he had himself formerly made tetrarch.

The contest also that he had with Antigonus was another inducement: and that of no less weight than the great regard he had for Herod. For he looked upon Antigonus as a seditious person, and an enemy of the Romans. And as for Cæsar, Herod found him better prepared than Antony: as remembering the wars he had gone through together with his father; the hospitable treatment he had met with from him; and the entire good will he had shewed to him: besides that activity which he saw in Herod himself. So he called the senate together: wherein Massalas, and after him Aratinus, produced Herod before them, and gave a full account of the merits of his father, and his own good will to the Romans.

At the same time they demonstrated that Antigonus was their enemy; not only because he soon quarrelled with them, but because he now overlooked the Romans, and took the government by the means of the Parthians.

These reasons greatly moved the senate. At which juncture Antony came in, and told them, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king.

So they all gave their votes for it. And when the senate was separated, Antony and Cæsar went out with Herod between them: while the consul and the rest of the magistrates, went before them; in order to offer sacrifice, and to lay the decree in the capitol. Antony also made a feast for Herod on the first day of his reign.

* This Brentesium, or Brundusium, has coins still preserved; on which it is written ΒΡΕΝΔΗΣΙΟΩΝ, as Sphanheim informs us.

†Antiq. XIV. 14.

CHAP. XV.

ANTIGONUS BESIEGES THOSE THAT WERE IN MASADA; BUT HEROD FREES THEM FROM CONFINEMENT, ON HIS RETURN FROM ROME; AND MARCHES TO JERUSALEM: WHERE HE FINDS SILO CORRUPTED BY BRIBES.

IN the mean time, Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada: who had all other necessaries in sufficient quantity, but were in want of water. On which account Joseph, Herod's brother, was disposed to run away to the Arabians, with two hundred of his own friends: because he had heard that Malichus repented of his offences with regard to Herod. And he had been so quick, as to have been gone out of the fortress already, unless on that very night, when he was going away, there had fallen a great deal of rain, insomuch that his reservoirs were full of water: and so he was under no necessity of running away. After which, therefore, they made an irruption upon Antigonus's party, and slew a great many of them: some in open battles, and some in private ambush. Nor had they always success in their attempts: for sometimes they were beaten and ran away.*

In the mean time †Ventidius, the Roman general, was sent out of Syria, to restrain the incursions of the Parthians, and after he had done that, he came into Judea: in pretence, indeed, to assist Joseph, and his party; but in reality to get money of Antigonus. And when he had pitched his camp very near to Jerusalem, as soon as he had got money enough, he went away with the greatest part of his forces. Yet still did he leave Silo, with some part of them; lest if he had taken them all away, his taking of bribes might have been too openly discovered. Now Antigonus hoped the Parthians would come again to his assistance; and therefore cultivated a good understanding with Silo in the mean time; lest any interruption should be given to his hopes.

By this time Herod had sailed out of Italy, and was come to Ptolemais. And as soon as he had gotten together a large army of foreigners, and of his own countrymen, he marched through Galilee, against Antigonus: wherein he was assisted both by Ventidius, and Silo: whom ‡Dellius, a person sent by Antony, persuaded to bring Herod into his kingdom. Now Ventidius was at this time among the cities, and composing the disturbances which had happened by means of the Parthians: while Silo was in Judea, corrupted by the bribes that Antigonus had given him. Yet was not Herod himself destitute of power; but the number of his forces increased every day, as he went along; and all Galilee, with few exceptions, joined themselves to him. So he proposed to set about his most necessary enterprise, and that was at Masada; in order to deliver his relations from the siege they endured. But still Joppa stood in his way; and hindered his going thither. For it was necessary to take that city first, which was in the enemy's hands: that when he should go to Jerusalem, no fortress might be left in the enemy's power behind him. Silo also willingly joined him: as having now a plausible occasion of drawing off his forces from Jerusalem. And when the Jews pursued and pressed upon him, in his retreat; Herod made an excursion upon them, with a small body of his men; and soon put them to flight, and saved Silo, when he was in distress.

After this Herod took Joppa: and then hastened to Masada, to free his relations. Now as he was marching, many came in to him; some induced by their friendship to his father; some by the reputation he had already gained himself; and some in order to repay the benefits they had received from them both. But still what engaged the greatest number on his side, was the hopes from him, when he should be established in his kingdom. So that he had gotten together already an army hard to be conquered. But Antigonus laid an ambush for him as he marched out: in which yet he did little or no harm to his enemies. However, he easily recovered his relations again that were in Masada, as well as the fortress Ressa: and then marched to Jerusalem. Where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to his own; as did many out of the city from a dread of his power.

Now when he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the guards that were there shot their arrows, and threw their darts at them:§ while others ran out in companies, and attacked those in the forefront. But Herod commanded proclamation to be made at the wall, that he was come for the good of the people, and the preservation of the city: without any design to be revenged on his open enemies; but to grant oblivion to them, though they had been the most obstinate against him. Now the soldiers that were for Antigonus made a contrary clamour; and did neither permit any body to hear that proclamation, nor to change their party. So Antigonus gave orders to his forces to beat the enemy from the walls. Accordingly they soon threw their darts at them from the towers, and put them to flight.‖

And here it was that Silo discovered he had taken bribes. For he set many of the soldiers to clamour about their want of necessaries, and to require their pay, in order to buy themselves food; and to demand that he would lead them into places convenient for their winter quarters; because all the parts about the city were laid waste, by the means of Antigonus's army, which had taken all things away. By this he moved the army, and attempted to get them off the siege. But Herod went to the captains that were under Silo, and to a great many of the soldiers, and begged of them not to leave him, who was sent thither by Cæsar and Antony, and the senate. For that he would take care to have their wants supplied that very day. Accordingly, after the making this treaty, he went hastily into the country, and brought thither so great an abundance of necessa-

* Antiq. XIV. 14.

† Dr. Hudson and Dean Aldrich both refer us, upon this occasion, to Dio, XLVIII. as giving us this history of Ventidius, when he was sent to assist Herod against Antigonus.

‡ This Dellius is famous, or rather infamous, in the history of Mark Antony: as Spanheim and Aldrich here note from the coins; from Plutarch and Dio.

§ Before the invention of gunpowder war was usually carried on by these and similar weapons of assault. They had various means of rendering those instruments very fatal: the poisoning of sharp arrows caused them to perform certain destruction. Vide Grotius de Jur. Bell, et Pac. lib. iii. cap. 4, § 16. B.

‖ Antiq. XIV. 14.

ries, that he cut off all Silo's pretences; and in order to provide that for the following days they should not want supplies, he sent to the people that were about Samaria, (which city had joined itself to him,) to bring corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle to Jericho. When Antigonus heard of this, he sent some of his party with orders to hinder, and lay ambushes for, these collectors of corn. This command was obeyed; and a great multitude of armed men were gathered together about Jericho, and lay upon the mountains, to watch those that brought the provisions. Yet was not Herod idle, but took with him five Roman, and five Jewish, cohorts; together with some mercenary troops intermixed among them: and besides these a few horsemen, and came to Jericho. And when he came he found the city deserted: but there were five hundred men, with their wives and children, who had taken possession of the tops of the mountains. Those he took, and dismissed them: while the Romans fell upon the rest of the city, and plundered it: having found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back, and sent the Roman army into those cities which were come over to him, to take their winter quarters there: viz. into *Judea, †Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus also by bribes obtained of Silo to let a part of his army be received at Lydda, as a compliment to Antonius.

CHAP. XVI.

HEROD TAKES SEPPHORIS; AND SUBDUES THE ROBBERS THAT WERE IN THE CAVES.—HE ALSO AVENGES HIMSELF UPON MACHERAS; AND GOES TO ANTONY AT THE SIEGE OF SAMOSATA.

THE Romans now lived in plenty, and rested from war. However, Herod did not lie at rest, but seized upon Idumea, and kept it with two thousand footmen, and four hundred horsemen: and this he did by sending his brother Joseph thither; that no innovation might be made by Antigonus. He also removed his mother, and all his relations, who had been in Masada, to Samaria: and when he had settled them securely he marched to take any parts of Galilee; and to drive away the garrisons placed there by Antigonus.‡

But when Herod had reached §Sepphoris in a very great snow, he took the city without any difficulty: the guards that should have kept it fleeing away before it was assaulted. Here he gave an opportunity to his followers that had been in distress to refresh themselves, there being in that city a great abundance of necessaries. He then hasted away to the robbers that were in the caves, who over-ran a great part of the country, and did as great mischief to its inhabitants, as a war could have done. Accordingly he sent beforehand three cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen to the village Arbela: and came himself ‖forty days afterwards, with the rest of his forces. Yet were not the enemy affrighted at his assault, but met him in arms. For their skill was that of warriors; but their boldness was the boldness of robbers. When, therefore, it came to a pitched battle, they put to flight Herod's left wing, with their right one: but Herod, wheeling about on the sudden from his own right wing, came to their assistance, and both made his own left wing return back from its flight, and fell upon the pursuers, till they could not bear the attempts that were made directly upon them; and so turned back, and ran away.

But Herod followed them, and destroyed a great part of them, till those that remained were scattered beyond the river Jordan; and Galilee was freed from the terrors they had been under, excepting from those that remained, and lay concealed in caves; which required longer time ere they could be conquered. In order to which, Herod, in the first place distributed the fruits of their former labours to the soldiers: and gave every one of them a hundred and fifty drachmæ of silver, and a great deal more to their commanders; and sent them into their winter quarters. He also sent to his youngest brother Pheroras, to take care of a good market for them, where they might buy themselves provisions, and to build a wall about Alexandrium.

In the mean time Antony abode at Athens: while Ventidius called for Silo and Herod to come to the war against the Parthians; but ordered them first to settle the affairs of Judea. So Herod willingly dismissed Silo to go to Ventidius: but he made an expedition himself against those that lay in the caves. Now these caves were in the precipices of craggy mountains, and could not be come at from any side, since they had only some winding path-ways very narrow, by which they got up to them: but the rock that lay on their front had beneath it valleys of a vast depth, and of an almost perpendicular declivity. Insomuch that the king was doubtful for a long time what to do; by reason of a kind of impossibility of attacking the place. Yet did he at length make use of a contrivance that was subject to the utmost hazard. For he let down the most hardy of his men in chests, and set them at the mouths of the dens. Now these men slew the robbers and their families: and when they made resistance, they sent in fire upon them, and burnt them. And as Herod was desirous of saving some of them, he had proclamation made that they should come and deliver themselves up to him. But not one of them came willingly to him: and of those that were compelled to come, many preferred death to captivity. And here a certain old man, the father of seven children, whose children, together with their mother, desired him to give them leave to go out, upon the assurance and right hand that was offered them, slew them

* So it should be probably in the Antiquities also, XIV. 15, though I was not aware of this correction when I translated that chapter. The reason is plain; that although Herod might have part of Judea now under him; yet does he not seem to have gotten hitherto parts of Idumea, till his brother conquered them afterwards.

† Or Idumea.

‡ Antiq. XIV. 15.

§ This Sepphoris, the metropolis of Galilee, so often mentioned by Josephus, has coins still remaining: ΣΝΠΦΩΡΗΝΩΣ: as Spanheim here informs us.

‖ This way of speaking "after forty days," is translated by Josephus himself "on the 40th day:" Antiq. XIV. 15. In like manner, when Josephus says, chap. 33, that Herod lived after he had ordered Antipater to be slain five days: this is by himself interpreted, Antiq. XVII. 8, that he died on the fifth day afterward. So also is what is in this book, chap. 13, After two years, is Antiq. XIV. 13, On the second year. And Dean Aldrich here notes that this way of speaking is familiar in Josephus. See the note on Antiq. I. 12.

after the following manner. He ordered every one of them to go out, while he stood himself at the cave's mouth, and slew that son of his perpetually which went out. Herod was near enough to see this sight: and his compassion was moved at it: and he stretched out his right hand to the old man, and besought him to spare his children. Yet did not he relent at all upon what he said, but reproached Herod on the lowness of his descent: and slew his wife as well as his children. And when he had thrown their dead bodies down the precipice, he at last threw himself down after them.

By this means Herod subdued these caves, and the robbers that were in them. He then left there a part of his army, as many as he thought sufficient to prevent any sedition, and made Ptolemy their general, and returned to Samaria. He led also with him three thousand armed footmen, and six hundred horsemen against Antigonus. Now here those that used to raise tumults in Galilee, having liberty so to do upon his departure, fell unexpectedly upon Ptolemy, the general of his forces, and slew him. They also laid the country waste; and then retired to the bogs, and to places not easily to be found. But when Herod was informed of this insurrection, he came to the assistance of the country immediately, and destroyed a great number of the seditious; and raised the sieges of all those fortresses they had besieged. He also exacted the tribute of a hundred talents of his enemies, as a penalty for the mutations they had made in the country.

By this time the Parthians being already driven out of the country, and Pacorus slain; Ventidius, by Antony's command, sent a thousand horsemen, and two legions, as auxiliaries to Herod, against Antigonus, and besought Macheras, who was their general, by letter, to come to his assistance: and made a great many mournful complaints about Herod's violence; and about the injuries he did to the kingdom: and promised to give him money for his assistance. But he complied not with his invitation to betray his trust: for he did not contemn him that *sent him: especially while Herod gave him more money than the other offered. So he pretended friendship to Antigonus; but came as a spy to discover his affairs: although he did not herein comply with Herod, who dissuaded him from so doing. But Antigonus perceived what his intentions were beforehand; and excluded him out of the city; and defended himself against him, as against an enemy, from the walls: till Macheras was ashamed of what he had done, and retired to Emmaus, to Herod. And as he was in a rage at his disappointment, he slew all the Jews whom he met with, without sparing those that were for Herod, but using them all as if they were for Antigonus.

Hereupon Herod was very angry; and was going to fight against Macheras, as his enemy. But he restrained his indignation, and marched to Antony to accuse Macheras of mal-administration. But Macheras was made sensible of his offences, and followed after the king immediately, and earnestly begged and obtained that he would be reconciled to him. However, Herod did not desist from his resolution of going to Antony. But when he heard that he was besieging †Samosata, with a great army; which is a strong city near to Euphrates, he made the greater haste: as observing that this was a proper opportunity for shewing at once his courage, and for doing what would greatly oblige Antony. Indeed, when he came, he soon made an end of that siege, and slew a great number of the barbarians, and took from them a large prey: insomuch that Antony, who admired his courage formerly, did now admire it still more. Accordingly he heaped many more honours upon him: and gave him more assured hopes that he should gain his kingdom. And now king Antiochus was forced to deliver up Samosata.

CHAP. XVII.

OF THE DEATH OF JOSEPH, HEROD'S BROTHER, WHICH HAD BEEN SIGNIFIED TO HEROD IN DREAMS; THE WONDERFUL PRESERVATION OF HEROD; THE DECAPITATION OF PAPPUS; THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM; AND THE MARRIAGE OF HEROD WITH MARIAMNE.

IN the mean time Herod's affairs in Judea were in an ill state. He had left his brother Joseph with full power; but had charged him to make no attempts against Antigonus, till his return: for that Macheras would not be such an assistant as he could depend on; as it appeared by what he had done already. But as soon as Joseph heard that his brother was at a great distance he neglected the charge he had received, and marched towards Jericho with five cohorts, which Macheras sent with him. This movement was intended for seizing on the corn, as it was now the midst of summer. But when his enemies attacked him in the mountains, and in places which were difficult to pass, he was both killed himself, as he was bravely fighting in the battle, and the entire Roman cohorts were destroyed. For these cohorts were new raised men, gathered out of Syria; and there was no mixture of those called veteran soldiers among them, who might have supported those that were unskilful in war.

This victory was not sufficient for Antigonus; but he proceeded to that degree of rage, as to treat the dead body of Joseph barbarously. For when he had gotten possession of the bodies of those that were slain, he cut off his head; although his brother Pheroras would have given fifty talents, as a price of redemption for it. And now the affairs of Galilee were put into such disorder after this victory of Antigonus's, that those of Antigonus's party brought the principal men that were on Herod's side to the lake, and there drowned them. There was a great change made also in Idumea, where Macheras was building a wall about one of the fortresses, which was called Gittha. But Herod had not yet been informed of these things. For after the taking of Samosata, and when Antony had set ‡Sosius over the affairs

* Antony.

† This Samosata, the metropolis of Commagena, is well known from its coins; as Spanheim here assures us. Dean Aldrich also confirms what Josephus here notes, that Herod was a great means of taking this city by Antony, and that from Plutarch and Dio.

‡ That Antony made this Sosius, or Sossius, president of Syria and Cilicia, which are countries several times joined together in the New Testament, Acts XV. 23, 41; Gal. I. 21, we are informed by Dio, XLIX.

of Syria, and given him orders to assist Herod against Antigonus, he departed *into Egypt. But Sosius sent two legions before him into Judea, to assist Herod; and followed himself soon after, with the rest of his army.

Now when Herod was at Daphne, by Antioch, he had some dreams which clearly foreboded his brother's death; and as he leaped out of his bed, in a disturbed manner, there came messengers that acquainted him with that calamity. So when he had lamented this misfortune for a while, he put off the main part of his mourning; and made haste to march against his enemies. And when he had performed a march that was above his strength, and was gone as far as Libanus, he got him eight hundred men of those that lived near to that mountain, as his assistants; and joined with them one Roman legion: with which, before it was day, he made an irruption into Galilee, and met his enemies, and drove them back to the place which they had left. He also made an immediate and continual attack upon the fortress. Yet was he forced, by a most terrible storm, to pitch his camp in the neighbouring villages, before he could take it. But when, after a few days' time, the second legion, that came from Antony, joined themselves to him, the enemy were affrighted at his power; and left their fortifications in the night time.

After this he marched through Jericho; as making what haste he could to be avenged of his brother's murderers. Where happened to him a providential sign, out of which when he had unexpectedly escaped, he had the reputation of being very dear to God. For that evening there feasted with him many of the principal men: and after that feast was over, and all the guests were gone out, the house fell down immediately. And as he judged this to be a common signal of what dangers he should undergo, and how he should escape them in the war that he was going about, he, in the morning, set forward with his army. About six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to fight with those in his forefront. Yet durst they not be so bold as to engage the Romans hand to hand: but threw stones and darts at them at a distance. By which means they wounded a considerable number. In which action Herod was wounded in the side with a dart.†

Now as Antigonus had a mind to appear to exceed Herod, not only in the courage, but in the number of his men, he sent Pappus, one of his companions, with an army against Samaria: whose fortune it was to oppose Macheras. But Herod overran the enemies' country, and demolished five little cities; and destroyed two thousand men that were in them, and burned their houses; and then returned to his camp. But his head quarters were at the village called Cana.

Now a great multitude of Jews resorted to him every day, both out of Jericho, and the other parts of the country. Some were moved so to do out of their hatred to Antigonus; and some out of regard to the glorious actions Herod had done. But others were led on by an unreasonable desire of change. So he fell upon them immediately. As for Pappus, and his party, they were not terrified, either at their number, or at their zeal: but marched out with great alacrity to fight them. And it came to a close engagement. Now other parts of their army made resistance for a while. But Herod running the utmost hazard, out of the rage he was in at the murder of his brother, that he might be avenged on those that had been the authors of it, soon beat those that opposed him: and after he had beaten them he always turned his force against those that stood to it still; and pursued them all. So that a great slaughter was made. While some were forced back into that village whence they came out: he also pressed hard upon the hindermost, and slew a vast number of them. He also fell into the village with the enemy, where every house was filled with armed men; and the upper rooms were crowded above with soldiers for their defence. And when he had beaten those that were on the outside, he pulled the houses to pieces, and plucked out those that were within. Upon many he had the roofs shaken down: whereby they perished by heaps. And as for those that fled out of the ruins, the soldiers received them with their swords in their hands. And the multitude of those slain, and lying on heaps, was so great, that the conquerors could not pass along the roads. Now the enemy could not bear this blow. So that when the multitude of them, which was gathered together, saw that those in the village were slain, they dispersed themselves, and fled away. Upon the confidence of which victory, Herod had marched immediately to Jerusalem, unless he had been hindered by the depth of winter's coming on. This was the impediment that lay in the way of his entire glorious progress: and was what prevented Antigonus from being now conquered: who was already disposed to forsake the city.

Now when, at the evening, Herod had already dismissed his friends, to refresh themselves after their fatigue; and when he was gone himself, while he was still hot in his armour, like a common soldier to bathe himself, and had but one servant that attended him; and before he was gotten into the bath, one of the enemies met him in the face, with a sword in his hand; and then a second, and then a third: and after that more of them. These were men who had run away out of the battle into the bath in their armour: and they had lain there for some time in great terror, and in privacy. And when they saw the king, they trembled for fear; and ran by him in a fright, although he were naked; and endeavoured to get off into the public road. Now there was by chance nobody else at hand, that might seize upon these men. And for Herod, he was contented to have come to no harm himself. So that they all got away in safety.‡

But on the next day Herod had Pappus's head cut off, who was the general for Antigonus, and was slain in the battle; and sent it to his brother Pheroras; by way of punishment for their slain brother: for he was the man that

* Since Plutarch says that Antony now went to Athens; and Dio says he went to Italy; and Josephus both here, and in the Antiq. XIV. 15, says he went into Egypt, Dean Aldrich proposes Archbishop Usher's conjecture, in agreement with Appian and Dio, that he went first to Athens, thence to Brundusium in Italy; and thence returned to Athens; and thence went down into Egypt to Cleopatra. Otherwise I shall myself venture to add, that we ought to follow Josephus, as the nearest to Antony's time of all these historians, and suppose he went directly into Egypt.

† Antiq. XIV. 15.

‡ Antiq. XIV. 15.

slew Joseph. Now as winter was going off, Herod marched to Jerusalem, and brought his army to the wall of it. This was the third year since he had been made king at Rome. So he pitched his camp before the temple; for on that side it might be besieged: and there it was that Pompey took the city. So he parted the work among the army, and demolished the suburbs; and raised three banks; and gave orders to have towers built upon those banks: and left the most laborious of his acquaintance at the works. But he went himself to Samaria, to take the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, to wife; who had been betrothed to him before: as we have *already said: and thus he accomplished this, by the bye, during the siege of the city. For he had his enemies in great contempt already.†

When he had thus married Mariamne, he came back to Jerusalem, with a greater army. Sosius also joined him with a large army; both of horsemen and footmen: which he sent before him, through the midland parts; while he marched himself along Phœnicia. And when the whole army was gotten together, which were eleven regiments of footmen, and six thousand horsemen, besides the Syrian auxiliaries, which formed no small part of the army, they pitched their camp near to the north wall. Herod's dependance was upon the decree of the senate: by which he was made king. And Sosius relied upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod's assistance.

CHAP. XVIII.

OF THE REDUCTION OF JERUSALEM BY HEROD AND SOSIUS; AND THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS: ALSO CONCERNING CLEOPATRA'S AVARICIOUS TEMPER.

NOW the multitude of the Jews that were in the city, were divided into several factions. For the people that crowded about the temple, being the weakest part of them, gave it out, that as the times were, he was the happiest and most religious man who should die first. But as to the more bold and hardy men, they got together in bodies, and fell a robbing others, after various manners: and these particularly plundered the places that were about the city: and this because there was no food left, either for the horses, or the men. Yet some of the warlike men, who were used to fight regularly, were appointed to defend the city, during the siege: and these drove those that raised the banks away from the wall, and these were always inventing one engine or another to be a hindrance to the engines of the enemy. Nor had they so much success any way as in the mines under ground.

Now as for the robberies which were committed, the king contrived that ambushes should be so laid, that they might restrain their excursions: and as for the want of provisions, he provided that they should be brought to them from great distances. He also was too hard for the Jews, by the Romans' skill in the art of war: although they were bold to the uttermost degree. Now they durst not come to an open engagement with the Romans, which was certain death: but through their mines under ground they would appear in the midst of them on the sudden; and before they could batter down one wall, they built another in its stead. And, to sum up all at once, they did not shew any want either of pains-taking, or contrivances; as having resolved to hold out to the very last. Indeed, though they had so great an army lying round about them, they bore a siege of five months; till some of Herod's chosen men ventured to get upon the wall, and fell into the city: as did Sosius's centurions after them. And now they first of all seized upon what was about the temple; and upon the pouring in of the army, there was a slaughter of vast multitudes every where, by reason of the rage the Romans were in at the length of this siege; and by reason that the Jews, who were about Herod, earnestly endeavoured that none of their adversaries might remain. So they were cut to pieces by great multitudes, as they were crowded together in narrow streets, and in houses; or were running away to the temple. Nor was there any mercy shewn either to infants, or to the aged, or to the weaker sex. Insomuch that although the king sent about, and desired them to spare the people, nobody could be persuaded to withhold their right hand from slaughter; but they slew people of all ages, like madmen. Then it was that Antigonus, without any regard to his former, or to his present fortune, came down from the citadel; and fell down at Sosius's feet: who, without pitying him at all, upon the change of his condition, laughed at him beyond measure, and called him ‡Antigona. Yet did he not treat him like a woman, or let him go free; but put him into bonds, and kept him in custody.

But Herod's concern at present, now he had gotten his enemies under his power, was to restrain the zeal of his foreign auxiliaries: for the multitude of the strange people were very eager to see the temple, and what was sacred in the holy house itself. But the king endeavoured to restrain them; partly by his exhortations, partly by his threatenings, nay partly by force: as thinking the victory worse than a defeat to him, if any thing that ought not to be seen, were seen by them. He also forbade, at the same time, the spoiling of the city: asking Sosius, in the most earnest manner, whether the Romans, by thus emptying the city of money and men, had a mind to leave him king of a desert? and told him, that he judged the dominion of the habitable earth too small a compensation for the slaughter of so many citizens. And when Sosius said, that it was but just to allow the soldiers this plunder, as a reward for what they suffered during the siege; Herod made answer, that he would give every one of the soldiers a reward out of his own money. So he purchased the deliverance of his country; and performed his promises to them; and made presents after a magnificent manner to each soldier, and proportionably to their commanders; and with a royal bounty to Sosius himself: so that nobody went away but in a wealthy condition. Hereupon Sosius dedicated a crown of gold to God, and then went from Jerusalem, leading Antigonus away in bonds to Antony. Then did the

* Chap. 12.

† This contempt of an enemy has in many instances given rise to a fatal security,—a security which enervates a powerful army; and eventually reduces them under the power of a much weaker adversary. It ought, therefore, very cautiously to be admitted. B.

‡ Antigona is the name of a woman. See Antiq. XIV. 16.

*axe bring him to his end: who still had a fond desire of life, and some frigid hopes of it to the last; but by his cowardly behaviour well deserved to die by it.

Hereupon king Herod distinguished the multitude that was in the city; and for those that were on his side, he made them still more his friends, by the honours he conferred on them: but for those of Antigonus's party, he slew them. And as his money ran low, he turned all the ornaments he had into money, and sent it to Antony, and to those about him. Yet could he not hereby purchase an exemption from all sufferings. For Antony was now bewitched by his love to Cleopatra, and was entirely conquered by her charms. Now Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, till no one near to her in blood remained alive: and after that she began slaying those no way related to her. So she calumniated the principal men among the Syrians to Antony, and persuaded him to have them slain; that so she might become mistress of what they had: nay, she extended her avaricious humour to the Jews and Arabians, and secretly laboured to have Herod and Malichus, the kings of both those nations, slain by his order.

Now as to these injunctions, Antony complied with them in part: for though he esteemed it too abominable a thing to kill such good and great kings, yet was he thereby alienated from the friendship he had for them. He also took away a great deal of their country: nay, even the plantation of palm-trees at Jericho, where also grows the balsam-tree, and bestowed them upon her: as also all the cities on this side the river Elentherus, †Tyre and Sidon excepted. And when she was become mistress of these, and had conducted Antony in his expedition against the Parthians, as far as Euphrates, she came by Apamia and Damascus into Judea. And there did Herod pacify her indignation by large presents. He also hired of her those places that had been torn away from his kingdom, at the yearly rent of two hundred talents. He conducted her also as far as Pelusium; and paid her all the respects possible. Now it was not long after this that Antony was come back from Parthia, and led with him Artabazes, Tigranes's son, captive, as a present for Cleopatra: for this Parthian was given her, with his money, and all the prey that was taken with him.‡

CHAP. XIX.

HEROD, AT THE INSTIGATION OF CLEOPATRA, IS SENT TO FIGHT AGAINST THE ARABIANS; AND AFTER SEVERAL BATTLES, HE AT LENGTH OBTAINS THE VICTORY: ALSO CONCERNING A GREAT EARTHQUAKE.

WHEN the war §about Actium was begun, Herod prepared to come to the assistance of Antony, as being already freed from his troubles in Judea, and having gained Hyrcania, which was a place that was held by Antigonus's sister. However, he was cunningly hindered from partaking of the hazards that Antony went through, by Cleopatra. For since, as we have already noted, she had laid a plot against‖ the kings of Judea and Arabia; she prevailed with Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod: that so, if he got the better, she might become mistress of Arabia; or if he were worsted, of Judea: and that she might destroy one of those kings by the other.

This contrivance, however, tended to the advantage of Herod. For, at the very first, he took hostages from the enemy, and got together a great body of cavalry, and ordered them to march against them, about Diospolis: and he conquered that army although it fought resolutely against him. After this defeat the Arabians were in great motion, and assembled themselves together at Kanatha, a city of Cœlesyria, in vast multitudes, and waited for the Jews. And when Herod was come thither, he tried to manage this war with particular prudence; and gave orders that they should build a wall about their camp. Yet did not the multitude comply with those orders, but were so emboldened by their foregoing victory, that they presently attacked the Arabians, and beat them on the first onset, and then pursued them. Yet were snares laid for Herod in that pursuit; while Athenio, who was one of Cleopatra's generals, and always an antagonist to Herod, sent out of Kanatha the men of that country against him. For upon this fresh onset, the Arabians took courage, and returned back; and both joined their numerous forces about stony places, that were difficult to be passed over, and there put Herod's men to the rout, and made a great slaughter of them. But those that escaped out of the battle fled to Ormiza, where the Arabians surrounded their camp, and took it, with all the men in it.

In a little time after this calamity, Herod came to bring them succours; but he came too late. Now the occasion of this blow was, that the officers would not obey orders. For had not the fight begun so suddenly, Athenio had not found a proper season for the snares he laid for Herod. However, he was even with the Arabians afterward, and overrun their country, and did them more harm than their single victory could compensate. But as he was avenging himself on his enemies, there fell upon him another providential calamity. For in the ¶seventh year of his reign, when the war about Actium was at the height; at the beginning of the spring, the earth was shaken, and destroyed an immense number of cattle, with thirty thousand men: but the army received no harm, because it lay in the open air. In the mean time the fame of this earthquake elevated the Arabians to greater courage; and this by augmenting it to a fabulous height, as is constantly the case in melancholy

* This death of Antigonus is confirmed by Plutarch and Strabo: the latter of whom is cited for it by Josephus himself, Antiq. XV. 1, as Dean Aldrich here observes.

† This ancient liberty of Tyre and Sidon under the Romans, taken notice of by Josephus, both here, and Antiq. XV. 4, is confirmed by the testimony of Strabo, XVI. page 757, as Dean Aldrich remarks: although, as he justly adds, this liberty lasted but a little while longer: when Augustus took it away from them.

‡ Antiq. XV. 4.

§ Between Antony and Octavius.

‖ See Chap. 18.

¶ This seventh year of the reign of Herod, from the conquest, or death, of Antigonus, with the great earthquake in the beginning of the same spring: which are here fully implied to be not much before the fight at Actium, between Octavius and Antony; and which is known, from the Roman historians, to have been in the beginning of September, in the 31st year before the Christian era, determines the chronology of Josephus as to the reign of Herod: viz. that he began in the year 37, beyond rational contradiction. Nor is it quite unworthy of our notice, that this seventh year of the reign of Herod, or the 31st before the Christian era, contained the latter part of a sabbatic year. On which sabbatic year, therefore, this great earthquake happened in Judea.

accidents, and pretending that all Judea was overthrown. Upon this supposal, therefore, that they should easily get a land that was destitute of inhabitants into their power, they first sacrificed those ambassadors* who were come to them from the Jews: and then marched into Judea immediately. Now the Jewish nation were affrighted at this invasion, and quite dispirited at the greatness of their calamities one after another: but Herod, having got them together, endeavoured to encourage them to defend themselves, by the following speech:—

"The present dread you are under seems to me to have seized upon you very unreasonably. It is true, you might justly be dismayed at that providential chastisement which hath befallen you: but to suffer yourselves to be equally terrified at the invasion of men is unmanly. As for myself, I am so far from being affrighted at our enemies, after this earthquake, that I imagine that God hath thereby laid a bait for the Arabians, that we may be avenged on them. For their present invasion proceeds more from our accidental misfortunes, than that they have any great dependance on their weapons, or their own fitness for action. Now that hope which depends not on men's own power, but on others' ill success, is a very ticklish thing. For there is no certainty among men, either in their bad or good fortunes. But we may easily observe, that fortune is mutable, and goes from one side to another. And this you may readily learn from examples among yourselves. For when you were once victors in the former fight, your enemies overcame you at last. And very likely it will now happen so, that those who think themselves sure of beating you, will themselves be beaten. For when men are very confident, they are not upon their guard; while fear teaches men to act with caution: insomuch, that I venture to prove from your very timorousness, that you ought to take courage. For when you were more bold than you ought to have been, and than I would have had you, and marched on, Athenio's treachery took place. But your present slowness, and seeming dejection of mind, is to me a pledge and assurance of our victory. And indeed it is proper beforehand to be thus provident: but when we come to action we ought to erect our minds, and to make our enemies, be they never so wicked, believe, that neither any human nor providential misfortune can ever depress the courage of Jews, while they are alive. Nor will any of them ever overlook an Arabian, or suffer such a one to become lord of his good things: whom he has in a manner taken captive, and that many times also. And do not you disturb yourselves at the quaking of inanimate creatures: nor imagine that this earthquake is a sign of another calamity. For such affections of the elements are according to the course of nature: nor does it import any thing farther to men, than what mischief it causes immediately of itself. Perhaps there may come some short sign beforehand in the case of pestilences, famines, and earthquakes: but these calamities have their force limited by themselves, without foreboding any other calamity. And indeed what greater mischief can the war, though it should be a violent one, do to us, than the earthquake hath done? Nay, there is a signal of our enemies' destruction visible, and this not a natural one, nor derived from the hand of foreigners; but it is this, that they have barbarously murdered our ambassadors, contrary to the common law of all mankind: and they have destroyed so many, as if they esteemed them sacrifices for God, in relation to this war. But they will not avoid his great eye, nor his invincible right hand. And we shall be revenged of them presently, in case we still retain any of the courage of our forefathers; and rise up boldly to punish these covenant breakers. Let every one therefore go on, and fight, not so much for his wife, his children, or for the danger his country is in, as for these ambassadors of ours. Those dead ambassadors will conduct this war better than we ourselves who are alive. And if you will be ruled by me, I will myself go before you into danger. For you know well enough, that your courage is irresistible, unless you hurt yourselves by acting rashly."†

When Herod had encouraged them by this speech, and he saw with what alacrity they went, he offered sacrifice to God; and after that sacrifice he passed over the river Jordan, with his army, and pitched his camp about Philadelphia, near the enemy, and about a fortification that lay between them. He then shot at them at a distance, and was desirous to come to an engagement. For some of them had been sent beforehand to seize upon that fortification. But the king sent some, who immediately beat them off: while he himself went in the forefront of the army; which he put in battle array every day, and invited the Arabians to fight. But as none of them came out of their camp, (for they were in a terrible fright, and their general, Elthemus, was not able to say a word for fear) Herod came upon them, and pulled their fortification to pieces. By which means they were compelled to come out: which they did in disorder, and so that the horsemen and footmen were mixed together. They were indeed superior to the Jews in number; but inferior in their alacrity: although they were obliged to expose themselves to danger by their very despair of victory.

Now while they made opposition, they had not a great number slain: but as soon as they turned their backs, a great many were trodden to pieces by the Jews; and a great many by themselves, and so perished; till five thousand were fallen down dead in their flight: while the rest of the multitude prevented their immediate death by crowding into the fortification. Herod encompassed these round, and besieged them. And while they were ready to be taken by their enemies in arms, they had another additional distress upon them, which was want of water. For the king was above hearkening to their ambassadors: and when they offered five hundred talents, as the price of their redemption, he pressed still harder upon them. And as they were burnt up by their thirst, they came out, and voluntarily delivered themselves up by multitudes to the Jews: till in five days' time four thousand of them were put into bonds;

* The persons of ambassadors have mostly been held sacred by civilized nations. When violence has been offered to them it has proceeded from that furious spirit which contemns even the laws which hostile nations observe in war. See Potter's Archæologia Græca, vol. ii. p. 60. B.

† This speech of Herod's is set down twice by Josophus: here, and Antiq. XV. 2, to the very same purpose, but by no means in the same words. Whence it appears, that the sense was Herod's; but the composition Josephus's.

and on the sixth day the multitude that were left despaired of saving themselves, and came out to fight: but Herod defeated them, and slew again about seven thousand. Insomuch, that he punished Arabia so severely, and so far extinguished the spirit of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler.

CHAP. XX.

HEROD IS CONFIRMED IN HIS KINGDOM BY CÆSAR: AND CULTIVATES A FRIENDSHIP WITH HIM BY MAGNIFICENT PRESENTS; WHILE THE EMPEROR RETURNS HIS KINDNESS, BY BESTOWING ON HIM THAT PART OF HIS KINGDOM WHICH HAD BEEN TAKEN AWAY FROM IT BY CLEOPATRA; WITH THE ADDITION OF ZENODORUS'S COUNTRY.

NOW Herod was under an immediate concern about a most important affair, on account of his friendship with Antony; who was already †overcome at Actium by Cæsar. Yet was he more afraid than hurt: for Cæsar did not think he had quite undone Antony, while Herod continued his assistance to him. However, the king resolved to expose himself to dangers. Accordingly he sailed to Rhodes, where Cæsar then abode; and came to him without his diadem, and in the habit and appearance of a private person; but in his behaviour as a king. So he concealed nothing of the truth, but spake thus before his face:—

"O Cæsar, as I was made king of the Jews by Antony, so do I profess that I have used my royal authority in the best manner, and entirely for his advantage. Nor will I conceal this farther, that thou hadst certainly found me in arms, and an inseparable companion of his, had not the Arabians hindered me. However, I sent him as many auxiliaries as I was able, and many thousand cori of corn. Nay indeed I did not desert my benefactor after the blow that was given him at Actium. But I gave him the best advice I was able, when I was no longer able to assist him in the war: and I told him, that there was but one way of recovering his affairs, and that was to kill Cleopatra: and I promised him that if she were dead I would afford him money, and walls for his security; with an army, and myself to assist him in his war against thee. But his affection for Cleopatra stopped his ears; as did God himself also: who hath bestowed the government on thee. I own myself also to be overcome together with him; and with his last fortune, I have laid aside my diadem, and I am come to thee, having my hopes of safety in thy virtue: and I desire that thou wilt first consider, how faithful a friend, and not whose friend, I have been."

To this speech Cæsar replied:—"Thou† shalt not only be in safety, but shalt be a king: and that more firmly than thou wert before. For thou art worthy to reign over a great many subjects, by reason of the sincerity of thy friendship. And do thou endeavour to be equally constant in thy friendship to me, upon my good success: which is what I depend upon from the generosity of thy disposition. However, Antony hath done well in preferring Cleopatra to thee: for by this means we have gained thee by her madness. And thus thou hast begun to be my friend before I began to be thine. On which account Quintus Didius hath written to me, that thou sentest him assistance against the gladiators. I do therefore assure thee, that I will confirm the kingdom to thee by a decree. I shall also endeavour to do thee some farther kindnesses hereafter, that thou mayest find no loss in the want of Antony."

When Cæsar had spoken such obliging things to the king, and had put the diadem again about his head, he proclaimed what he had bestowed on him by a decree: in which he enlarged on the commendation of the man after a magnificent manner. Whereupon Herod obliged him to be kind to him by the presents he gave him; and he desired him to forgive Alexander, one of Antony's friends, who was become a supplicant to him. But Cæsar's anger against him prevailed; and he complained of the many and very great offences the man, whom he petitioned for, had been guilty of; and by that means he rejected his petition. After this, Cæsar went for Egypt, through Syria, when Herod received him with royal and rich entertainments: and then did he first of all ride along with Cæsar, as he was reviewing his army about Ptolemais, and feasted him with all his friends: and then distributed among the rest of the army what was necessary to feast them with. He also made a plentiful provision of water for them, when they were to march as far as Pelusium, through a dry country: which he did in like manner at their return. Nor were there any necessaries wanting to that army. It was therefore the opinion both of Cæsar and his soldiers, that Herod's kingdom was too small for those generous presents he made them. For which reason when Cæsar was come into Egypt, and Cleopatra and Antony were dead, he not only bestowed other marks of honour upon him, but made an addition to his kingdom, by giving him not only the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, but besides that, Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria; and of the maritime cities, ‡Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower. He also made him a present of four hundred Galatians as a guard for his body, which they had been to Cleopatra before. Nor did any thing so strongly induce Cæsar to make these presents, as the generosity of him that received them.

Moreover, after the §first games at ‖Actium, he added to

* September 2d. B. C. 31.

† This answer of Augustus's is strongly confirmed by Plutarch, Appian, and Dio; who mutually assist and correct one another's and Josephus's copies; some of which were otherwise difficult to be made out: as Aldrich and Spanheim observe on this place.

‡ Since Josephus, both here, and in his Antiquities, XV. 7, reckons Gaza, which had been a free city among the cities given Herod by Augustus, and yet implies that Herod had made Costobarus a governor of it before, Antiquities, XV. 6, Harduin has some pretence for saying that Josephus here contradicted himself. But perhaps Herod thought he had sufficient authority to put a governor into Gaza, after he was made tetrarch or king, in times of war, before the city was entirely delivered into his hands by Augustus.

§ Since the battle at Actium, as we have seen, was in the beginning of September, B. C. 31, and the next year Augustus came first into Syria, B. C. 30, and again, ten years afterwards, B. C. 20, as Josephus will inform us presently, which was expressly Herod's 17th year expiring, or 18th begun, Antiq. XV. 10, Herod's reign must have begun, B. C. 27, as has been already determined.

‖ Take here Dean Aldrich's note, which agrees with Spanheim's determination. After the first games at Actium: that is on the first year of the second Actian games, and the 15th year of the reign of Herod. For (as Josephus says above, chap. 19,) the fight at Actium was in his 7th year. On the third year after which, (i. e. on the 10th of Herod,) the first Actian games were celebrated, when Cæsar Octavianus was consul the 6th time: and M. Vipsanius was also consul the second time. Dio, LIII. page 496.

his kingdom both the region called Trachonitis; and what lay in its neighbourhood, Batanea, and the country of Auranitis: and that on the following occasion. Zenodorus, who had hired the house of Lysanias, had all along sent robbers out of Trachonitis among the Damascenes: who thereupon had recourse to Varro, the president of Syria; and desired of him that he would represent the calamity they were in to Cæsar. When Cæsar was acquainted with it, he sent back orders, that this nest of robbers should be destroyed. Varro, therefore, made an expedition against them, and cleared the land of those men, and took it away from Zenodorus. Cæsar did also afterward bestow it on Herod, that it might not again become a receptacle for those robbers that had come against Damascus. He also made him a procurator of all Syria: and this on the tenth year afterward, when he came again into that province: and this was so established, that the other procurators could not do any thing in the administration without his advice. But when Zenodorus was dead, Cæsar bestowed on him all that land which lay between Trachonitis and Galilee. Yet what was still of more consequence to Herod, he was beloved by Cæsar next after Agrippa, and by Agrippa next after Cæsar: whence he arrived at a very great degree of felicity. Yet did the greatness of his soul exceed it: and the main part of his magnanimity was extended to the promotion of piety.

CHAP. XXI.

OF THE TEMPLE, CITIES, AND OTHER EDIFICES THAT WERE BUILT BY HEROD; THE MAGNIFICENCE HE SHEWED TO FOREIGNERS; AND HIS GENERAL GOOD FORTUNE.

IN the *fifteenth year of his reign, Herod rebuilt the temple, and encompassed a piece of land about it with a wall: which land was twice as large as that before enclosed. The expenses he laid out upon it were also very great, and the riches about it were unspeakable. A sign of which you have in the cloisters that were erected about the temple; and †the citadel which was on its north side. The cloisters he built from the foundation: but the citadel he repaired at a vast expense. Nor was it other than a royal palace, which he called Antonia: in honour of Antony. He also built himself a palace in the upper city, containing two very large and most beautiful apartments: to which the holy house itself could not be compared in largeness. The one apartment he named Cæsareum; and the other Agrippium; from his two great friends.

Yet did he not preserve their memory by particular buildings only, with their names given them; but his generosity went as far as entire cities. For when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to it a most fruitful piece of land; and in the midst of this city, thus built, had erected a very large temple to Cæsar; and had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and a half; he called the city ‡Sebaste: and settled the affairs of the city, after a most regular manner.

And when Cæsar had farther bestowed upon him another additional country, he built him there also a temple of white marble; near the fountains of Jordan. The place is called Panium; where is a top of a mountain that is raised to an immense height; and at its side, beneath, or at its bottom, a dark cave opens itself: within which is a horrible precipice, that descends abruptly to a vast depth. It contains an immense quantity of water, which is immoveable: and when any body lets down any thing to measure the depth of the earth beneath the water, no length of cord is sufficient to reach it. Now the fountains of Jordan, rise at the roots of this cavity outwardly: and, as some think, this is the utmost origin of Jordan. But we shall speak of that matter more accurately in our §following history.

But the king erected other places at Jericho also; between the citadel Cypros, and the former palace; such as were better and more useful than the former for travellers; and named them from the same friends of his. In short, there was not any place of his kingdom fit for the purpose, that was permitted to be without somewhat that was for Cæsar's honour. And when he had filled his own country with temples, he poured out the like plentiful marks of esteem into his province; and built many cities which he called Cæsareas.

And when he observed that there was a city by the sea side, called Strato's Tower, that was so much decayed; but by the happiness of its situation, was capable of great improvements, he rebuilt it all with white stone, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces; wherein he especially demonstrated his magnanimity. For the case was, that all the sea shore between Dora and Joppa, in the middle, between which this city is situate, had no good haven: insomuch that every one that sailed from Phœnicia for Egypt was obliged to lie in the stormy sea, by reason of the south wind that threatened them. Which wind, if it blow but a little fresh, such vast waves are raised, and dash upon the rocks, that upon their retreat, the sea is in a great ferment for a long way. But the king, by the expenses he was at, and the liberal disposal of them, overcame nature; and built a haven larger than was the ‖Pyræum at Athens. And in the inner retirements of the water he built other deep stations for the ships.

Now although the place where he built was greatly opposite to his purposes, yet did he so fully struggle with that difficulty, that the firmness of his building could not easily be conquered by the sea: and the beauty and ornament of the works was such, as though he had not any difficulty in

* The 18th. See Antiq. XV. 11.

† This fort was first built, as it is supposed, by John Hyrcanus, and called Baris: the tower or citadel. It was afterwards rebuilt, with great improvements, by Herod, under the government of Antonius; and was named from him the Tower of Antonia. And about the time when Herod rebuilt the temple, he seems to have put his last hand to it. See Antiq. XVIII. 5. Of the War, I. 3, and 5. It lay on the north-west side of the temple, and was a quarter as large.

‡ From Sebastus, or Augustus.

§ See Book III. chap. 10.

‖ That Josephus speaks truth, when he assures us that "The haven of this Cæsarea was made by Herod not lesser, but rather larger, than that famous haven at Athens called Pyræum," will appear, says Dean Aldrich, to him who compares the descriptions of that at Athens in Thucydides and Pausanias, with this of Cæsarea in Josephus here, and in the Antiq. XV. 9, and XVII. 9.

the operation. For when he had measured out as large a space as we have before mentioned, he let down stones into twenty fathom water: the greatest part of which were fifty feet in length, nine in depth, and ten in breadth; and some still larger. But when the haven was filled up to that depth, he enlarged that wall which was thus already extant above the sea, till it was two hundred feet wide. One hundred of which had buildings before it, in order to break the force of the waves: whence it was called Procumatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the rest of the space was under a stone wall that run round it. On this wall were very large towers: the principal and most beautiful of which was called Drusium, from Drusus; who was son-in-law to Cæsar.

There were also a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt. And all the place before them round about was a large valley, or walk, for a quay or landing place to those that came on shore. But the entrance was on the north: because the north wind was there the most gentle of all the winds.* At the mouth of the haven were on each side three great colossi, supported by pillars: where those colossi that are on your left hand, as you sail into the port, are supported by a solid tower: but those on the right hand are supported by two upright stones, joined together: which stones were larger than that tower which was on the other side of the entrance. Now there were continual edifices joined to the haven, which were also themselves of white stone: and to this haven did the narrow streets of the city lead, and were built at equal distances one from another. And over against the mouth of the haven, upon an elevation, there was a temple for Cæsar; which was excellent, both in beauty and largeness: and therein was a colossus of Cæsar, not less than that of Jupiter Olympius; which it was made to resemble. The other colossus of Rome was equal to that of Juno at Argos. So he dedicated the city to the province; and the haven to the sailors there: but the honour of the building he ascribed to †Cæsar, and named it Cæsarea accordingly. He also built other edifices, the amphitheatre, theatre, and market-place, in a manner agreeable to that denomination: and appointed games every fifth year: and called them, in like manner, Cæsar's games: and he first himself proposed the largest prizes upon the hundred and ninety-second olympiad. In which not only the victors, but those that came next to them, and even those that came in the third place, were partakers of his royal bounty. He also rebuilt Anthedon; a city that lay on the coast, and had been demolished in the wars, and named it Agrippeum. Moreover he had so great a kindness for his friend Agrippa, that he had his name engraved upon that gate which he had himself erected in the temple.‡

Herod was also a lover of his father, if any other person ever were so. For he made a monument for his father; even that city which he built in the finest plain that was in his kingdom, and which had rivers and trees in abundance, and named it Antipatris. He also built a wall about a citadel that lay above Jericho; and it was a very strong, and very fine building; and dedicated it to his mother, and called it Cypros. Moreover he dedicated a tower that was at Jerusalem, and called it by the name of his brother Phasaelus; the structure, largeness, and magnificence, of which we shall describe hereafter. He also built another city in the valley, that leads northward from Jericho; and named it Phasaelis.

And as he transmitted to posterity the names of his family and his friends, so did he not neglect a memorial for himself; but built a fortress upon a mountain towards Arabia, and named it from himself §Herodium. And he called that hill that was of the shape of a woman's breast, and was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, by the same name. He also bestowed much curious art upon it, and built round towers all about the top of it; and filled up the remaining space with most costly palaces round about: insomuch that not only the sight of the inner apartments was splendid; but great wealth was laid on the outward walls and roofs. Besides this, he brought a large quantity of water from a great distance, and at vast charges: and raised an ascent to it of two hundred steps, of the whitest marble. For the hill was itself moderately high, and entirely factitious. He also built other palaces about the foot of the hill, sufficient to receive the furniture that was put into them. Insomuch, that on account of its containing all necessaries, the fortress might seem to be a city: but by the bounds it had, a palace only.

And when he had built so much he shewed the greatness of his soul to no small number of foreign cities. He built palaces for exercise at Tripoli, Damascus, and Ptolemais. He built a wall about Byblus: as also large rooms and cloisters, temples, and market-places, at Berytus and Tyre: with theatres at Sidon and Damascus. He also built aqueducts for those Laodiceans who lived by the sea-side: and for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains; as also cloisters round a court; that were admirable, both for their workmanship and largeness. Moreover, he dedicated groves and meadows to some people. Nay, not a few cities there were which had lands of his donation; as if they were parts of his own kingdom. He also bestowed annual revenues, and those forever, on the settlements for exercises; and appointed for them, as well as for the people of Cos, that such rewards should never be wanting. He also gave corn to all such as wanted it; and conferred upon Rhodes large sums of money for building ships: and this he did in many places, and frequently also. And when Apollo's temple had been burnt down, he rebuilt it at his own charges, after a better manner than it was before. What need I speak of the presents he made to the Lysians and Samians? or of his great liberality through all Ionia? and that according to every body's wants of them. And are not the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and Nicopolitans, and that Pergamus which is in Mysia, full of donations that Herod

* For a particular account of the winds, which usually prevail in these parts, see Shaw's Travels, vol. i. p. 248, 8vo. B.

† This building of cities by the name of Cæsar, as here, and in the Antiquities, related of Herod by Josephus, the Roman Historians attest to; as things then frequent in the provinces of that empire: as Dean Aldrich observes on this chapter.

‡ Antiq. XIII. 13.

§ There were two cities, or citadels; called Herodiums, in Judea; and both mentioned by Josephus not only here, but Antiq. XIV. 13; XV. 9. Of the War, I. 13; III. 3. One of them was 200, and the other 60 furlongs distant from Jerusalem. One of them is mentioned by Pliny, Hist. Nat. V. 14.

presented them withal? and as for that large open place belonging to Antioch in Syria, did not he pave it with polished marble; though it were twenty furlongs long? and this when it was shunned by all men before, because it was full of dirt and filthiness? when he besides adorned the same place with a cloister of the same length.

It is true, a man may say these were favours peculiar to those particular places, on which he bestowed his benefits. But then, what favours he bestowed on the Eleans was a donation not only in common to all Greece, but to all the habitable earth; as far as the glory of the Olympic games reached. For when he perceived that they were come to nothing, for want of money; and that the only remains of ancient Greece were in a manner gone; he not only became one of the combatants in that return of the fifth year games, which in his sailing to Rome he happened to be present at, but he settled upon them revenues in money for perpetuity. Insomuch, that his memorial, as a combatant there, can never fail. It would be an infinite task if I should go over his payments of people's debts, or tributes for them: as he eased the people of Phasaelis, of Batanea, and of the small cities about Cilicia, of those annual pensions they before paid. However, the fear he was in much disturbed the greatness of his soul; lest he should be exposed to envy; or seem to hunt after greater things than he ought: while he bestowed more liberal gifts upon these cities than did their owners themselves.

Now Herod had a body suited to his soul: and was a most excellent hunter: where he generally had good success, by means of his great skill in riding. For in one day he caught forty wild beasts. *That country breeds also bears: and the greatest part of it is replenished with stags and wild asses. He was also such a warrior as could not be withstood. Many men, therefore, have stood amazed at his readiness in his exercises; when they saw him throw the javelin directly forward, and shoot the arrow upon the mark. And then, besides these performances of his, depending on his own strength of mind and body; fortune was also very favourable to him. For he seldom failed of success in his wars: and when he failed he was not himself the occasion of such failings: but he either was betrayed by some; or the rashness of his own soldiers occasioned his defeat.

CHAP. XXII.

OF THE MURDER OF ARISTOBULUS, AND HYRCANUS, THE HIGH-PRIESTS; AND OF MARIAMNE THE QUEEN.

FORTUNE, however, was avenged on Herod in his external great successes, by raising him up domestic troubles: and he began to have wild disorders in his family, on account of his wife, of whom he was so very fond. For when he came to the government, he sent away her whom he had before married, when he was a private person; and who was born at Jerusalem; whose name was Doris: and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus. On this account disturbances arose in his family: and that in part very soon: but chiefly after his return from Rome. For first of all he expelled Antipater, the son of Doris, for the sake of his sons by Mariamne, out of the city: and permitted him to come thither at no other times, than at the the festivals. After this he slew his wife's grandfather, Hyrcanus, when he was returned out of Parthia to him: under this pretence, that he suspected him of plotting against him. Now this Hyrcanus had been carried captive to Barzapharnes, when he overran Syria: but those of his own country beyond Euphrates were desirous he would stay with them: and this out of the commiseration they had for his condition. And had he complied with their desires, when they exhorted him not to go over the river to Herod, he had not perished. But the marriage of his grand-daughter to Herod was his temptation. For as he relied upon him, and was over-fond of his own country, he came back to it. Herod's provocation was this: not that Hyrcanus made any attempt to gain the kingdom: but that it was fitter for him to be their king than for Herod.

Now of the †five children which Herod had by Mariamne, two of them were daughters, and three were sons: and the youngest of these sons was educated at Rome, and there died: but the two eldest he treated as those of royal blood, on account of the nobility of their mother: and because they were not born till he was king. But then, what was stronger than all this, was the love that he bare to Mariamne; and which inflamed him every day to a great degree: and so far conspired with the other motives, that he felt no other troubles, on account of her he loved so entirely. But Mariamne's hatred to him, was not inferior to his love to her. She had, indeed, but too just a cause of indignation, from what he had done; while her boldness proceeded from his affection to her. So she openly reproached him with what he had done to her grandfather Hyrcanus, and to her brother Aristobulus. For he had not spared this Aristobulus, though he were but a child. For when he had given him the high-priesthood at the age of seventeen, he slew him quickly after he had conferred that dignity upon him. But when Aristobulus had put on the holy vestments, and had approached to the altar, at a festival, the multitude, in great crowds, fell into tears; whereupon the child was sent by night to Jericho, and was there dipped by the Gauls, at Herod's command, in a pool, till he was drowned.‡

For these reasons Mariamne reproached Herod, and his sister, and mother, after a most contumelious manner: while he was dumb on account of his affection for her. Yet had the women great indignation at her, and asserted that she was false to his bed; as thinking that calumny most likely to move Herod to anger. They also contrived to have many other circumstances believed, in order to make the thing more credible: and accused her of having sent her

* Here seems to be a small defect in the copies; which describe the wild beasts which were hunted in a certain country by Herod, without naming any such country.

† These five children of Herod's by Mariamne are here set down by Spanheim, from Josephus, chap. 28. Antiq. XVII. 1; and XVIII. 6, viz. three sons, Alexander, and Aristobulus, and a third not named, as dying young at Rome: with two daughters, Salampso, and Cypros. See the note on Antiq. XVII. 1.

‡ See Antiquities, XV. 3.

picture into Egypt to Antony: and that her lust was so extravagant, as to have thus shewn herself, though she were absent, to a man that ran mad after a woman; and to a man that had it in his power to use violence to her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod: and put him into disorder: and that especially, because his love to her occasioned him to be jealous: and because he considered with himself that Cleopatra was a shrewd woman: and that on her account Lysanias the king was taken off; as well as Malichus the Arabian: for his fear did not only extend to the dissolving of his marriage, but to the danger of his life.

When, therefore, he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed his wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband; as to one who would be faithful to him, and bare him good will on account of their kindred. He also gave him a secret injunction; that if Antony slew him, he would slay her. But Joseph, without any ill design, and only in order to demonstrate the king's love to his wife; how he could not bear to think of being separated from her, even by death itself, discovered this grand secret to her. Upon which, when Herod was come back, and as they talked together, confirmed his love to her by many oaths; and assured her that he had never such an affection for any other woman as he had for her. "Yes," *says she, "thou didst, to be sure, demonstrate thy love to me by the injunction thou gavest Joseph, when thou commandest him to kill me!"

When he heard that this grand secret was discovered, he was like a distracted man; and said, that Joseph would never have disclosed that injunction of his, unless he had debauched her. His passion also made him stark mad; and leaping out of his bed, he ran about the palace after a wild manner. At which time his sister Salome took the opportunity also to blast her reputation; and confirmed his suspicion about Joseph. Whereupon, out of his ungovernable jealousy and rage, he commanded both of them to be slain immediately. But as soon as ever his passion was over, he repented of what he had done; and as soon as his anger was worn off, his affections were kindled again. And, indeed, the flame of his desires for her was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead; but would appear under his disorders to speak to her as if she were still alive, till he were better instructed by time; when his grief and trouble, now she was dead, appeared as great, as his affection had been for her while she was living.

CHAP. XXIII.

OF THE CALUMNIES RAISED AGAINST THE SONS OF MARIAMNE, THEIR ACCUSATION BEFORE CÆSAR, AND HEROD'S RECONCILIATION TO THEM.

NOW Mariamne's sons were heirs to that hatred which had been borne their mother. And when they considered the greatness of Herod's crime, towards her, they were suspicious of him as of an enemy of theirs: and this first while they were educated at Rome; but still more when they were returned to Judea. This temper of theirs increased upon them, as they grew up to be men. And when they were come to an age fit for marriage, the one of them married their aunt Salome's daughter: which Salome had been the accuser of their mother. The other married the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And now they used boldness in speaking, as well as bore hatred in their minds. Now those that calumniated them took a handle from such their boldness; and certain of them spake now more plainly to the king; that there were treacherous designs laid against him by both of his sons. And he that was son-in-law to Archelaus, relying upon his father-in-law, was preparing to flee away; in order to accuse Herod before Cæsar. And when Herod's head had been long enough filled with these calumnies, he brought Antipater, whom he had by Doris, into favour again; as a defence to him against his other sons; and began all the ways he possibly could to prefer him before them.†

But these sons were not able to bear this change in their affairs. But when they saw him that was born of a mother of no family, the nobility of their birth made them unable to contain their indignation. But whenever they were uneasy, they shewed the anger they had at it. And as these sons did day after day increase in their anger, Antipater already exercised all his own abilities, which were very great, in flattering his father; and in contriving many sorts of calumnies against his brethren: while he told some stories of them himself, and put it upon other proper persons to raise other stories against them: till, at length, he entirely cut his brethren off from all hopes of succeeding to the kingdom. For he was already publicly put into his father's will as his successor. Accordingly he was sent with royal ornaments, and other marks of royalty, to Cæsar, excepting the diadem. He was also able in time to introduce his mother again into Mariamne's bed. The two sorts of weapons he made use of against his brethren were, flattery and calumny: whereby he brought matters privately to such a pass that the king had thoughts of putting his sons to death.

So the father drew Alexander as far as Rome, and charged him with an attempt of poisoning him before Cæsar. Alexander could hardly speak for lamentation: but having a judge that was more skilful than Antipater, and more wise than Herod, he modestly avoided laying any imputation upon his father: but with great strength of reason confuted the calumnies laid against him. And when he had demonstrated the innocence of his brother, who was in the like danger with himself, he at last bewailed the craftiness of Antipater, and the disgrace they were under. He was enabled also to justify himself not only by a clear conscience, which he carried within him, but by his eloquence: for he was a shrewd man in making speeches. And upon his saying at last, that if his father objected this crime to them, it was in his power to put them to death, he made all the audience weep: and he brought Cæsar to that pass, as to reject the accusations, and to reconcile their father to them immediately. But the conditions of this reconciliation were these; that they should, in all things be obedient to

* Here is either a great defect, or a great mistake, in Josephus's present copies, or memory. For Mariamne did not now reproach Herod, with this his first injunction to Joseph to kill her, if he himself were slain by Antony, but that he had given the like command a second time to Soemus also when he was afraid of being slain by Augustus. Antiq. XV. 3, 5, &c.

† Antiq. XVI. 3.

their father, and that he should have power to leave the kingdom to which of them he pleased.

After this the king came back from Rome, and seemed to have forgiven his sons upon these accusations: but still so, that he was not without his suspicions of them. They were followed by Antipater, who was the fountain-head of those accusations: yet did not he openly discover his hatred to them: as revering him that had reconciled them. But as Herod sailed by Cilicia, he touched at *Eleusa; where Archelaus treated them in the most obliging manner, and gave him thanks for the deliverance of his son-in-law; and was much pleased at their reconciliation; and this the more because he had formerly written to his friends at Rome, that they should be assisting to Alexander at his trial. So he conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium, and made him presents to the value of thirty talents.

Now when Herod was come to Jerusalem, he gathered the people together, and presented to them his three sons; and gave them an apologetic account of his absence: and thanked God greatly, and thanked Cæsar greatly also, for settling his house, when it was under disturbances; and for procuring concord among his sons, which was of greater consequence than the kingdom itself: "For Cæsar," said he, "hath put it into my power to dispose of the government, and to appoint my successor. Accordingly, in way of requital for his kindness, and in order to provide for mine own advantage, I declare, that these three sons of mine shall be kings. And, in the first place, I pray for the approbation of God to what I am about: and, in the next place, I desire your approbation also. The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two, shall procure them the succession. Nay, indeed, my kingdom is so large, that it may be sufficient for more kings. Now do you keep those in their places whom Cæsar hath joined, and their father hath appointed: and do not you pay undue or unequal respects to them; but to every one according to the prerogative of their births. For he that pays such respects unduly, will thereby not make him that is honoured beyond what his age requires so joyful, as he will make him that is dishonoured sorrowful. As for the kindred and friends that are to converse with them, I will appoint them to each of them; and will so constitute them, that they may be securities for their concord: as well knowing, that the ill tempers of those with whom they converse, will produce quarrels and contentions among them. But that, if these, with whom they converse, be of good tempers, they will preserve their natural affections for one another. But still I desire that not these only, but all the captains of my army, have for the present their hopes placed on me alone. For I do not give away my kingdom to these my sons: but give them royal honours only. Whereby it will come to pass, that they will enjoy the sweet parts of government, as rulers themselves; but that the burden of the administration will rest upon myself, whether I will or not. And let every one consider what age I am of; how I have conducted my life; and what piety I have exercised. For my age is not so great that men may soon expect the end of my life; nor have I indulged such a luxurious way of living as cuts men off when they are young: but I have been so religious towards God, that I have reason to hope I may arrive at a very great age. But for such as cultivate a friendship with my sons, so as to aim at my destruction, they shall be punished by me on their account. I am not one who envy my own children; and, therefore, forbid men to pay them great respect. But I know that such extravagant respects are calculated to make them insolent. And if every one that comes near them does but revolve this in his mind, that if he prove a good man, he shall receive a reward from me; but that, if he prove seditious, his ill-intended complaisance shall get him nothing from him to whom it is shewn; I suppose they will all be on my side, that are on my sons' side. For it will be for their advantage that I reign; and that I be at concord with them. But do you, O my children, reflect upon the holiness of nature itself, by whose means natural affection is preserved, even among wild beasts; in the next place reflect upon Cæsar, who hath made this reconciliation among us; and, in the third place, reflect upon me, who entreat you to do what I have power to command you. Continue brethren. I give you royal garments, and royal honours. And I pray to God to preserve what I have determined, in case you be at concord one with another." When the king had thus spoken, and had saluted every one of his sons, after an obliging manner, he dismissed the multitude. Some of whom gave their assent to what he had said, and wished it might take effect accordingly. But for those who wished for a change of affairs, they pretended they did not so much as hear what he said.

CHAP. XXIV.

OF THE MALICE OF ANTIPATER AND DORIS; HEROD'S FORGIVENESS OF PHERORAS AND SALOME; THE EXAMINATION OF HEROD'S EUNUCHS BY THE TORTURE; AND THE IMPRISONMENT OF ALEXANDER.

BUT the quarrel that was between them, still accompanied these brethren when they parted: and the suspicions they had one of the other grew worse. Alexander and Aristobulus were much grieved that the privilege of the first born was confirmed to Antipater: and Antipater was very angry at his brethren, that they were to succeed him. But being of a mutable and politic disposition, the latter knew how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and thereby concealed the hatred he bore to them. While the former, depending on the noblity of their births, had every thing upon their tongues, which was in their minds. Many also there were who provoked them farther: and many of their seeming friends insinuated themselves into their acquaintance, to spy out what they did. Now every thing that was said by Alexander was presently brought to Antipater; and from Antipater it was carried to Herod, with additions. Nor could the young man say any thing, in the simplicity of his heart, without giving offence: but what he said was still turned to calumny against him.

* That this island Eleusa, afterward called Sebaste, near Cilicia, had in it the royal palace of this Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Strabo testifies, XIV. page 671. Stephanus of Byzantium also calls it, "An island of Cilicia which is now Sebaste;" both whose testimonies are pertinently cited here by Dr. Hudson. See the same history, Antiq. XVI. 10.

And if he had been at any time a little free in his conversation, great imputations were raised from the smallest occasions. Antipater also was perpetually setting some to provoke him to speak; that the lies he raised of him might seem to have some foundation of truth. And if, among the many stories that were given out, but one of them could be proved true, that was supposed to imply the rest to be true also. And as to Antipater's friends, they were all either naturally so cautious in speaking, or had been so far bribed to conceal their thoughts, that nothing of these grand secrets got abroad by their means. Nor should one be mistaken if he called the life of Antipater a mystery of wickedness. For he either corrupted Alexander's acquaintance with money, or got into their favour by flatteries: by which two means he gained all his designs, and brought them to betray their master, and to steal away, and reveal what he either did or said. Thus did he act a part very cunningly in all points: and wrought himself a passage by his calumnies with the greatest shrewdness. While he put on a face as if he were a kind brother to Alexander and Aristobulus; but suborned other men to inform him of what they did to Herod. And when any thing was told against Alexander, he would come in and pretend to be of his side; and would begin to contradict what was said: but would afterward contrive matters so privately, that the king should have an indignation at him. His general aim was, to lay a plot, and to make it believed that Alexander lay in wait to kill his father. For nothing afforded so great a confirmation to these calumnies, as did Antipater's apologies for him.

By these methods Herod was inflamed; and, as much as his natural affection to the young men did every day diminish, so much did it increase towards Antipater. The courtiers also inclined to the same conduct: some of their own accord, and others by the king's injunction; as particularly did Ptolemy, the king's dearest friend; as also the king's brethren, and all his children. For Antipater was all in all: and, what was the bitterest part of all to Alexander, Antipater's mother was a favourite: she was one that gave counsel against them, and was more harsh than a stepmother; and one that hated the queen's sons more than is usual to hate sons-in-law. All men did, therefore, already pay their respects to Antipater, in hopes of advantage: and it was the king's command which alienated every body from the brethren: he having given this charge to his most intimate friends, that they should not come near, nor pay any regard to Alexander, or to his friends. Herod was also become terrible, not only to his domestics about the court, but to his friends abroad. For Cæsar had given such a privilege to no other king, as he had given to him: which was this, that he might fetch back any one that fled from him, even out of a city that was not under his own jurisdiction. Now the young men were not acquainted with the calumnies that were raised against either of them. For which reason they could not guard themselves against them, but fell under them: for their father did not make any public complaints against either of them. Though in a little time they perceived how things were, by his coldness to them; and by the greater uneasiness he shewed upon any thing that troubled him. Antipater had also made their uncle Pheroras to be their enemy, as well as their aunt Salome: while he was always talking with her, as with a wife, and irritating her against them. Moreover, Alexander's wife Glaphyra, augmented this hatred against them, by deriving her nobility and genealogy from great persons, and pretending that she was a lady superior to all others in that kingdom; as being derived, by her father's side, from Temenus; and by her mother's side from Darius, the son of Hystaspes. She also frequently reproached Herod's sister, and wives, with their ignoble descent: and that they were every one chosen by him for their beauty, but not for their family. Now those wives of his were not a few, (it being of old permitted to the Jews to *marry many wives: and this king delighted in many;) and all of them hated Alexander, on account of Glaphyra's boastings and reproaches.†

Nay, Aristobulus had raised a quarrel between himself and Salome, who was his mother-in-law: besides the anger she had conceived at Glaphyra's reproaches. For he perpetually upbraided his wife with the meanness of her family: and complained, that as he had married a woman of a low family, so had his brother Alexander married one of royal blood. At this Salome's daughter wept, and told it her; with this addition, that Alexander threatened the mothers of his other brethren, that when he should come to the crown, he would make them weave with their maidens; and would make his brothers country school-masters, as they had been very carefully instructed to fit them for such an employment. Hereupon Salome could not contain her anger, but told all to Herod. Nor could her testimony be suspected, since it was against her own son-in-law. There was also another calumny that ran abroad and inflamed the king's mind. For he heard, that these sons of his were perpetually speaking of their mother; and among their lamentations for her, did not abstain from cursing him. And that when he made presents of any of Mariamne's garments to his latter wives, these threatened, that in a little time, instead of royal garments, they would clothe them in no better than hair-cloth.

Now upon these accounts, though Herod was somewhat afraid of the young men's high spirit, yet did he not despair of reducing them to a better mind. But before he went to Rome, whither he was now going by sea, he called them to him, and partly threatened them as a king, but, for the main, he admonished them as a father; and exhorted them to love their brethren: and told them, that he would pardon their former offences, if they would amend for the time to come. But they refuted the calumnies that had been raised against them; and said they were false, and alleged, that their actions were sufficient for their vindication: and

* That it was an immemorial custom among the Jews, and their forefathers, the patriarchs, to have sometimes more wives, or wives and concubines, than one at the same time; and that this polygamy was not directly forbidden in the law of Moses, is evident. But that polygamy was ever properly and distinctly permitted in that law of Moses; in the places here cited by Dean Aldrich; Deut. xvii. 16, 17, or xxi. 15, or indeed any where else does not appear to me. And what our Saviour says about the common Jewish divorces, which may lay much greater claim to such a permission than polygamy, seems to me true in this case also: that Moses for the hardness of their hearts suffered them to have several wives at the same time; but that from the beginning it was not so. Matt. xix. 8. Mark x. 5.

† See Antiquities, XVII. 1.

said withal, that he himself ought to shut his ears against such tales, and not be too easy in believing them; for that there would never be wanting those that would tell lies to their disadvantage, as long as any would give ear to them.

When they had thus pacified him, as being their father, they got clear of the present fear they were in. Yet did they see occasion for sorrow some time afterward. For they knew that Salome, and their uncle Pheroras, were their enemies. Who were both of them heavy and severe persons: especially Pheroras, who was a partner with Herod in all the affairs of the kingdom, excepting his diadem. He had also a hundred talents of his own revenue, and enjoyed the advantage of all the land beyond Jordan: which he had received as a gift from his brother; who had asked of Cæsar to make him a tetrarch, as he was made accordingly. Herod had also given him a wife, out of the royal family, who was no other than his own wife's sister: and after her death had solemnly espoused to him his own eldest daughter, with a dowry of three hundred talents. But Pheroras refused to consummate this royal marriage, out of his affection to a maid-servant of his. Upon which account Herod was very angry; and gave that daughter in marriage to a *brother's son of his, who was slain afterward by the Parthians. But in some time he laid aside his anger against Pheroras, and pardoned him: as one not able to overcome his foolish passion for the maid-servant.

Pheroras had, indeed, been accused long before, while the †queen was alive; as if he were in a plot to poison Herod. And there came then so great a number of informers, that Herod himself, though he was an exceeding lover of his brethren, was brought to believe what was said, and to be afraid of it also. And when he had brought many of those that were under suspicion to the torture, he came at last to Pheroras's own friends. None of whom did openly confess the crime: but they owned that he had made preparation to take her whom he had loved, and run away to the Parthians. Costobarus also, the husband of Salome, to whom the king had given her in marriage, after her former husband had been put to death for adultery, was instrumental in bringing about this contrivance and flight of his. Nor did Salome escape all calumny upon herself. For her brother Pheroras accused her, that she had made an agreement to marry Silleus, the procurator of Obodas, king of Arabia; who was at bitter enmity with Herod. But when she was convicted of this, and of all that Pheroras had accused her, she obtained her pardon. The king also pardoned Pheroras for the crimes he had been accused of.

But the storm of the whole family was removed to Alexander; and all of it rested upon his head. There were three eunuchs, who were in the highest esteem with the king; as was plain by the offices they were in about him.‡ For one of them was appointed to be his butler; another of them prepared his supper; and the third put him into bed, and lay down by him. Now Alexander had prevailed with these men, by large gifts, to let him use them after an obscene manner. Which when it was told to the king, they were tortured, and found guilty: and presently confessed the criminal conversation he had with them. They also discovered the promises by which they were induced so to do; and how they were deluded by Alexander; who had told them, that they ought not to fix their hopes upon Herod, an old man, and one so shameless as to colour his hair; unless they thought that would make him young again. But that they ought to fix their attention on him, who was to be his successor in the kingdom, whether he would or not: and who in no long time would avenge himself on his enemies, and make his friends happy and blessed; and themselves in the first place: that the men of power did already pay respects to Alexander privately: and that the captains of the soldiery, and the officers, did secretly come to him.

These confessions so completely terrified Herod, that he durst not immediately publish them; but he sent spies abroad privately by night and by day, who should make a close inquiry after all that was done and said: and when any were but suspected of treason, he put them to death: insomuch, that the palace was full of horribly unjust proceedings: for every body forged calumnies, as they were themselves in a state of enmity or hatred against others. And many there were who abused the king's passion to the disadvantage of those with whom they had quarrels: and lies were easily believed; and punishments were inflicted sooner than the calumnies were forged. He who had just then been accusing another, was accused himself, and was led away to execution together with him whom he had convicted. For the danger the king was in of his life made examinations be very short. He also proceeded to such a degree of bitterness, that he could not look on any of those that were not accused with a pleasant countenance; but was in the most barbarous disposition towards his own friends. Accordingly he forbade a great many of them to come to court; and to those whom he had not power to punish actually, he spake harshly. Antipater, in the mean time, insulted Alexander, now he was under his misfortunes: and got a stout company of his kindred together, and raised all sorts of calumny against him. And the king was brought to such a degree of terror, by those prodigious slanders and contrivances, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword in his hand. So he caused him to be seized and bound: and began examining his friends by torture. Many of these died under the torture, but would discover nothing: nor say any thing against their consciences. But some of them being forced to speak falsely by the pains they endured, said, that Alexander, and his brother Aristobulus, plotted against the king, and waited for an opportunity to kill him, as he was hunting, and then to flee away to Rome. These accusations, though they were of an incredible nature, and only framed upon the great distress they were in, were readily believed by the king: who thought it some comfort to him, after he had bound his son, that it might appear he had not done it unjustly.§

* Joseph.

† Mariamne.

‡ The kings of the east were usually attended by eunuchs, many of whom, from the high favour they obtained, had great influence and power. The Harems and Seraglios were under the care of such persons. See Jer. xiii. 23; xxxviii. 7, 10, 12; xxxix. 16. Baron du Tott's Memoirs Part I. page 71. B.

§ Antiq. XVI. 8.

CHAP. XXV.

ARCHELAUS PROCURES A RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ALEXANDER, PHERORAS, AND HEROD.

NOW as Alexander perceived it impossible to persuade his father that he was innocent, he resolved to meet his calamities, how severe soever they were. So he composed four books against his enemies, and confessed that he had been in a plot; but declared withal that the greatest part of the courtiers were combined with him: and chiefly Pheroras and Salome. Nay, that Salome once came, and forced him to lie with her in the night time, whether he would or no. These books were put into Herod's hands, and made a great clamour against the men in power. But at this juncture Archelaus came hastily into Judea; as being alarmed for his son-in-law, and his daughter. And he came as a proper assistant, and in a very prudent manner; and by a stratagem he obliged the king not to execute what he had threatened. For when he was come to him, he cried out, "Where in the world is this wretched son-in-law of mine? Where shall I see that head of his which contrived to murder his father; which I will tear to pieces with my own hands. I will do the same also to my daughter, who hath such a husband. For although she be not a partner in the plot, yet, by being the wife of such a creature, she is polluted. And I cannot but admire at thy patience, against whom this plot is laid, if Alexander be still alive. For as I came with what haste I could from Cappadocia, I expect to find him put to death for his crimes long ago: but still in order to make an examination with thee about my daughter; whom out of regard to thee, and thy dignity, I had espoused to him in marriage. But now we must take counsel about them both. And if thy paternal affection be so great, that thou canst not punish thy son, who hath plotted against thee; let us change our right hands; and let us succeed one to the other in expressing our rage upon this occasion."

When he had made this pompous declaration, he got Herod to remit of his anger, though he were in disorder. He then received the books Alexander had composed; and as he came to every head, he considered of it, together with Herod. So Archelaus took hence the occasion for that stratagem which he made use of; and by degrees he laid the blame on those men whose names were in these books, and especially upon Pheroras. And when he saw that the king believed him to be in earnest, he said, "We must consider whether the young man himself be not plotted against, by such a number of wicked wretches; and not thou plotted against by the young man. For I cannot see any occasion for his falling into so horrid a crime: since he enjoys the advantages of royalty already; and has the expectation of being one of thy successors. I mean this, unless there were some persons that persuaded him to it; and such persons as make an ill use of the facility they know there is to persuade young men. For by such persons, not only young men are sometimes imposed upon, but old men also; and by them sometimes the most illustrious families and kingdoms are overturned."

Herod assented to what he had said; and, by degrees, abated of his anger against Alexander: but was more angry at Pheroras. For the principal subject of the four books was Pheroras. Who perceiving that the king's inclination changed on a sudden; and that Archelaus's friendship could do every thing with him; and that he had no honourable method of preserving himself, he procured his safety by his impudence. So he left Alexander, and had recourse to Archelaus. Who told him, that he did not see how he could get him excused, now he was directly caught in so many crimes: whereby it was evidently demonstrated that he had plotted against the king, and had been the cause of those misfortunes which the young man was now under; unless he would moreover leave off his cunning knavery, and his denials of what he was charged withal, and confess the charge, and implore pardon of his brother, who still had a kindness for him. But that if he would do so, he would afford him all the assistance he was able.

With this advice Pheroras complied: and putting himself into such a habit as might most move compassion, he came with black cloth upon his body, and tears in his eyes; and threw himself down at Herod's feet, and begged his pardon for what he had done, and confessed that he had acted very wickedly, and was guilty of every thing he had been accused of; and lamented that disorder of his mind, and distraction, which his love for a woman had brought him to. So when Archelaus had brought Pheroras to accuse and bear witness against himself, he then made an excuse for him, and mitigated Herod's anger towards him: and this by using certain domestic examples: for when he had suffered much greater mischiefs from a brother of his own, he preferred the obligations of nature, before the passion of revenge. Because it is in kingdoms, as in gross bodies; where some member or other is ever swelled by the body's weight; in which case it is not proper to cut off such member, but to heal it by a gentle method of cure.

Upon Archelaus's saying this, and much more to the same purpose, Herod's displeasure against Pheroras was mollified. Yet did he persevere in his own indignation against Alexander, and said, he would have his daughter divorced, and taken away from him: and this till he had brought Herod to that pass, that, contrary to his former behaviour to him, he petitioned Archelaus for the young man; and that he would let his daughter continue espoused to him. But Archelaus made him strongly believe that he would permit her to be married to any one else, but not to Alexander: because he looked upon it as a very valuable advantage, that the relation they had contracted by that affinity, and the privileges that went along with it, might be preserved. And when the king said, that his son would take it as a favour to him, if he would not dissolve that marriage, especially since they had already children between the young man and her; and since that wife of his was so well beloved by him; and that while she remained his wife she would be a great preservative to him, and keep him from offending, as he had formerly done; so if she should be once torn away from him, she would be the cause of his falling into despair: because such young men's attempts are best mollified, when they are diverted from them by settling their affections at home. So Archelaus complied

with what Herod desired; but not without apparent difficulty: and was both himself reconciled to the young man, and reconciled his father to him also. However, he said he must, by all means, be sent to Rome, to discourse with Cæsar, because he had already written a full account to him of this whole matter.

Thus a period was put to Archelaus's stratagem; whereby he delivered his son-in-law out of the dangers he was in. But when these reconciliations were over, they spent their time in feastings, and agreeable entertainments. And when Archelaus was going away, Herod made him a present of seventy talents, with a golden throne,* set with precious stones, and some eunuchs, and a concubine, who was called Pannychis. He also paid due honours to every one of his friends, according to their dignity. In like manner did all the king's kindred, by his command, make glorious presents to Archelaus. And so he was conducted on his way by Herod and his nobility, as far as Antioch.

CHAP. XXVI.

OF THE CALUMNIATION OF THE SONS OF MARIAMNE, BY EURYCLES THE LACEDÆMONIAN.

NOW a little afterward there came into Judea a man that was much superior to Archelaus's stratagems; who not only overturned that reconciliation that had been so wisely made with Alexander, but proved the occasion of his ruin. He was a Lacedæmonian, and his name was Eurycles. He was so corrupt a man, that out of the desire of getting money he chose to live under a king. For Greece could not suffice his luxury. He presented Herod with splendid gifts; as a bait, which he laid, in order to accomplish his ends: and quickly received them back again manifold. Yet did he esteem bare gifts as nothing, unless he imbrued the kingdom in blood by his purchases. Accordingly he imposed upon the king by flattery and subtilty, and by the lying encomiums which he made upon him. For as he soon perceived Herod's blind side, so he said and did every thing that might please him; and thereby became one of his most intimate friends. For both the king, and all that were about him, had a great regard for this †Spartan, on account of his country.

Now as soon as this fellow perceived the weak parts of the family; and what quarrels the brothers had one with another; and in what disposition the father was towards each of them; he chose to take his lodging at the first in the house of Antipater; but deluded Alexander with a pretence of friendship to him: and falsely claimed to be an old acquaintance of Archelaus's. For which reason he was already admitted into Alexander's confidence as a faithful friend. He also soon recommended himself to his brother Aristobulus. Hnd when he had thus made trial of these several persons, he imposed upon one of them by one method, and upon another by another. But he was principally hired by Antipater; and so betrayed Alexander; and this by reproaching Antipater, because, while he was the eldest son, he overlooked the intrigues of those who stood in the way of his expectations; and by reproaching Alexander, because, he was born of a queen, and was married to a king's daughter, permitted one that was born of a mean woman to lay claim to the succession; and this when he had Archelaus to support him in the most complete manner. Nor was his advice thought to be other than faithful by the young man: because of his pretended friendship with Archelaus. On which account it was that Alexander lamented to him Antipater's behaviour with regard to himself; and this without concealing any thing from him: and he said it was no wonder if Herod, after he had killed their mother, should deprive them of her kingdom. Upon this, Eurycles pretended to commiserate his condition, and to grieve with him. He also, by a bait that he laid for him, procured Aristobulus to say the same things. Thus did he inveigle both the brothers to make complaints of their father: and then went to Antipater, and carried these grand secrets to him. He also added a fiction of his own, as if the brothers had laid a plot against him; and were almost ready to come upon him with their drawn swords. For this intelligence he received a great sum of money; and on that account he commended Antipater before his father; and at length undertook the work of bringing Alexander and Aristobulus to their graves; and accused them before their father. So he came to Herod, and told him, that he would save his life, as a requital for the favours he had received from him, and by way of retribution for his kind entertainment. For that a sword had been long whetted, and Alexander's right hand had been long stretched out against him. But that he had laid impediments in his way, and prevented his speed, while he pretended to assist him in his design.

He then asserted that Alexander had said, Herod was not contented to reign in a kingdom that belonged to others, and to make dilapidations in their mother's government, after he had killed her; but besides all this, he introduced a spurious successor; and proposed to give the kingdom of their ancestors to that pestilent fellow Antipater; that he would now appease the ghosts of Hyrcanus and Mariamne, by taking vengeance on him; for that it was not fit for him to take the succession to the government from such a father, without bloodshed; that many things happened every day to provoke him so to do: insomuch that he could say nothing but it afforded occasion for calumny against him: for that if any mention were made of nobility of birth, even in other cases, he was abused unjustly: while his father would say, that nobody was of noble birth but Alexander: and that his father was inglorious for want of such nobility. If they were at any time hunting, and he said nothing, he

* The throne of the Parthian kings was of gold, ornamented with precious stones. Tavernier (Indian Travels, tom. iii. p. 331, edit. 1713,) describes that of the Great Mogul, which was called the peacock throne, and appears to have been very magnificent. B.

† This vile fellow, Eurycles, the Lacedæmonian, seems to have been the same who is mentioned by Plutarch, as twenty-five years before a companion to Mark Antony; and as living with Herod. Whence he might easily insinuate himself into the acquaintance of Herod's sons, Antipater, and Alexander; as Usher, Hudson, and Spanheim, justly suppose. The reason why his being a Spartan rendered him acceptable to the Jews, as we here see he was, is visible, from the public records of the Jews and Spartans, owning those Spartans to be of a kin to the Jews, and derived from their common ancestor Abraham; the first patriarch of the Jewish nation. Antiq. XII. 4; XIII. 5; and 1 Macc. xii. 7. See my note on Antiq. XII. 4.

gave offence: and if he commended any body, they took it in way of jest. That they always found their father unmercifully severe, and to have no natural affection for any of them but for Antipater. "On these accounts," said Eurycles, "if his plot do not succeed, he is very willing to die: but in case he kill his father, he hath sufficient opportunities for saving himself. In the first place, he hath Archelaus, his father-in-law, to whom he can easily flee: and in the next place, he hath Cæsar; who hath never known Herod's character to this day. For that he shall not appear then before him with that dread he used to do, when his father was there to terrify him: and that he will not then produce the accusations that concerned himself alone; but will, in the first place, openly insist on the calamities of the nation, and how they are taxed to death: and in what ways of luxury and wicked practices that wealth is spent, which was gotten by bloodshed; what sort of persons they are that get our riches: and to whom those cities belong, upon whom he bestows his favours: that he will also have inquiry made, what became of his grandfather Hyrcanus, and his mother Mariamne; and will openly proclaim the gross wickedness that was in the kingdom: on which accounts he shall not be deemed a parricide."

When Eurycles had made this portentous speech, he greatly commended Antipater: as the only child that had an affection for his father; and on that account was an impediment to the others' plots against him. Hereupon the king, who had hardly repressed his anger upon the former accusations, was exasperated to an incurable degree. At which time Antipater took another occasion to send in other persons to his father, to accuse his brethren; and to tell him, that they had privately discoursed with Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had once been masters of the horse to the king; but for some offences had been put out of that honourable employment. Herod was in a very great rage at these informations; and presently ordered those men to be tortured. Yet did not they confess any thing of what the king had been informed. But a certain letter was produced, as written by Alexander, to the governor of a castle, to desire him to receive him and Aristobulus into the castle, when he had killed his father; and to give them weapons, and what other assistance he could upon that occasion. Alexander said, that this letter was a forgery of Diophantus, the king's secretary; a bold man, and cunning in counterfeiting any one's hand. And after he had counterfeited a great number, he was at last put to death for it. Herod also ordered the governor of the castle to be tortured; but got nothing out of him of what the accusations suggested.*

However, although Herod found the proofs too weak, he gave order to have his sons kept in custody. For till now they had been at liberty. He also called that pest of his family, and forger of all this vile accusation, Eurycles, his saviour and benefactor; and gave him a reward of fifty talents. Upon which he prevented any accurate accounts that could come of what he had done, by going immediately into Cappadocia; and there he got money of Archelaus: having the impudence to pretend, that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. He thence passed over into Greece: and used what he had thus wickedly gotten, to the like wicked purposes. Accordingly he was twice accused before Cæsar, that he had filled Achaia with sedition; and had plundered its cities; and so he was sent into banishment. And thus was he punished for what wicked actions he had been guilty of about Aristobulus and Alexander.

But it will be now worth while to put Euaratus of Cos in opposition to this Spartan. For as he was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and came to him in his travels at the same time that Eurycles came; so the king put the question to him, whether those things of which Alexander was accused were true? He assured him upon oath, that he had never heard any such things from the young men. Yet did this testimony avail nothing for the clearing these miserable creatures. For Herod was only disposed to hearken to what made against them; and every one was most agreeable to him, that would believe they were guilty, and shewed their indignation at them.

CHAP. XXVII.

OF THE ACCUSATION AND CONDEMNATION OF HEROD'S SONS AT BERYTUS, WHENCE THEY ARE SENT TO SEBASTE, AND STRANGLED.

SALOME exasperated Herod's cruelty against his sons; for Aristobulus was desirous to bring her, who was his mother-in-law and his aunt, into the like dangers with themselves. So he sent to her, to take care of her own safety; and told her that the king was preparing to put her to death on account of the accusation that was laid against her; as if when she formerly endeavoured to marry herself to Syllæus the Arabian, she had discovered the king's grand secrets to him, who was the king's enemy. And this it was that came as the last storm, and entirely sunk the young men, when they were in great danger before. For Salome came running to the king, and informed him of what admonition had been given her. Hereupon he could bear no longer; but commanded both the young men to be bound: and kept asunder from each other. He also sent Volumnius, the general of his army, to Cæsar immediately; as also his friend Olympus with him: who carried the informations in writing along with them. Now as soon as these had sailed to Rome, and delivered the king's letter, Cæsar was troubled at the case of the young men. Yet did not he think he ought to take the power from the father of condemning his sons. So he wrote back to him; and appointed him to have the power over his sons: but said withal, that he would do well to make an examination into this matter of the plot against him, in a public court; and to take for his assessors his own kindred, and the governors of the province. And if those sons were found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appeared to have thought of no more than fleeing away from him, that he should moderate their punishment.

With these directions Herod complied: and came to Berytus, where Cæsar had ordered the court to be assembled; and got the judicature together. The presidents sat first, as Cæsar's letters had appointed: who were Saturni-

* Antiq. XVI. 10.

nus, and Pedanius; and their lieutenants that were with them. With whom was the procurator Volumnius also. Next to them sat the king's kinsmen, and friends; with Salome also, and Pheroras. After whom sat the principal men of all Syria, excepting Archelaus: for Herod had a suspicion of him, because he was Alexander's father-in-law. Yet did not he produce his sons in open court; and this was done very cunningly; for he knew well enough that had they but appeared only, they would certainly have been pitied. And if withal they had but been suffered to speak, Alexander would easily have answered what they were accused of. But they were in custody at Platane, a village of the Sidonians.*

So the king got up, and inveighed against his sons, as if they were there present. And as for that part of the accusation that they had plotted against them, he urged it but faintly; because he was destitute of proofs: but he insisted before the assessors on the reproaches, and jests, and injurious carriage, and ten thousand the like offences against him, which were heavier than death itself. And when nobody contradicted him, he moved them to pity his case: as though he had been condemned himself, now he had gained a bitter victory against his sons. So he asked every one's sentence. Which sentence was first of all given by Saturninus, and was this: that he condemned the young men, but not to death. For that it was not fit for him, who had three sons of his own now present, to give his vote for the destruction of the sons of another. The two lieutenants also gave the like vote. Some others there were also who followed their example. But Volumnius began to vote on the more melancholy side; and all those that came after him condemned the young men to die: some out of flattery, and some out of hatred to Herod; but none out of indignation at their crimes. And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation; and waited for the last act of this tragedy. Yet did nobody suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his children. However, he carried them away to Tyre, and thence sailed to Cæsarea, and deliberated with himself what sort of death the young men should suffer.

Now there was a certain old soldier of the king's, whose name was Tero; who had a son that was very familiar with, and a friend to, Alexander; and who himself particularly loved the young men. This soldier was in a manner distracted out of the excess of the indignation he had at what was doing. And at first he cried aloud, as he went about, that justice was trampled under foot; that truth was perished, and nature confounded; and that the life of man was full of iniquity, and every thing else that passion could suggest to a man who spared not his own life. And at last he ventured to go to the king, and said, "Truly, I think, thou art a most miserable man, when thou hearkenest to most wicked wretches, against those that ought to be dearest to thee. Since thou hast frequently resolved that Pheroras and Salome should be put to death; and yet believest them against thy sons: while these, by cutting off the succession of thine own sons, leave all wholly to Antipater: and thereby choose to have thee such a king as may be thoroughly in their own power. However, consider whether this death of Antipater's brethren will not make him hated by the soldiers. For there is nobody but commiserates the young men; and of the captains a great many shew their indignation at it openly." Upon his saying this, he named those that had such indignation. But the king ordered those men, with Tero himself, and his son, to be seized upon immediately.

At this time there was a certain barber, named Trypho, who leaped out from among the people in a kind of madness, and accused himself, and said, "This Tero endeavoured to persuade me also to cut thy throat with my razor when I trimmed thee, and promised that Alexander should give me large presents for so doing." When Herod heard this, he examined Tero, with his son, and the barber, by the torture.† But as the others denied the accusations, and he said nothing farther, Herod gave orders that Tero should be racked more severely. But his son, out of pity to his father, promised to discover the whole to the king, if he would grant that his father should be no longer tortured. When he had agreed to this, he said, that his father, at the persuasion of Alexander, had an intention to kill him. Now some said this was forged, in order to free his father from his torments, and some said that it was true.‡

Now Herod accused the captains, and Tero, in an assembly of the people; and brought the people together in a body against them. And accordingly there were they put to death, together with Trypho the barber; they were killed by the pieces of wood, and the stones, that were thrown at them. He also sent his sons to Sebaste, a city not far from Cæsarea; and ordered them to be there strangled. And, as what he had ordered was executed immediately, so he commanded that their dead bodies should be brought to the fortress Alexandrium to be buried, with Alexander, their grandfather by the mother's side. And this was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ANTIPATER IS HATED OF ALL MEN; THE KING ESPOUSES THE SONS OF THOSE THAT HAD BEEN SLAIN TO HIS KINDRED; BUT ANTIPATER MAKES HIM CHANGE THEM FOR OTHER WOMEN.—OF HEROD'S MARRIAGES, AND CHILDREN.

BUT an intolerable hatred fell upon Antipater from the nation; although he had now an indisputable title to the succession: because they all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calumnies against his brethren. However, he began to be in terrible fear: as he saw the posterity of those that had been slain growing up. For Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra; Tigranes and Alexander. And Aristobulus had Herod, and Agrippa, and Aristobulus, his sons; with Herodias and Mariamne his daughters: and all by Bernice, Salome's daughter. As for Glaphyra, Herod, as soon as he had killed Alexander, sent her back, together with her portion, to Cappadocia. He married Bernice, Aristobulus's daughter, to Antipater's

* Antiq. XVI. 11.

† This was done to extort confession, and to obtain discovery of what they supposed was concealed. In many cases it may have succeeded. In others it certainly has failed. Extremity of pain has induced some to accuse both themselves and others of crimes which they never committed. B.

‡ Antiq. XVI. 11.

uncle by his mother. And it was Antipater who, in order to reconcile her to him, when she had been at variance with him, contrived this match. He also got into Pheroras's favour, and into the favour of Cæsar's friends by presents, and other ways of obsequiousness; and sent no small sums of money to Rome. Saturninus also, and his friends in Syria, were all well replenished with the presents he made them. Yet the more he gave, the more he was hated; as not making these presents out of generosity, but spending his money out of fear. Accordingly it so fell out, that the receivers bore him no more good will than before; but that those to whom he gave nothing were his more bitter enemies. However, he bestowed his money every day more and more profusely; on observing that, contrary to his expectations, the king was taking care about the orphans; and discovering, at the same time, his repentance for killing their fathers, by his commiseration of those that sprang from them.*

Accordingly Herod got together his kindred and friends, and set before them the children: and, with his eyes full of tears, said thus to them: "It was an unlucky fate that took away from me these children's fathers: which children are recommended to me by that natural commiseration which their orphan condition requires. However, I will endeavour, though I have been a most unfortunate father, to appear a better grandfather; and to leave these children such curators after myself, as are dearest to me. I, therefore, betroth thy daughter, Pheroras, to the elder of these brethren, the children of Alexander: that thou mayest be obliged to take care of them. I also betroth to thy son, Antipater, the daughter of Aristobulus. Be thou therefore a father to that orphan: and my son Herod shall have her sister: whose grandfather, by the mother's side, was high-priest. And let every one that loves me be of my sentiments in these dispositions: which none that had an affection for me will abrogate. And I pray God that he will join these children in marriage, to the advantage of my kingdom, and of my posterity; and may he look down with eyes more serene upon them than he looked upon their fathers."

While he spake these words, he wept, and joined the children's right hands together. After which he embraced them every one after an affectionate manner; and dismissed the assembly. Upon this, Antipater was in great disorder immediately, and lamented publicly at what was done. For he supposed that this dignity which was conferred on these orphans was for his destruction, even in his father's lifetime: and that he should run another risk of losing the government, if Alexander's sons should have both Archelaus a king, and Pheroras a tetrarch, to support them. He also considered how he was himself hated by the nation, and how they pitied these orphans; how great affection the Jews bare to those brethren of his when they were alive; and how gladly they remembered them now they had perished by his means. So he resolved, by all the ways possible, to get these espousals dissolved.

Now he was afraid of going subtilly about this matter with his father, who was hard to be pleased; and was presently moved, upon the least suspicion. So he ventured to go to him directly, and to beg of him, before his face, not to deprive him of that dignity which he had been pleased to bestow upon him; and that he might not have the bare name of a king, while the power was in other persons: for that he should never be able to keep the government, if Alexander's son was to have both his grandfather, Archelaus and Pheroras, for his curators. And he besought him earnestly, since there were so many of the royal family alive, that he would change those intended marriages. Now the king had †nine wives; and children by seven of them. Antipater was himself born of Doris; and ‡Herod of Mariamne, the high-priest's daughter. Antipas also and Archelaus were by Malthace, the Samaritan: as was his daughter Olympias, whom his brother §Joseph's son had married. By Cleopatra of Jerusalem he had Herod, and Philip; and by Pallas, Phasaelus. He had also two other daughters, Roxana and Salome; the one by Phedra, and the other by Elpis. He had also two wives that had no children: the one his first cousin, and the other his niece. And besides these, he had two daughters, the sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus, by Mariamne. Since, therefore, the royal family was so numerous, Antipater prayed him to change these intended marriages.

When the king perceived what disposition he was in towards these orphans, he was very angry at it: and a suspicion came into his mind as to those sons whom he had put to death, whether that had not been brought about by the false tales of Antipater. So at that time he made Antipater a long and peevish answer; and bade him be gone. Yet was he afterwards prevailed upon cunningly by his flatteries, and changed the marriages. He married Aristobulus's daughter to him; and his son to Pheroras's daughter.

Now one may learn in this instance how much this flattering Antipater could do: even what Salome in the like circumstances could not do. For when she, who was his sister, and who, by the means of Julia, Cæsar's wife, earnestly desired leave to be married to Sylleus the Arabian; Herod swore he would esteem her his bitter enemy, unless she would leave off that project. He also caused her, against her own consent, to be married to Alexas, a friend of his; and that one of her daughters should be married to Alexas's son; and the other to Antipater's uncle by the mother's side. And for the daughters the king had by Mariamne, the one was married to Antipater, his sister's son; and the other to his brother's son, Phasaelus.

---

* Antiq. XVII. 1.

† Dean Aldrich takes notice here, that these nine wives of Herod's were alive at the same time; and that if the celebrated Mariamne, who was now dead, be reckoned, those wives were in all ten. Yet it is remarkable, that he had no more than fifteen children by them all.

‡ Herod Philip.

§ To prevent confusion, it may not be amiss, with Dean Aldrich, to distinguish between four Josephs in the history of Herod. (1) Joseph, Herod's uncle, and the second husband of his sister Salome; slain by Herod, on account of Mariamne. (2) Joseph, Herod's quæstor, or treasurer, slain on the same account. (3) Joseph, Herod's brother; slain in battle against Antigonus. (4) Joseph, Herod's nephew, the husband of Olympias; mentioned in this place.

CHAP. XXIX.

ANTIPATER BECOMES INTOLERABLE IN HIS BEHAVIOUR, IS SENT TO ROME, AND CARRIES HEROD'S TESTAMENT WITH HIM.—PHERORAS LEAVES HIS BROTHER, THAT HE MAY KEEP HIS WIFE.—HE DIES AT HOME.

WHEN Antipater had cut off the hopes of the orphans, and had contracted such affinities as would be most for his own advantage, he proceeded briskly, as having a certain expectation of the kingdom; and as he had now assurance added to his wickedness, he became intolerable. For not being able to avoid the hatred of all people, he built his security upon the terror he struck into them. Pheroras also assisted him in his designs; looking now upon him as already fixed in the kingdom. There was also a company of women in the court, who excited new disturbances. For Pheroras's wife, together with her mother and sister, as also Antipater's mother, grew very impudent in the palace. *She also was so insolent as to affront the king's †two daughters: on which account the king hated her to a great degree. Yet although these women were hated by him, they domineered over others. There was only Salome who opposed their good agreement, and informed the king of their meetings; as not being for the advantage of his affairs. And when those women knew what calumnies she had raised against them, and how much Herod was displeased, they left off their public meetings, and friendly entertainments of one another. Nay, on the contrary, they pretended to quarrel one with another, when the king was within hearing. The like dissimulation did Antipater make use of: and when matters were public, he opposed Pheroras. But still they had private cabals and merry-meetings in the night time. Nor did the observation of others do any more than confirm their mutual agreement. However, Salome knew every thing they did; and told every thing to Herod.

But he was inflamed with anger at them, and chiefly at Pheroras's wife. For Salome had principally accused her. So he got an assembly of his friends and kindred together, and there accused this woman of many things, and particularly of affronts she had offered his daughter; and that she had supplied the Pharisees with money, by way of rewards for what they had done against him; and had procured his brother to become his enemy, by giving him love potions. At length he turned his speech to Pheroras, and told him, that he would give him his choice of these two things; whether he would keep in with him, his brother, or with his wife? And when Pheroras said, that he would ‡die rather than forsake his wife; Herod, not knowing what to do farther in that matter, turned his speech to Antipater, and charged him to have no intercourse either with Pheroras's wife, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her. Now though Antipater did not transgress that injunction publicly, yet did he in secret come to their nocturnal meeting. And because he was afraid, that Salome observed what he did, he procured, by the means of his Italian friends, that he might go and live at Rome. For when they wrote that it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Cæsar for some time, Herod made no delay, but sent him, with a splendid attendance, and a great deal of money; and gave him his testament to carry with him, wherein Antipater had the kingdom bequeathed to him: and wherein Herod was named for Antipater's successor; that Herod I mean who was the son of Mariamne, the high-priest's daughter.

Sylleus also, the Arabian, sailed to Rome, without any regard to Cæsar's injunctions: and this in order to oppose Antipater with all his might, as to the lawsuit which Nicolaus had with him before. This Sylleus had also a great contest with Aretas, his own king. For he had slain many others of Aretas's friends; and particularly Sohemus, the most potent man in the city Petra. Moreover, he had prevailed with Phabatus, who was Herod's steward, by giving him a great sum of money, to assist him against Herod. But when Herod gave him more, he induced him to leave Sylleus; and by his means he demanded of him all that Cæsar had required him to pay. But when Sylleus paid nothing of what he was to pay, and did also accuse Phabatus to Cæsar, and said, that he was not a steward for Cæsar's advantage, but for Herod's: Phabatus was angry at him on that account, but was still in very great esteem with Herod, and discovered Sylleus's grand secrets, and told the king, that Sylleus had corrupted Corinthus, one of his body guards, by bribing him; and of whom he must, therefore, have a care. Accordingly the king complied. For this Corinthus, though he were brought up in Herod's kingdom, yet was he by birth an Arabian. So the king ordered him to be taken up immediately; and not only him, but two other Arabians, who were caught with him. The one of them was Sylleus's friend; the other the head of a tribe. These last, being put to the torture, confessed that they had prevailed with Corinthus, for a large sum of money, to kill Herod. And when they had been farther examined before Saturninus, the president of Syria, they were sent to Rome.

Herod, however, did not leave off importuning Pheroras, but proceeded to force him to put away his wife. Yet could he not devise any way by which he could bring the woman herself to punishment, although he had many causes of hatred to her; till at length he was in such great uneasiness at her, that he cast both her and his brother out of his kingdom. Pheroras took this injury very patiently, and went away into his own tetrarchy, and sware that there should be but one end put to his flight, and that should be Herod's death: and that he would never return while he was alive. Nor, indeed, would he return when his brother

* Pheroras's wife.

† These daughters of Herod's, whom Pheroras's wife affronted, were Salome and Roxana, two virgins; who were born to him of his two wives, Elpida and Phedra. See Herod's genealogy, Antiq. XVII. 1, and the note there.

‡ This strange obstinacy of Pheroras's in retaining his wife, who was one of a low family; and refusing to marry one nearly related to Herod, though he so earnestly desired it; as also that wife's admission to the counsels of the other great court ladies; together with Herod's own importunity, as to Pheroras's divorce, and other marriage; all so remarkable here, or in the Antiquities, XVII. 2 and 3, cannot be well accounted for, but on the supposal that Pheroras believed, and Herod suspected, that the Pharisees' prediction, as if the crown of Judea should be translated from Herod's to Pheroras's posterity, and that most probably to Pheroras's posterity by this his wife also, would prove true. See Antiquities, XVII. 2 and 3.

was sick, although he earnestly sent for him to come to him, because he wished to leave some injunctions with him before he died. But Herod unexpectedly recovered. A little afterward Pheroras himself fell sick, when Herod shewed greater moderation. For he came to him, and pitied his case, and took care of him: but his affection for him did him no good: for Pheroras died a little afterward. Now, though Herod had so great an affection for him to the last day of his life, yet was a report spread abroad that he had killed him by poison. However, he took care to have his dead body carried to Jerusalem; and appointed a very great mourning to the whole nation for him; and bestowed a most pompous funeral upon him. And this was the end that one of Alexander's and Aristobulus's murderers came to.

CHAP. XXX.

INQUIRY RESPECTING PHERORAS'S DEATH LEADS TO A DISCOVERY THAT ANTIPATER HAD PREPARED A POISONOUS DRAUGHT FOR HIS FATHER: HEROD CASTS DORIS, AND HER ACCOMPLICES, AS ALSO MARIAMNE, OUT OF THE PALACE, AND BLOTS HER SON HEROD OUT OF HIS TESTAMEMT.

BUT now the punishment was transferred to the original author, Antipater, and took its rise from the death of Pheroras. For some of his freedmen came, with a sad countenance, to the king, and told him, that his brother had been destroyed by poison; and that his wife had brought him somewhat that was prepared after an unusual manner; and that, upon his eating it, he presently fell into his distemper; that Antipater's mother and sister two days before brought a woman out of Arabia, that was skilful in mixing such drugs, that she might prepare a love potion for Pheroras; and that, instead of a love potion, she had given him deadly poison: and that this was done by the management of Sylleus, who was acquainted with that woman.

The king was deeply affected with so many suspicions; and had the maid servants, and some of the free women also, tortured. One of these cried out in her agonies, "May that God that governs the earth and the heaven, punish this author of all these our miseries, Antipater's mother!" The king took a handle from this confession, and proceeded to inquire farther into the truth of the matter. So this woman discovered the friendship of Antipater's mother to Pheroras, and Antipater's women; as also their secret meetings; and that Pheroras and Antipater had drunk with them for a whole night together, as they returned from the king, and would not suffer any body, either man or maid servant to be there: while one of the free women discovered the matter.

Upon this, Herod tortured the maid servants every one by themselves separately: who all unanimously agreed in the foregoing discoveries: and that accordingly by agreement they went away, Antipater to Rome, and Pheroras to Perea: for that they oftentimes talked to one another thus, that after Herod had slain Alexander and Aristobulus, he would fall upon them, and upon their wives: because after he had not spared Mariamne and her children, he would spare nobody. And that for this reason it was best to get as far off the wild beast as they were able. They also added, that Antipater oftentimes lamented his own case before his mother, and said to her, that he had already gray hairs upon his head; and that his father grew younger again every day: and that perhaps death would overtake him before he should begin to be a king in earnest.* And that in case Herod should die, which yet nobody knew when it would be, the enjoyment of the succession could certainly be but for a little time; for that these heads of Hydra, the sons of Alexander and Aristobulus, were growing up. That he was deprived by his father of the hopes of being succeeded by his children: for that his successor after his death was not to be any of his own sons, but Herod, the son of Mariamne. That in this point Herod was plainly distracted, to think that his testament should therein take place; for he would take care that not one of his posterity should remain, because he was of all fathers the greatest hater of his children. Yet did he hate his brother still worse: whence it was that he, a while ago, gave a hundred talents, that he should not have any intercourse with Pheroras. And when Pheroras said, "Wherein have we done him any harm?" Antipater replied, "I wish he would but deprive us of all we have, and leave us naked and alive only. But it is, indeed, impossible to escape this wild beast, who is thus given to murder; who will not permit us to love any person openly; although we be together privately. Yet may we be so openly too, if we have but the courage, and the hands of men."

These things were said by the women upon the torture: as also that Pheroras resolved to flee with them to Perea. Now Herod gave credit to all they said, on account of the affair of the hundred talents. For he had had no discourse with any body about them, but only with Antipater. So he vented his anger first of all against Antipater's mother; and took away from her all the ornaments which he had given her, which cost a great many talents, and cast her out of the palace a †second time. He also took care of Pheroras's women, after their tortures, as being now reconciled to them. But he was in great consternation himself, and inflamed upon every suspicion, and had many innocent persons led to the torture, out of his fear lest he should leave any guilty person untortured.

And now he resolved to examine Antipater of Samaria, who was the steward of his son Antipater. And upon torturing him, he learned, that Antipater had sent for a potion of deadly poison for him out of Egypt, by Antiphilus, a companion of his; that Theudio, the uncle of Antipater, had it from him, and delivered it to Pheroras; for that Antipater had charged him to take his father off while he was at Rome, and so free him from the suspicion of doing it himself; and that Pheroras had accordingly committed this potion to his wife. Then did the king send for her, and bade her bring to him what she had received. So she came out of her house as if she would bring it with her, but threw herself down from the top of her house, in order to

* The love of power and the ambition of greatness is frequently so strong, as to transgress all the bounds of duty and honour. When men by unlawful means antedate either, they frequently involve themselves in ruin and misery. B.

† See chap. 22 and 23.

prevent any examination and torture from the king. However, it came to pass, as it seems, by the providence of God, when he intended to bring Antipater to punishment, that she fell not upon her head, but upon other parts of her body, and escaped. The king, when she was brought to him, took care of her; (for she was at first quite senseless upon her fall:) and asked, why she had thrown herself down? and gave her his oath, that if she would speak the real truth, he would excuse her from all punishment; but that if she concealed any thing, he would have her body torn to pieces by torments, and leave no part of it to be buried.

Upon this the woman paused a little, and then said, "Why do I hesitate to speak of these grand secrets, now Pheroras is dead? That would only tend to save Antipater, who is all our destruction. Hear then, O king, and be thou, and God himself, who cannot be deceived, witnesses to the truth of what I am going to say. When thou didst sit weeping by Pheroras, as he was dying, he called me to him, and said, 'My dear wife, I have been greatly mistaken as to the disposition of my brother towards me; and have hated him that is so affectionate; and have contrived to kill him, who is in such disorder for me before I am dead. As for myself, I receive the recompense of my impiety. But do thou bring what poison was left with us by Antipater, and which thou keepest, in order to destroy him, and consume it immediately in the fire, in my sight, that I may not be liable to the avenger in the invisible world.' This I brought as he bade me, and emptied the greatest part of it into the fire; but reserved a little of it for my own use, against uncertain futurity, and out of my fear of thee."

When she had said this, she brought the box, which had a small quantity of this potion in it. But the king let her alone, and transferred the tortures of Antiphilus's mother and brother: who both confessed that Antiphilus brought that box out of Egypt; and that they had received the potion from a brother of his, who was a physician at Alexandria. Then did the ghost of Alexander and Aristobulus go round all the palace, and became the inquisitors and discoverers of what could not otherwise have been found out; and brought such as were the freest from suspicion to be examined. Whereby it was discovered, that Mariamne, the high-priest's daughter, was conscious of this plot; and her very brothers, when they were tortured, declared it so to be. The king, therefore, avenged this insolent attempt of the mother's upon her son, and blotted Herod, whom he had by her, out of his testament; who had been before named therein as successor to Antipater.

CHAP. XXXI.

OF THE FULL DISCOVERY OF ANTIPATER'S TREACHERY; HIS RETURN FROM ROME, AND HEROD'S RECEPTION OF HIM.

AFTER these things were over, Bathyllus came under examination, in order to convict Antipater; who proved the concluding attestation to Antipater's designs. For, indeed, he was no other than his freedman. This man came, and brought another deadly potion; the poison of asps, and the juices of other serpents; that if the first potion did not do the buisiness, Pheroras and his wife might be armed with this also to destroy the king. He brought also an addition to Antipater's insolent attempt against his father; which was the letters which he wrote against his brethren, Archelaus and Philip, who were the king's sons, and educated at Rome, being yet youths, but of generous dispositions. Antipater set himself to get rid of these as soon as he could, that they might not be prejudicial to his hopes. And to that end he forged letters against them, in the name of his friends at Rome. Some of these he corrupted by bribes to write, that they grossly reproached their father, and did openly bewail Alexander and Aristobulus; and were uneasy at their being recalled. For their father had already sent for them; which was the very thing that troubled Antipater.

Nay, indeed, while Antipater was in Judea, and before he was upon his journey to Rome, he gave money to have the like letters against them sent from Rome: and then came to his father, who had as yet no suspicion of him, and apologized for his brethren; and alleged on their behalf, that some of the things contained in those letters were false, and others of them were only youthful errors. Yet at the same time that he expended a great deal of his money, by making presents to such as wrote against his brethren, did he aim to bring his accounts into confusion; by buying costly garments, and carpets of various contextures, with silver and gold cups, and a great many other curious things: that so, among the very great expenses laid out upon such furniture, he might conceal the money he had used in hiring men to write letters. For he brought in an account of his expenses, amounting to two hundred talents: his main pretence for which was the lawsuit he had been in with Sylleus. So while all his rogueries, even those of a lesser sort, were covered by his greater villany, while all the examinations by torture proclaimed his attempt to murder his father, and the letters proclaimed his second attempt to murder his brethren; yet did no one of those that came to Rome inform him of his misfortunes in Judea, although seven months had intervened between his conviction and his return. So great was the hatred which they all bore to him. And perhaps they were the ghosts of those brethren of his that had been murdered, that stopped the mouths of those who intended to have told him. He then wrote from Rome, and informed his friends that he would soon come to them; and that he was dismissed with honour by Cæsar.

Now the king being desirous to get this plotter against him into his hands; and being also afraid lest he should some way learn how his affairs stood, and be upon his guard; he dissembled his anger in his epistle to him: as in other points, he wrote kindly to him, and desired him to make haste; because, if he came quickly, he would then lay aside the complaints he had against his mother.* For Antipater was not ignorant that his mother had been expelled out of the palace. However, he had before received a letter, which contained an account of the death of Pheroras, at †Tarentum; and made great lamentation at it: for which some commended him, as being for his own uncle: though probably this confusion arose on account of his having there-

* Antiq. XVII. 5.

† This Tarentum has coins still extant as Reland informs us here in his note.

by failed in his plot on his father's life: and his tears were more for the loss of him that was to have been subservient therein, than for an uncle. Moreover, a sort of fear came upon him as to his designs, lest the poison should have been discovered. However, when he was in Cilicia, he received the aforementioned epistle from his father; and made great haste accordingly. But when he had sailed to Celenderis, a suspicion came into his mind relating to his mother's misfortunes: as if his soul foreboded some mischief to itself. Those, therefore, of his friends who were the most considerate, advised him not rashly to go to his father, till he had learned what were the occasions why his mother had been ejected; because they were afraid that he might be involved in the calumnies that had been cast upon her. But those that had more regard to their own desires of seeing their native country, than to Antipater's safety, persuaded him to hasten home; and not, by delaying his journey, afford his father ground for an ill suspicion; and give a handle to those that raised stories against him: for that in case any thing had been moved to his disadvantage, it was owing to his absence; which durst not have been done had he been present. And they said, it was absurd to deprive himself of certain happiness, for the sake of an uncertain suspicion: and not rather to return to his father, and take the royal authority upon him, which was in a state of fluctuation on his account only. Antipater complied with this last advice: for Providence hurried him on to his destruction. So he passed over the sea, and landed at Sebastus, the haven of Cæsarea.

Here he found a perfect and unexpected solitude: while every body avoided, and nobody durst come near, him. For he was equally hated by all men, and now that hatred had liberty to shew itself: and the dread men were in of the king's anger, made them keep from him. For the whole city of Jerusalem was filled with the rumours about Antipater; and Antipater himself was the only person who was ignorant of them. For as no man was dismissed more magnificently when he began his voyage to Rome; so was no man now received back with greater ignominy. And indeed he began already to suspect what misfortunes there were in Herod's family. Yet did he cunningly conceal his suspicion: and while he was inwardly ready to die for fear, he put on a forced boldness of countenance. Nor could he now flee any whither; nor had he any way of emerging out of the difficulties which encompassed him. Nor indeed had he even there any certain intelligence of the affairs of the royal family; by reason of the threats the king had given out. Yet had he some small hopes of better tidings. For perhaps nothing had been discovered: or, if any discovery had been made, perhaps he should be able to clear himself by impudence, and artful tricks; which were the only things he relied upon for his deliverance.

With these hopes, therefore, he solaced himself, till he came to the palace; without any friends with him. For these were affronted, and shut out at the first gate. Now Varus, the president of Syria, happened to be in the palace at this juncture. So Antipater went in to his father: and putting on a bold face, he came near to salute him. But Herod stretched out his hands, and turned his head away from him, and cried out, "Even this is an indication of a parricide, to be desirous to get me into his arms, when he is under such heinous accusations. God confound thee, thou vile wretch. Do not touch me, till thou hast cleared thyself of those crimes that are charged upon thee. I appoint thee a court where thou art to be judged; and this Varus, who is very seasonably here, to be thy judge. Get thy defence ready, therefore, against to-morrow; for I give thee so much time to prepare subtle excuses for thyself." And as Antipater was so confounded that he was able to make no answer to this charge, he went away: but his mother and wife came to him, and told him of all the evidence they had gotten against him. Hereupon he recollected himself, and considered what defence he should make against the accusations.

CHAP. XXXII.

ANTIPATER IS ACCUSED BEFORE VARUS, AND CONVICTED BY THE STRONGEST EVIDENCE.—HEROD PUTS OFF HIS PUNISHMENT TILL HE SHOULD BE RECOVERED; AND IN THE MEAN TIME ALTERS HIS WILL.

THE day following the king assembled a court of his kinsmen and friends; and called in Antipater's friends also. Herod himself, and Varus, were the presidents: and all the witnesses were ordered to be brought in. Among these were some of the domestics of Antipater's mother, who had but a little while before been caught; as they were carrying the following letter from her to her son:—"Since all those things have been already discovered by thy father, do not thou come to him, unless thou canst procure some assistance from Cæsar." When this and the other witnesses were introduced, Antipater came in: and falling on his face before his father's feet, he said, "Father, I beseech thee do not condemn me beforehand: but let thy ears be unbiassed; and attend to my defence. For if thou wilt give me leave, I will demonstrate that I am innocent."

Hereupon Herod cried out to him to hold his peace, and spake thus to Varus: "I cannot but think that thou, Varus, and every other upright judge, will determine that Antipater is a vile wretch. I am also afraid that thou wilt abhor my ill fortune, and judge me also worthy of all sorts of calamity, for begetting such children. Yet I ought rather to be pitied; who have been so affectionate a father to such wretched sons. For when I had settled the kingdom on my former sons, even when they were young; and when besides the charges of their education at Rome, I had made them the friends of Cæsar, and made them envied by other kings, I found them plotting against me. These have been put to death; and that in a great measure for the sake of Antipater. For as he was then young, and appointed to be my successor, I took care chiefly to secure him from danger. But this profligate wild beast, when he had been over and above satiated with that patience which I shewed him, he made use of that abundance I had given him against myself. For I seemed to him to live too long; and he was uneasy at the old age I was arrived at. Nor could he stay any longer; but would be a king by parricide. And justly am I served by him for bringing him back out of the country to court, when he was of no esteem before: and for thrust-

ing out those sons of mine that were born of the queen; and for making him a successor to my dominions. I confess to thee, O Varus, the great folly I was guilty of. For I provoked those sons of mine to act against me; and cut off their just expectations for the sake of Antipater. And indeed what kindness did I do to them, that could equal what I have done to Antipater? to whom I have, in a manner, yielded up my royal authority while I am alive; and whom I have openly named for my successor to my dominions in my testament; and given him a yearly revenue of fifty talents; and supplied him with money to an extravagant degree out of my own revenue: and when he was lately about to sail to Rome, I gave him three hundred talents; and recommended him, and him alone of all my children, to Cæsar, as his father's deliverer. Now what crimes were those other sons of mine guilty of like these of Antipater's? And what evidence was there brought against them so strong as there is to demonstrate this son to have plotted against me? Yet does this parricide presume to speak for himself, and hopes to obscure the truth by his cunning tricks. Thou, O Varus, must guard thyself against him. For I know the wild beast, and I foresee how plausibly he will talk, and his counterfeit lamentation.* This was he who exhorted me to have a care of Alexander, when he was alive, and not to entrust my person with all men! This was he who came to my very bed, and looked about lest any one should lay snares for me! This was he who took care of my sleep, and secured me from any fear of danger; who comforted me under the trouble I was in upon the slaughter of my sons; and looked to see what affection my surviving brethren bore me! This was my protector, and the guardian of my body! And when I call to mind, O Varus, his craftiness upon every occasion, and his art of dissembling, I can hardly believe that I am still alive; and I wonder how I have escaped such a deep plot of mischief. However, since some fate or other makes my house desolate, and perpetually raises up those that are dearest to me against me, I will, with tears, lament my hard fortune; and privately groan under my lonesome condition. Yet am I resolved that no one who thirsts after my blood shall escape punishment: although the evidence should extend itself to all my sons."

Upon Herod's saying this, he was interrupted by the confusion he was in: but ordered Nicolaus, one of his friends, to produce the evidence against Antipater. But in the mean time Antipater raised up his head; (for he lay on the ground before his father's feet;) and cried aloud, "Thou, O father, hast made my apology for me. For how can I be a parricide, whom thou thyself confessest to have always had for thy guardian? Thou callest my filial affection prodigious lies, and hypocrisy. How, then, could it be that I, who was so subtle in other matters, should here be so mad as not to understand that it was not easy that he who committed so horrid a crime should be concealed from men; but impossible that he should be concealed from the Judge of heaven, who sees all things, and is present every where? Or did not I know what end my brethren came to, on whom God inflicted so great a punishment for their evil designs against thee? And indeed what was there that could possibly provoke me against thee? Could the hope of being king do it? I was a king already. Could I suspect hatred from thee? No. Was not I beloved by thee? And what other fear could I have? Nay, by preserving thee safe, I was a terror to others. Did I want money? No. For who was able to expend so much as myself? Indeed, father, had I been the most execrable of all mankind, and had I had the soul of the most cruel wild beast, must I not have been overcome with the benefits thou hadst bestowed upon me? Whom, as thou thyself sayest, thou broughtest into the palace; whom thou didst prefer before so many of thy sons; whom thou madest a king in thy own life-time; and, by the vast magnitude of the other advantages thou bestowedst on me, thou madest me an object of envy. O miserable man! that thou shouldest undergo this bitter absence: and thereby afford a great opportunity for envy to rise against thee; and a long space for such as were laying designs against thee! Yet was I absent, father, on thy affairs, that Sylleus might not treat thee with contempt in thine old age. Rome is a witness to my filial affection; and so is Cæsar, the ruler of the habitable earth; who oftentimes called me †Philopator. Take the letters he hath sent thee: they are more to be believed than the calumnies raised here. These letters are my own apology. These I use as the demonstration of that natural affection I have to thee. Remember that it was against my own choice that I sailed to Rome; as knowing the latent hatred that was in the kingdom against me. It was thou, O father, however unwillingly, who hast been my ruin; by forcing me to allow time for calumnies against me, and envy at me. However, I am come hither; and am ready to hear the evidence there is against me. If I be a parricide, I have passed by land, and by sea, without suffering any misfortune on either of them. But this method of trial is no advantage to me. For it seems that I am already condemned, both before God and before thee. And as I am already condemned, I beg that thou wilt not believe the others that have been tortured; but let fire be brought to torment me; let the racks pass through my bowels. Have no regard to any lamentations that this polluted body can make. For if I be a parricide, I ought not to die without torture." Thus did Antipater cry out with lamentation, and weeping: and moved all the rest, and Varus in particular, to commiserate his case. Herod was the only person whose passion was too strong to permit him to weep: as knowing that the testimonies against him were true.

And now it was that, at the king's command, Nicolaus, when he had premised a great deal about the craftiness of Antipater, and had prevented the effects of their commiseration to him, afterwards brought in a bitter and large accusation against him; ascribing all the wickedness that had been in the kingdoms to him; and especially the murder of his brethren: and demonstrated that they had perished by the calumnies he had raised against them. He also said, that he had laid designs against ‡them that were still alive: as if they were laying plots for the succession. "And,"

* An allusion of this kind, so justly descriptive of a ferocious and ungovernable temper, might be more safely made, than a direct assertion. It was not unusual to describe a man by the name of that beast to whom he assimilated himself by some particular evil quality. Thus one might be called a fox, another a lion, a third a tiger. B.

† A lover of his father. ‡ Chap. 31.

said he, "how can it be supposed that he who prepared poison for his father, should abstain from mischief as to his brethren?" He then proceeded to convict him of the attempt to poison Herod; and gave an account in order of the several discoveries that had been made; and expressed great indignation as to the affair of Pheroras; because Antipater had been for making him murder his brother; and had corrupted those that were dearest to the king, and filled the whole palace with wickedness. And when he had insisted on many other accusations, and the proofs for them, he left off.

Then Varus bade Antipater make his defence. But he lay in silence; and said no more but this, "God is my witness, that I am entirely innocent." So Varus asked for the potion; and gave it to be drunk by a condemned malefactor, who was then in prison; who died upon the spot. So Varus, when he had had a private discourse with Herod, and had written an account of this assembly to Cæsar, went away, after a day's stay: the king also bound Antipater, and sent to inform Cæsar of his misfortunes.*

After this it was discovered that Antipater had laid a plot against Salome. For one of Antiphilus's domestics came, and brought letters from Rome, from a maid-servant of Julia's, whose name was Acme. By her a message was sent to the king, that she had found a letter written by Salome, among Julia's papers; and had sent it to him privately, out of her good will to him. This letter of Salome's contained the most bitter reproaches of the king; and the highest accusations against him. Antipater had forged this letter, and had corrupted Acme; and persuaded her to send it to Herod. This was proved by her letter to Antipater. For thus did this woman write to him: "As thou desirest, I have written a letter to thy father; and have sent that letter: and am persuaded that the king will not spare his sister when he reads it. Thou wilt do well to remember what thou hast promised when all is accomplished."

When this epistle was discovered, and what this epistle forged against Salome contained, a suspicion came into the king's mind, that perhaps the letters against Alexander were also forged. He was moreover greatly disturbed, and in a passion, because he had almost slain his sister, on Antipater's account. He did no longer delay, therefore, to bring him to punishment for all his crimes. Yet when he was eagerly pursuing Antipater, he was restrained by a severe distemper he fell into. However, he sent an account to Cæsar about Acme, and the contrivances against Salome. He sent also for his testament, and altered it: and therein made Antipas king: as taking no care of Archelaus and Philip, because Antipater had destroyed their reputations with him. But he bequeathed to Cæsar, besides other presents that he gave him, a thousand talents: as also to his wife, and children, and friends, and freedmen, above five hundred. He also bequeathed to all others a great quantity of land, and of money; and shewed his respect to Salome, his sister, by giving her most splendid gifts. And this was what was contained in his testament, as it was now altered.

CHAP. XXXIII.

OF THE DEMOLITION OF THE GOLDEN EAGLE; HEROD'S BARBARITY AND ATTEMPT TO KILL HIMSELF; THE EXECUTION OF ANTIPATER, AND THE DEATH OF HEROD.

NOW Herod's distemper became more and more severe: and this because his disorders fell upon him in his old age, and when he was in a melancholy condition. For he was almost seventy years of age; and had been brought low by the calamities that happened to him about his children: whereby he had no pleasure in life, even when he was in health. The grief also that Antipater was still alive, aggravated his disease: whom he resolved to put to death not at random, but as soon as he should be well again, and resolved to have him slain in a public manner.

There also now happened to him, among his other calamities, a certain popular sedition. There were two men of learning in Jerusalem, who were thought the most skilful in the laws of their country, and were on that account had in very great esteem all over the nation. They were, the one Judas, the son of Sepphoreus; and the other Matthias, the son of Margalus. There was a great concourse of the young men to these men, when they expounded the laws; and there got together every day a kind of an army of such as were growing up to be men. Now when these men were informed that the king was wearing away with melancholy, and with a distemper, they dropped words to their acquaintance, that it was now a very proper time to defend the cause of God, and to pull down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country. For that it was unlawful there should be any such thing in the temple as images, or faces, or the representation of any animal whatsoever. Now the king had put up a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple; which these learned men exhorted them to cut down, and told them, that if there should any danger arise, it would be a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country; because the †soul was immortal; and an eternal enjoyment of happiness did await such as died on that account: while the mean-spirited, and those that were not wise enough to shew a right love of their souls, preferred a death by a disease, before that which is the result of a virtuous behaviour.

At the same time that these men made this speech to their disciples, a rumour was spread abroad, that the king

* Antiq. XVII. 5.

† Since we have here an evident account of the Jewish opinions in the days of Josephus about a future happy state, and the resurrection of the dead, as in the New Testament, John xi. 24. I shall here refer to the other places in Josephus, before he became a Catholic Christian, which concern the same matters, Of the War, II. 8; III. 8; VII. 6. Where we may observe that none of these passages are in his books of Antiquities; written peculiarly for the use of the Gentiles: to whom he thought it proper to insist on topics so much out of their way as these were. Nor is this observation to be omitted here, especially, on account of the sensible difference we have now before us in Josephus's representation of the arguments used by the Rabbins to persuade their scholars to hazard their lives for the vindication of God's law, against images, by Moses: as well as of the answers those scholars made to Herod, when they were caught and ready to die for the same: I mean as compared with the parallel arguments and answers represented in the Antiquities, XVII. 6. A like difference between Jewish and Gentile notions the reader will find in my notes on Antiquities, III. 7; XV. 9. See the like also in the case of the three Jewish sects in the Antiquities, XIII. 5, and 10; XVII. 1, and compared with this in his Wars of the Jews, II. 8.—Nor does St. Paul himself reason with Gentiles at Athens, Acts xvii. 16—34, as he does with Jews in his epistles.

was dying. This made the young men set about the work with greater boldness. They, therefore, let themselves down from the top of the temple, with thick cords: and this at day, and while a great number of people were in the temple, and cut down that golden eagle with axes. This was presently told to the king's *captain of the temple: who came running with a great body of soldiers, and caught about forty of the young men, and brought them to the king. And when he asked them, first of all, whether they had been so hardy as to cut down the golden eagle? they confessed they had done so. And when he asked them, by whose command they had done it? they replied, at the command of the law of their country. And when he farther asked how they could be so joyful when they were soon to be put to death; they replied, because they should enjoy greater happiness after they were dead.

At this the king was in such an extravagant passion, that he overcame his disease for the time; and went out, and made a speech to the people: herein he made a terrible accusation against those men; as being guilty of sacrilege: and as making greater attempts under pretence of their law; and he thought they deserved to be punished as impious persons. Hereupon the people were afraid lest a great number should be found guilty: and desired, that when he had first punished those that put them upon this work, and then those that were caught in it, he would leave off his anger as to the rest. With this the king complied; though not without reluctance; and ordered those that had let themselves down, together with their Rabbins, to be burnt alive; but delivered the rest that were caught to the proper officers, to be put to death by them.

After this the distemper seized upon his whole body, and greatly disordered all its parts with various symptoms. For there was a gentle fever upon him, and an intolerable itching over all the surface of his body; and continual pains in his colon; and dropsical tumours about his feet; and an inflammation of the abdomen. Besides which, he had a difficulty of breathing upon him, and could not breathe but when he sat upright: and had a convulsion of all his members; insomuch that the diviners said, those diseases were a punishment upon him for what he had done to the Rabbins. Yet did he struggle with his numerous disorders; and still had a desire to live; and hoped for recovery; and considered of several methods of cure. Accordingly he went over Jordan, and made use of those hot baths at Callirrhoe which run into the lake Asphaltites, but are themselves sweet enough to be drunk. And here the physicians thought proper to bathe his whole body by letting it down into a large vessel full of oil. But his eyes failed him; and he came and went as if he were dying. And as a tumult was then made by his servants; at their voice he revived again. Yet did he after this despair of recovery; and gave orders that each soldier should have fifty drachmæ a piece; and that his commanders and friends should have great sums of money given them.

He then returned back, and came to Jericho, in such a melancholy state of body, as almost threatened him with present death: when he proceeded to attempt a horrid wickedness. For he got together the most illustrious men of the whole Jewish nation, out of every village, into the Hippodrome: and there shut them in. He then called for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and made this speech to them: "I know well enough that the Jews will keep a festival upon my death. However, it is in my power to be mourned for on other accounts, and to have a splendid funeral, if you will but be subservient to my commands. Do but you take care to send soldiers to encompass these men that are now in custody, and slay them immediately upon my death; and then all Judea, and every family of them, will weep at it, whether they will or no."†

When he had given these commands, there came letters from his ambassadors at Rome, whereby information was given that Acme was put to death at Cæsar's command; and that Antipater was condemned to die. However, they wrote withal, that if Herod had a mind rather to banish him, Cæsar permitted him so to do. So he, for a little while, revived, and had a desire to live. But presently after he was overborne by his pains; and was disordered by want of food, and by a convulsive cough, and endeavoured to prevent a natural death. So he took an apple, and asked for a knife; for he used to pare apples, and eat them. He then looked round about to see that there was nobody to hinder him: and lifted up his right hand, as if he would stab himself. But Achiabus, his first cousin, came running to him, and held his hand, and hindered him from so doing. On which occasion a very great lamentation was made in the palace; as if the king were expiring. As soon as Antipater heard that, he took courage: and, with joy in his looks, besought his keepers, for a sum of money, to loose him, and let him go. But the principal keeper of the prison did not only obstruct him in that intention, but ran and told the king what his design was. Hereupon the king cried out louder than his distemper would well bear; and immediately sent some of his guards, and slew Antipater. He also gave order to have him buried at Hyrcanium, and altered his testament again, and therein made Archelaus, his eldest son, and the brother of Antipater, his successor, and made Antipas tetrarch.‡

So Herod, having survived the slaughter of his son five days, died; having reigned thirty-four years, since he had caused Antigonus to be slain, and obtained his kingdom; but thirty-seven years since he had been made king by the Romans. Now as for his fortune it was prosperous in all other respects, if ever any other man could be so: since from a private man he obtained a kingdom; and kept it so long; and left it to his own sons. But still, in his domestic affairs, he was most unfortunate. Now before the soldiers knew of his death, Salome and her husband came out, and dismissed those that were in bonds, whom the king had commanded to be slain; and told them, that he had altered his mind; and would have every one of them sent to their

* Acts v. 24.

† We have a large citation of this, in Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. I. 8, and that as taken out of Josephus's second book of the Jewish War. By which we learn that our present distinction of these two books of the Jewish War, both in the Greek original, and Ruffinus's old version, is different from that used by Eusebius; and that this first very long book was not, in his copy, so much longer than any of the other six, as it now is.

‡ Antiq. XVII. 8.

own homes. When these men were gone, Salome told the soldiers the king was dead: and got them, and the rest of the multitude, together to an assembly, in the amphitheatre at Jericho. There Ptolemy, who was entrusted by the king with his signet-ring, came before them, and spake of the happiness the king had attained; and comforted the multitude; and read the epistle which had been left for the soldiers; wherein he earnestly exhorted them to bear good will to his successor. And after he had read the epistle, he opened and read his testament; wherein Philip was to inherit Trachonitis, and the neighbouring countries; and Antipas was to be tetrarch, and Archelaus was made king. He had also been commanded to carry Herod's ring to Cæsar, and the settlements he had made sealed up, because Cæsar was to be lord of all the settlements he had made; and was to confirm his testament. And he ordered that the other dispositions he had made were to be kept as they were in his former testament.

So there was an acclamation made to Archelaus, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and the soldiers, with the multitude, went round about in troops, and promised him their good will; and besides, prayed God to bless his government. After this, they betook themselves to prepare for the king's funeral. And Archelaus omitted nothing of magnificence therein; but brought out all the royal ornaments to augment the pomp of the deceased. There was a bier all of gold, embroidered with precious stones; and a purple bed of various contexture, with the dead body upon it, covered with purple: and a diadem was put upon his head, and a crown of gold above it, and a sceptre in his right hand. And near to the bier were Herod's sons, and a multitude of his kindred. Next came his guards, and the regiment of Thracians; the Germans also, and Gauls, all accoutred as if they were going to war. But the rest of the army went foremost, armed; and following their captains and officers in a regular manner. After whom, five hundred of the domestic servants and freedmen followed with *sweet spices in their hands. And the body was carried two hundred furlongs, to Herodium, where he had given orders to be buried.

* See Mark xvi. 1; Luke xxiii. 56; John xix. 40.

BOOK II.

Containing an Interval of Sixty-nine Years.

FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD, TILL VESPASIAN WAS SENT TO SUBDUE THE JEWS BY NERO.

CHAP. I.

OF THE FUNERAL FEAST MADE BY ARCHELAUS: THE TUMULT RAISED BY THE MULTITUDE, AND THEIR PUNISHMENT BY THE SOLDIERY.

NOW the necessity which Archelaus was under of taking a journey to Rome was the occasion of new disturbances. For when he had mourned for his father *seven †days, and had given a very expensive funeral feast to the multitude: (which custom is the occasion of poverty to many of the Jews; because they are forced to feast the multitude: for if any one omit it, he is not esteemed a holy person:) he put on a white garment, and went up to the temple, where the people accosted him with various acclamations. He also spake kindly to the multitude, from an elevated seat, and a throne of gold; and returned them thanks for the zeal they had shewn about his father's funeral; and the submission they had made to him, as if he were

* "The law, or custom of the Jews," says Dean Aldrich, "requires seven days' mourning for the dead. Antiq. XVII. 8. Whence the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, xxii. 12, assigns seven days as the proper time of mourning for the dead: and xxxviii. 17, enjoins men to mourn for the dead that they may not be evil spoken of. For, as Josephus says presently, if any one omit this mourning (funeral feast) he is not esteemed a holy person. Now it is certain, that such a seven days' mourning has been customary from times of the greatest antiquity. Gen. i. 10. Funeral feasts are also mentioned as of considerable antiquity. Ezek. xxiv. 17; Jer. xvi. 7; Prov. xxxi. 6; Deut. xxvi. 14; Josephus, Of the War, III. 9."

† To make a funeral feast was anciently a method of honouring the dead, and is still continued in the east. Chardin says, "The Oriental Christians still make banquets of this kind, by a custom derived from the Jews: and I have been many times present at them among the Armenians in Persia." See Jer. xvi. 8. B.

already settled in the kingdom. But he told them withal, that he would not, at present, take upon him either the authority of a king, or the names thereto belonging, until Cæsar, who was made lord of this whole affair by the testament, should confirm the succession. For that when the soldiers would have set the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of it: but that he would make abundant requitals, not to the soldiers only, but to the people, for their alacrity and good will to him, when the *superior lords should have given him a complete title to the kingdom; for that it should be his study to appear in all things better than his father.

Upon this the multitude were pleased; and presently made a trial of what he intended, by asking great things of him. For some made a clamour that he would ease them in their taxes; others that he would take off the duties upon commodities; and some, that he would liberate those that were in prison. In all which cases, he answered readily to their satisfaction, in order to get the good will of the multitude. He then offered the proper sacrifices, and feasted with his friends. And here it was that a great many of those that desired innovations came in crowds towards the evening; and began to mourn on their own account, when the public mourning for the king was over. These lamented those men that were put to death by Herod, because they had cut down the golden eagle that had been over the gate of the temple. Nor was this a mourning of a private nature; but the lamentations were very great, the mourning solemn, and the weeping such as was loudly heard all over the city; as being for men who had perished for the laws of their country, and for the temple. They cried out, that a punishment ought to be inflicted for these men upon those that were honoured by Herod; and that, in the first place, the man whom he had made high-priest should be deprived; and that it was fit to choose a person of greater piety and purity than he was.

At these clamours Archelaus was provoked; but he restrained himself from taking vengeance of the authors on account of the haste he was in of going to Rome; fearing lest, upon his making war on the multitude, such an action might detain him at home. Accordingly he attempted to quiet the innovators by persuasion, rather than by force; and sent his general in a private way to them, and by him exhorted them to be quiet. But the seditious threw stones at him, and drove him away as he came into the temple, and before he could say any thing to them. The like treatment they shewed to others, who came to them after him: many of whom were sent by Archelaus in order to reduce them to sobriety: and these answered still on all occasions after a passionate manner. And it openly appeared that they would not be quiet, if their numbers were but considerable. And indeed, at the feast of unleavened bread, which was now at hand, and is by the Jews called the passover, and used to be celebrated with a great number of sacrifices, an innumerable multitude of the people came out of the country to worship. Some of these stood in the temple bewailing the Rabbins, that had been put to death, and procured their sustenance by begging in order to support their sedition. At this Archelaus was affrighted; and privately sent a tribune, with his cohort of soldiers, upon them, before the disease should spread over the whole multitude: and gave orders that they should constrain those that began the tumult by force to be quiet. At this the whole multitude were irritated, and threw stones at many of the soldiers, and killed them. But the tribune fled away wounded, and had much ado to escape so. After which, they betook themselves to their sacrifices, as if they had done no mischief. Nor did it appear to Archelaus that the multitude could be restrained without bloodshed. So he sent his whole army upon them; the footmen in great multitudes by the way of the city, and the horsemen by the plain: who falling upon them on the sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices, destroyed about three thousand of them. But the rest of the multitude were dispersed upon the adjoining mountains. These were followed by Archelaus's heralds; who commanded every one to retire to their own homes; whither they all went, and left the festival.

* The Romans.

CHAP. II.

OF ARCHELAUS'S VOYAGE TO ROME, WITH A GREAT NUMBER OF HIS KINDRED; THE ACCUSATION LAID AGAINST HIM BY ANTIPATER; AND THE EXCELLENT DEFENCE MADE ON HIS BEHALF BY NICOLAUS.

ARCHELAUS went down now †to the sea-side, with his mother and his friends, Poplas, Ptolemy, and Nicolaus; and left behind him Philip, to be his steward in the palace; and to take care of his domestic affairs. Salome also went out along with him, with her sons: as did also the king's brethren, and sons-in-law. These in appearance, went in order to give him all the assistance they were able, in order to secure his succession; but in reality to accuse him for his breach of the laws, by what he had done at the temple.‡

But as they were come to Cæsarea, Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, met them. He was going up to Judea, to secure Herod's effects. But Varus, president of Syria, who was come thither, restrained him from going any farther. This Varus, Archelaus had sent for, by the earnest entreaty of Ptolemy. At this time indeed Sabinus, to gratify Varus, neither went to the citadels; nor did he shut up the treasuries where his father's money was laid up: but promised that he would lie still, until Cæsar should have taken cognizance of the affair. So he abode at Cæsarea. But as soon as those that were his hindrance were gone, when Varus was gone to Antioch, and Archelaus was sailed to Rome, he immediately went on to Jerusalem, and seized upon the palace. And when he had called for the governors of the citadels, and the stewards of the king's private affairs, he tried to sift out the accounts of the money; and to take possession of the citadels. But the governors of those citadels were not unmindful of the commands laid upon them by Archelaus: and continued to guard them; and said the custody of them rather belonged to Cæsar than to Archelaus.

† An. 3. ‡ Antiq. XVII. 9.

In the mean time Antipas went also to Rome, to strive for the kingdom; and to insist that the former testament, wherein he was named to be king, was valid before the latter. Salome had also promised to assist him; as had many of Archelaus's kindred who sailed along with Archelaus. He also carried along with him his mother and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus; who seemed one of great weight, on account of the great trust Herod put in him: he having been one of his most honoured friends. However, Antipas depended chiefly upon Ireneus, the orator: upon whose authority he had rejected such as advised him to yield to Archelaus, because he was his elder brother, and because the second testament gave the kingdom to him. The inclinations also of all Archelaus's kindred, who hated him, were removed to Antipas when they came to Rome: although in the first place every one rather desired to live under their own laws, without a king; and to be under a Roman governor. But if they should fail in this point, these desired that Antipas might be their king.

Sabinus did also afford his assistance to the same purpose, by the letters he sent: wherein he accused Archelaus before Cæsar, and highly commended Antipas. Salome also, and those with her, put the crimes which they accused Archelaus of in order, and put them into Cæsar's hands. And after they had done that, Archelaus wrote down the reasons of his claim, and, by Ptolemy, sent in his father's ring, and accounts. And when Cæsar had maturely weighed by himself what both had to allege for themselves: and also had considered of the great burden of the kingdom, and largeness of the revenues, and withal the number of the children Herod had left behind him; and had moreover read the letters he had received from Varus and Sabinus on this occasion; he assembled the principal persons among the Romans together, (in which assembly, *Caius, the son of Agrippa, and his daughter Julias; but by himself adopted for his own son; sat in the first seat,) and gave the pleaders leave to speak.

Then stood up Salome's son Antipater, who of all Archelaus's antagonists was the shrewdest pleader; and accused him in a speech to the following effect: He said that Archelaus did in words contend for the kingdom; but that in deeds he had long exercised royal authority; and so did but insult Cæsar, in desiring to be now heard on that account. Since he had not staid for his determination about the succession; and since he had suborned certain persons, after Herod's death, to move for putting the diadem upon his head; since he had set himself down in the throne, and given answers as a king, and altered the disposition of the army, and granted to some higher dignities. That he had also complied with the people in the requests they made to him as to their king: and had also dismissed those that had been put into bonds by his father, for most important reasons. Yet that after all this, he desired the shadow of that royal authority, whose substance he had already seized to himself: and so had made Cæsar lord, not of things, but of words. He also reproached him farther, that his mourning for his father was only pretended; while he put on a sad countenance in the day time, but drank to great excess in the night; from which behaviour he said the late disturbances among the multitude came: while they had an indignation thereat. And, indeed, the purport of his whole discourse was to aggravate Archelaus's crime in slaying such a multitude about the temple: which multitude came to the festival, but were barbarously †slain in the midst of their own sacrifices: and he said there was such a vast number of dead bodies heaped together in the temple, as even a foreign war, that should come upon them suddenly, before it was denounced, could not have heaped together. And he added, it was the foresight his father had of his barbarity, which made him never give him any hopes of the kingdom, but when his mind was more infirm than his body, and he was not able to reason soundly, and did not well know what was the character of that son, whom in his second testament he made his successor. And this was done by him at a time when he had no complaints to make of him, whom he had named before when he was sound in body; and when his mind was free from all passions. That, however, if any one should suppose Herod's judgment, when he was sick, was superior to that at another time; yet had Archelaus forfeited his kingdom by his own behaviour, and by those actions which were contrary to the law, and to its disadvantage. "Or what sort of a king," said he, "will this man be, when he hath obtained the government from Cæsar, who hath slain so many before he hath obtained it?"

When Antipater had spoken largely to this purpose, and had produced a great number of Archelaus's kindred as witnesses, to prove every part of the accusation; Nicolaus stood up to plead for Archelaus. He alleged, that the slaughter in the temple could not be avoided: that those that were slain were become enemies not to Archelaus's kingdom only, but to Cæsar, who was to determine about him. He also demonstrated, that Archelaus's accusers had advised him to perpetrate other things, of which he might have been accused. But he insisted, that the latter testament should, for this reason above all others, be esteemed valid, because Herod had therein appointed Cæsar to be the person who should confirm the succession. For he who shewed such prudence, as to recede from his own power, and yield it up to the lord of the world, could not be supposed mistaken in his judgment about him that was to be his heir. And he that so well knew whom to choose for arbitrator of the succession, could not be unacquainted with whom he chose for his successor.

When Nicolaus had gone through all he had to say, Archelaus came, and fell down before Cæsar's knees; upon which he raised him up, after a very obliging manner; and declared that he was worthy to succeed his father. However, he still made no firm determination in his case. But when he had dismissed those assessors that had been with him that day, he deliberated by himself about the allegations which he had heard; whether it were fit to constitute any of those named in the testaments for Herod's successor; or whether the government should be divided among all his posterity, and this because of the number of those that seemed to stand in need of support therefrom.

* Dean Aldrich observes that Caius was at this time but ten years of age.

† See Luke xiii. 1.

CHAP. III.

THE JEWS FIGHT AN OBSTINATE BATTLE WITH SABINUS'S SOLDIERS; AND A GREAT DESTRUCTION IS MADE AT JERUSALEM.

BEFORE Cæsar had determined any thing about these affairs, Malthace, Archelaus's mother, fell sick and died. Letters also were brought out of Syria from Varus, about a revolt of the Jews. This was foreseen by Varus, who accordingly, after Archelaus was sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrain the promoters of the sedition: since it was manifest that the nation would not be at rest. So he left one of those legions which he brought with him out of Syria, in the city, and went himself to Antioch. But Sabinus came, after he was gone, and gave them an occasion of making innovations. For he compelled the keepers of the citadels to deliver them up to him: and made a strict search after the king's money: as depending not only on the soldiers which were left by Varus, but on the multitude of his own servants: all of whom he armed, and used as the instruments of his covetousness. Now when that feast, which was observed after seven weeks, and which the Jews call *Pentecost, was at hand: (its name being taken from the number of the days after the Passover;) the people got together: but not on account of the accustomed divine worship, but of the indignation they had at the present state of affairs. An immense multitude, therefore, ran together, out of Galilee, Idumea, Jericho, and Perea, that was beyond Jordan. But the people that naturally belonged to Judea itself were above the rest, both in number, and in the alacrity of the men. So they distributed themselves into three parts, and pitched their camps in three places. One was at the north side of the temple; another at the south side, by the Hippodrome; and the third part were at the palace on the west. So they lay round about the Romans on every side, and besieged them.

Now Sabinus was affrighted both at their multitude, and at their courage; and sent messengers to Varus continually, and besought him to come to his succour quickly: for that, if he delayed, his legion would be cut to pieces. As for Sabinus himself, he got up to the highest tower of the fortress, which was called Phasaelus: it is of the same name with †Herod's brother, who was destroyed by the Parthians: and then he made signs to the soldiers of that legion to attack the enemy, for his astonishment was so great, that he durst not go down to his own men. Hereupon the soldiers were prevailed upon, and leaped out into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews. In which, while there were none over their heads to distress them, they were too hard for them, by their skill, and the others' want of skill in war. But when many of the Jews had gotten up to the top of the cloisters, and threw their darts downwards, upon the heads of the Romans, there were a great many of them destroyed. Nor was it easy to avenge themselves upon those that threw their weapons from on high: nor was it more easy for them to sustain those who came to fight them hand to hand.‡

Since, therefore, the Romans were sorely afflicted by both these circumstances, they set fire to the cloisters: which were works to be admired, both on account of their magnitude, and costliness. Whereupon those that were above them were presently encompassed with the flame: and many of them perished therein. As many of them also were destroyed by the enemy, who came suddenly upon them. Some of them also threw themselves down from the walls backward; and some there were who, from the desperate condition they were in, prevented the fire, by killing themselves with their own swords. But so many of them as crept out from the walls, and came upon the Romans, were easily mastered by them; by reason of the astonishment they were under. Until at last some of the Jews being destroyed, and others dispersed by the terror they were in, the soldiers fell upon the treasure of God, which was now deserted; and plundered about four hundred talents: of which sum Sabinus got together all that was not carried away by the soldiers.

However this destruction of the works about the temple, and of the men, occasioned a much greater number, and those of a more warlike sort, to get together, to oppose the Romans. These encompassed the palace round; and threatened to destroy all that were in it, unless they went their ways quickly. For they promised that Sabinus should come to no harm, if he would go out with his legion. There were also a great many of the king's party who deserted the Romans, and assisted the Jews. Yet did the most warlike body of them all, who were three thousand of the men of Sebaste, go over to the Romans. Rufus also, and Gratus, their captains, did the same. (Gratus having the foot of the king's party under him, and Rufus the horse:) each of whom, even without the forces under them, were of great weight on account of their strength and wisdom, which turn the scales in war. Now the Jews persevered in the siege, and tried to break down the walls of the fortress, and cried out to Sabinus, and his party, that they should go their ways, and not prove a hindrance to them now they hoped, after a long time, to recover that ancient liberty which their forefathers had enjoyed. Sabinus, indeed, was well contented to get out of the danger he was in: but he distrusted the assurances the Jews gave him; and suspected such gentle treatment was but a bait laid as a snare for them. This consideration, together with the hopes he had of succour from Varus, made him sustain the siege still longer.

CHAP. IV.

OF A TUMULT WHICH BROKE OUT AMONG HEROD'S VETERAN SOLDIERS; THE ROBBERIES OF JUDAS; AND THE ASSUMPTION OF THE REGAL TITLE BY SIMON AND ATHRONGEUS.

AT this time there were great disturbances in the country, and that in many places. And the opportunity that now offered itself induced a great many to set up for kings. And indeed in Idumea two thousand of Herod's veteran soldiers got together, and armed themselves, and

* The fiftieth day.

† See Book I. Chap. 13.

‡ Antiq. XVII. 10.

fought against those of the king's party. Against whom Achiabus, the king's first cousin, fought; and that out of some of these places that were the most strongly fortified: but so as to avoid a direct conflict with them in the plains. In Sepphoris also, a city of Galilee, there was one Judas, the son of that arch-robber *Hezekias, who formerly overran the country, and had been subdued by king Herod: this man got no small multitude together, and brake open the place where the royal armour was laid up, and armed those about him, and attacked those that were so earnest to gain the dominion.

In Perea also, Simon, one of the servants to the king, relying upon the handsome appearance and tallness of his body,† put a diadem upon his head. He also went about with a company of robbers that he had gotten together, and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho, and many other costly edifices; and procured himself spoils by rapine, as snatching them out of the fire. And he had soon burnt down all the fine edifices, if ‡Gratus, the captain of the foot of the king's party, had not taken the Trachonite archers, and the most warlike of Sebaste, and met the man. His footmen were slain in the battle in abundance: Gratus also cut to pieces Simon himself, as he was fleeing along a narrow valley; when he gave him an oblique stroke upon his neck, as he ran away, and brake it. The royal palaces that were near Jordan, at Betharamptha, were also burnt down, by some other of the seditious that came out of Perea.§

At this time a certain shepherd, named Athrongeus, ventured to set himself up for a king. It was the strength of his body that made him expect such a dignity; as well as his soul, which despised death: and, besides these qualifications, he had four brethren like himself. He put a troop of armed men under each of his brethren; and made use of them as generals and commanders, when he made his incursions: while he himself acted like a king, and meddled only with the more important affairs. And at this time he put a diadem about his head: and continued after that to overrun the country for no little time with his brethren: and became their leader in killing both the Romans, and those of the king's party. Nor did any Jew escape him; if any gain could accrue to him thereby. He once ventured to encompass a whole troop of Romans at Emmaus, who were carrying corn and weapons to their legion. His men therefore shot their arrows and darts, and thereby slew their centurion Arius, and forty of the stoutest of his men: while the rest of them, who were in danger of the same fate, upon the coming of Gratus, with those of Sebaste, to their assistance, escaped. And when these men had thus served both their own countrymen and foreigners, and that through this whole war, three of them were after some time subdued: the eldest by Archelaus; the two next by falling into the hands of Gratus and Ptolemeus. But the fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his giving him his right hand for his security. However, this their end was not till afterwards; while at present they filled all Judea with a piratic war.

CHAP. V.

VARUS COMPOSES THE TUMULTS IN JUDEA, AND CRUCIFIES ABOUT TWO THOUSAND OF THE SEDITIOUS.

UPON Varus's reception of the letters that were written by Sabinus, and the captains, he could not avoid being afraid for the whole legion he had left there. So he hastened to their relief; and took with him the other two legions, with the four troops of horsemen to them belonging, and marched to Ptolemais: having given orders for the auxiliaries, that were sent by the kings and governors of cities to meet him there. Moreover, he received from the people of Berytus, as he passed through their city, fifteen hundred armed men. Now as soon as the other body of auxiliaries were come to Ptolemais, as well as Aretas the Arabian; (who, out of the hatred he bore to Herod, brought a great army of horse and foot;) Varus sent a party of his army presently to Galilee, which lay near to Ptolemais: and Caius, one of his friends, for their captain. This Caius put those that met him to flight, and took the city Sepphoris, and burnt it; and made slaves of its inhabitants. But as for Varus himself, he marched to Samaria, with his whole army: where he did not meddle with the city itself, because he found that it had made no commotion during these troubles, but pitched his camp about a certain village which was called Arus. It belonged to Ptolemy; and on that account it was plundered by the Arabians, who were very angry even at Herod's friends also. He then marched on to the village Sampho, another fortified place, which they plundered, as they had done the other: for they carried off all the money they found belonging to the public revenues. All was now full of fire and bloodshed; and nothing could resist the plunders of the Arabians. Emmaus was also burnt, upon the flight of its inhabitants; and this at the command of Varus, out of his rage at the ‖slaughter of those that were about Arius. He then marched on to Jerusalem: and as soon as he was but seen by the Jews, he made their camps disperse themselves. They also went away, and fled up and down the country. But the citizens received him, and cleared themselves of having any hand in this revolt; and said, that they had raised no commotions, but had only been forced to admit the multitude because of the festival; and that they were rather besieged together with the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted. There had before this met him Joseph, the first cousin of Archelaus; and Gratus, together with Rufus, who led those of Sebaste, as well as the king's army. There also met him those of

* See Book I. chap. 10.

† These were two qualities in high esteem in the Eastern nations; and upon account of which many obtained regal power. Dignity of person adds sanction to the office assumed. B.

‡ Tacitus says, that this pretended king, Simon, was slain (a Quintilio Varo obtinente Syriam,) by Quintilius Varus, then president of Syria. Whereas our somewhat ancient, and, in the affairs of Judea, much more credible author, Josephus, says both here, and Antiq. XVII. 10, that it was done by Gratus, the general of the Roman foot, and not by Varus. Though it was indeed done by Gratus, while Quintilius Varus was president of Syria. Accordingly Dean Aldrich advises us only to blot out the preposition a, or by; and the testimony of Tacitus will then agree with that of Josephus.

§ Antiq. XVII. 10.

‖ See Chap. 4.

the Roman legion, armed after their accustomed manner. For as to Sabinus, he durst not come into Varus's sight; but was gone out of the city before this, to the sea-side. But Varus sent a part of his army into the country, against those that had been the authors of this commotion. And as they caught great numbers of them, those that appeared to have been the least concerned in these tumults he put into custody; but such as were the most guilty he crucified, to the number of about two thousand.

He was also informed that there continued in Idumea ten thousand men still in arms. But when he found that the Arabians did not act like auxiliaries, but managed the war according to their own passions, and did mischief to the country otherwise than he intended, and this out of their hatred to Herod, he sent them away; but made haste, with his own legions, to march against those that had revolted. But these, by the advice of Achiabus, delivered themselves up to him, before it came to a battle. Then did Varus forgive the multitude their offences; but sent their captains to Cæsar, to be examined by him. Now Cæsar forgave the rest; but gave orders that certain of the king's relations, (for some of those that were among them were Herod's kinsmen,) should be put to death, because they had engaged in a war against a king of their own family. When, therefore, Varus had settled matters at Jerusalem after this manner, and had left the former legion there, as a garrison, he returned to Antioch.

CHAP. VI.

ON THE COMPLAINTS OF THE JEWS AGAINST ARCHELAUS, CÆSAR DISTRIBUTES HEROD'S DOMINIONS AMONG HIS SONS.

BUT now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which he was to answer to. It was made by those ambassadors who, before the revolt, had come, by Varus's permission, to plead for the liberty of their country. Those that came were fifty in number: but there were more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome who supported them. And when Cæsar had assembled a council of the principal Romans in *Apollo's temple, that was in the place: (this was what he had himself built and adorned, at a vast expense:) the multitude of Jews stood with the ambassadors: and on the other side stood Archelaus, with his friends. But as for the kindred of Archelaus, they stood on neither side. For to stand on Archelaus's side, their hatred and envy against him would not permit; while yet they were afraid to be seen by Cæsar with his accusers. Besides these, there were present, Archelaus's brother, Philip; being sent thither beforehand, out of kindness, by Varus, for two reasons: the one was, that he might be assisting to Archelaus; and the other was, that in case Cæsar should make a distribution of what Herod possessed among his posterity, he might obtain some share of it.†

Now, upon the permission that was given to the accusers to speak, they, in the first place, went over Herod's breaches of their law, and said, that he was not a king, but the most barbarous of all tyrants; and that they had found him to be such by the sufferings they underwent from him. That when a very great number had been slain by him, those that were left had endured such miseries that they called those that were dead happy men. That he had not only tortured the bodies of his subjects, but entire cities; and had done much harm to the cities of his own country, while he adorned those that belonged to foreigners: and he shed the blood of Jews in order to do kindness to those people that were out of their bounds. That he had filled the nation full of poverty, and of the greatest iniquity; instead of that happiness, and those laws which they had anciently enjoyed. That, in short, the Jews had borne more calamities from Herod, in a few years, than had their forefathers during all that interval of time that had passed since they had come out of Babylon, and returned home, in the reign of ‡Xerxes. That, however, the nation was come to so low a condition, by being inured to hardships, that they submitted to his successor of their own accord, though he brought them into bitter slavery. That accordingly they readily called Archelaus, though he was the son of so great a tyrant, king, after the decease of his father; and joined with him in mourning for the death of Herod, and in wishing him good fortune in his succession; while yet this Archelaus, lest he should be in danger of not being thought the genuine son of Herod, began his reign with the murder of three thousand citizens: as if he had a mind to offer so many bloody sacrifices to God for his government; and to fill the temple with the like number of dead bodies at that festival. That, however, those that were left, after so many miseries, had just reason to consider now at last the calamities they had undergone: and to oppose themselves, like soldiers in war, to receive those stripes upon their faces, but not upon their backs, as hitherto. Wherefore they prayed that the Romans would have compassion upon the poor remains of Judea, and not expose what was left of them to such as barbarously tore them to pieces; and that they would join their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own commanders: whereby it would soon be demonstrated, that those who were now under the calumny of seditious persons, and lovers of war, knew how to bear governors that were set over them, if they were but tolerable ones. The Jews having concluded their accusation with this request, Nicolaus rose up, and confuted the accusations which were brought against the §kings: and himself accused the Jewish nation, as hard to be ruled, and as naturally disobedient to kings. He also reproached all those kinsmen of Archelaus who had left him, and were gone over to his accusers.

* This holding a council in the temple of Apollo, in the emperor's palace at Rome, by Augustus, and even the building of this temple magnificently by himself in that palace, are exactly agreeable to Augustus, in his elder years; as Aldrich and Spanheim observe, and prove from Suetonius, and Propertius.

† Antiq. XVII. 11.

‡ Here we have a strong confirmation, that it was Xerxes, and not Artaxerxes, under whom the main part of the Jews returned out of Babylonian captivity: i. e. in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. Which is exactly agreeable to Josephus, old Hebrew, but neither to our modern Hebrew, nor Greek copies. See Supplement to Lit. Accompl. of Proph. page 59—73. The same thing is in the Antiquities, XI. 5.

§ Herod and Archelaus.

So Cæsar, after he had heard both sides, dissolved the assembly for that time. But a few days afterward, he *gave the one half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus, by the name of ethnarch, and promised to make him king also afterward, if he rendered himself worthy of that dignity. But as to the other half, he divided it into two tetrarchies, and gave them to two other sons of Herod: the one of them to Philip, and the other to that Antipas who contested the kingdom with Archelaus. Under this last was Perea and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents. But Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and certain parts of Zeno's house about Jamnia, with a revenue of a hundred talents, were made subject to Philip. While Idumea, and all Judea, and Samaria were parts of the ethnarchy of Archelaus; although Samaria was eased of one quarter of its taxes, out of regard to their not having revolted with the rest of the nation. He also made subject to him the following cities, viz. Strato's Tower, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem. But as to the Grecian cities, Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos, he cut them off from the kingdom, and added them to Syria. Now the revenue of the country that was given to Archelaus, was four hundred talents. Salome also, besides what the king had left her in his testaments, was now made mistress of Jamnia, Ashdod, and Phasaelis. Cæsar did also bestow upon her the royal palace of Ascalon. By all which she got a revenue of sixty talents. But he put her under the ethnarchy of Archelaus. And for the rest of Herod's offspring, they received what was bequeathed to them in his testaments. But, besides that, Cæsar granted to Herod's two virgin daughters five hundred thousand drachmæ of silver; and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras. But after this family distribution, he gave between them what had been bequeathed to him by Herod, which was a thousand talents; reserving to himself only some inconsiderable presents, in honour of the deceased.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE IMPOSTURE AND DETECTION OF A SPURIOUS ALEXANDER; THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS, AND THE DEATH OF GLAPHYRA.

IN the mean time there was a man, who was by birth a Jew, but brought up at Sidon, with one of the Roman freedmen, who falsely pretended, on account of the resemblance of their countenances, that he was that Alexander who was slain by Herod. This man came to Rome, in hopes of not being detected. He had one who was his assistant, of his own nation, and who knew all the affairs of the kingdom; and instructed him to say how those that were sent to kill him and Aristobulus had pity upon them, and stole them away, by putting bodies that were like theirs in their places. This man deceived the Jews that were at Crete, and got a great deal of money from them for travelling in splendour, and thence sailed to Melos; where he was thought so certainly genuine, that he got a great deal more money, and prevailed with those that had treated him to sail along with him to Rome. So he landed at †Dicearchia, and got very large presents from the Jews who dwelt there; and was conducted by his father's friends as if he were a king. Nay, the resemblance in his countenance procured him so much credit, that those who had seen Alexander, and had known him very well, would take their oaths that he was the very same person. Accordingly, the whole body of the Jews, that were at Rome, ran out in crowds to see him; and an innumerable multitude stood in the narrow places, through which he was carried. For those of Melos were so far distracted, that they carried him in a sedan, and maintained a royal attendance for him at their own proper charges.

But Cæsar, who knew perfectly well the lineaments of Alexander's face, because he had been accused by Herod before him, discerned the fallacy in his countenance, even before he saw the man.‡ However, he suffered the agreeable fame that went of him to have some weight with him; and sent Celadus, one who well knew Alexander, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. But when Cæsar saw him, he immediately discerned a difference in his countenance: and when he had discovered that his whole body was of a more robust texture, and like that of a slave, he understood the whole was a contrivance. But the impudence of what he said greatly provoked him to be angry at him. For when he was asked about Aristobulus, he said, that he was also preserved alive, and was left on purpose in Cyprus, for fear of treachery: because it would be harder for plotters to get them both into their power while they were separate. Then did Cæsar take him by himself privately, and said to him, "I will give thee thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that persuaded thee to forge such stories." So he said that he would discover him; and followed Cæsar, and pointed to the Jew who abused the resemblance of his face to get money: for that he had received more presents in every city than ever Alexander did while he was alive. Cæsar laughed at the contrivance; and put this spurious Alexander among his rowers, on account of the strength of his body: but ordered him that persuaded him to be put to death. But for the people of Melos, they had been sufficiently punished for their folly by the expenses they had been at on his account.

Now Archelaus took possession of his §ethnarchy; and

* Dean Aldrich sets down here those passages of Tacitus and Strabo, which confirm what Josephus says, both here and Antiq. XVII. 13. Tacitus's words are these: Histor. v. 9. "The children of Herod," says he, "governed this nation, now reduced; and parted it into three governments." Strabo's words are as follow: "Of Herod's sons some of them he himself slew, as plotters against him. Others at his death he left his successors; and gave each of them a part of his dominions. Cæsar also honoured the sons of Herod, and his sister Salome, and her daughter Bernice." XVI. page 765.

† Puteoli.

‡ Such is the inconceivable variety of the human countenance, that but few instances of such similarity as confound the distinction of two different persons have ever occurred. It may, indeed, be justly questioned, whether an exact comparison would not, in all instances, discover some diversity. B.

§ Father Harduin pretends, that this Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great, was by Augustus made at first not barely an ethnarch, but a king: contrary to the testimony of Josephus, both here, and Antiq. XVIII. 1, without any proper evidence for that contradiction. On the other side there is a coin still extant, with HEROD in one place, and ETHNARCH in another: which Spanheim once conjectured to be this very Herod Archelaus. Unless Herod the Great be himself there called ethnarch; as the same Spanheim afterwards supposed. However, I prefer Spanheim's first conjecture, as best agreeing with Josephus. See the Latin note.

used not the Jews only, but the Samaritans also barbarously: and this out of his resentment of their old quarrels with him. Whereupon they both of them sent ambassadors against him to Cæsar; and in the ninth year of his government he was banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul: and his effects were put into Cæsar's treasury. But the report goes, that before he was sent for by Cæsar, he seemed to see nine *ears of corn, full and large; but devoured by oxen. When, therefore, he had sent for the diviners, and some of the Chaldeans, and inquired of them, what they thought it portended; and when one of them had one interpretation, and another had another, Simon, one of the sect of the Essenes, said, that he thought the ears of corn, denoted years: and the oxen denoted a mutation of things; because by their ploughing they made an alteration of the country. That, therefore, he should reign as many years as there were ears of corn: and after he had passed through various alterations of fortune, should die. Now five days after Archelaus had heard this interpretation, he was called to his trial.

I cannot also but think it worthy to be recorded, what dream Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia had, who had at first been wife to Alexander, who was the brother of Archelaus, concerning whom we have been discoursing. This Alexander was the son of Herod, the king, by whom he was put to death, as we have already related. This Glaphyra was married, after his death, to Juba, king of Libya: and after his death, was returned home, and lived a widow with her father. Then it was that Archelaus, the ethnarch, saw her, and fell so deeply in love with her, that he divorced Mariamne, who was then his wife, and married her. When, therefore, she was come into Judea, and had been there for a little while, she thought she saw Alexander stand by her: and that he said to her, "Thy marriage with the king of Libya might have been sufficient for thee: but thou wast not contented with him, but art returned again to my family, to a third husband: and him, thou impudent woman! hast thou chosen for thine husband, who is my brother. However, I shall not overlook the injury thou hast offered me. I shall soon have thee again, whether thou wilt or no." Now Glaphyra hardly survived the narration of this dream of hers two days.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE REDUCTION OF ARCHELAUS'S ETHNARCHY INTO A ROMAN PROVINCE; THE SEDITION OF JUDAS OF GALILEE; AND OF THE THREE SECTS OF THE JEWS.

NOW Archelaus's part of Judea was reduced into a province; and Coponius, one of the equestrian order among the Romans, was sent as a procurator, having the power of life and death put into his hands by Cæsar. Under his administration it was, that a certain Galilean, whose name was Judas, prevailed with his countrymen to revolt; and said they were cowards, if they would endure to pay a tax to the Romans; and would, after God, submit to mortal men as their lords. This man was a teacher of a peculiar sect of his own; and was not at all like the rest of those their leaders.

For there are three †philosophical sects among the Jews. The followers of the first of which are Pharisees; of the second the Sadducees; and the third sect, which pretends to a severer discipline, are called Essenes. These last are Jews by birth; and seem to have a greater affection for one another than the other sects have. These Essenes reject pleasures, as an evil: but esteem continence, and the conquest over our passions to be virtuous. They neglect wedlock; but choose out other persons' children, while they are pliable, and fit for learning; and esteem them to be of their kindred, and form them according to their own manners. They do not absolutely deny the fitness of marriage, and the succession of mankind thereby continued. But they guard against the lascivious behaviour of women; and are persurded that none of them preserve their fidelity to one man.

These men are despisers of riches: and so very communicative, as to excite general admiration. Nor is there any one to be found among them who has more than another. For it is a law among them, that those who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order: insomuch that among them all, there is no appearance of poverty, or excess of riches; but every one's possessions are intermingled with every other's possessions; and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren. They think that oil is a defilement: and if any one of them be anointed, without his own approbation, it is wiped off his body. For they think it is a good thing to be in a state of perspiration, as also to be always clothed in white garments. They also have stewards appointed, to take care of their common affairs: who every one of them have no separate business for any, but what is for the uses of them all.

They have no certain city: but many of them dwell in every city: and if any of their sect come from other places, what they have lies open for them, just as if it were their own: and they go in to such as they never knew before, as if they had been never so long acquainted with them. For which reason they carry nothing with them when they travel into remote parts: though still they take their weapons for fear of thieves. Accordingly there is, in every city where they live, one appointed particularly to take care of strangers: and to provide garments and other necessaries for them. But the habit and management of their bodies is such as

* Gen. xii. 1—7.

† Take Dean Aldrich's note here entire. "What is said of the Essenes in this chapter, Porphyry has transcribed De Abst. IV. 11, 12, 13, and Eusebius out of Porphyry, in his Preparation, IX. 2. Concerning them Josephus writes elsewhere, Antiq. XIII. 5; XV. 10; and XVII. 1. Besides these Philo has written about the Essenes, in his book, "That every good man is free," page 600. Eusebius produces an elegant place out of his apology for the Jews, not now extant, in his Preparation, VIII. 10. Lastly, Pliny treats of the Essenes in Nat. Hist. V. 17. Whatsoever we meet with that is authentic in other authors, is derived from these fountains. Let young men, therefore, read these original authors; and not suffer themselves to be perplexed with other accounts." The same learned person adds presently, "The rules of the Essenes do generally agree with those of the Pythagoreans. For it is well known that the Daci, who were instructed by Zamolxis, the Pythagorean, as well as Pythagoras himself, borrowed the greatest part of their institutions from the Jews. It were easy to compare the doctrines and practices of both sects together: but we need not take that trouble, while every body is acquainted with the Pythagorean institutions."

children use who are in fear of their masters. Nor do they allow of the change of garments, or of shoes, till they be first entirely torn to pieces, or worn out by time. Nor do they either buy or sell any thing to one another: but every one of them gives what he has to him that wants it, and receives from him again in lieu of it what may be convenient for himself. And although there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomsoever they please.

As for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary. For before sun rising they speak not a word about profane matters; but put up certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made supplication for its rising. After this every one of them are sent away by their curators to exercise some of those arts wherein they are skilled; in which they labour with great diligence till the fifth hour. After this they assemble together into one place; and when they have clothed themselves in white veils, they bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification is over, they every one meet in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any one of another sect to enter. While they go, after a pure manner, into the dining-room, as into a certain holy temple; and quietly set themselves down. Upon which the baker lays them loaves in order: the cook also brings a single plate of one sort of food, and sets it before every one of them. But a priest says grace before meat. And it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before grace be said. The same priest, when he has dined, says grace again after meat. And when they begin, and when they end, they praise God, as he that bestows their food upon them. After which they lay aside their white garments, and betake themselves to their labours again till the evening. Then they return home to supper, after the same manner: and if there be any strangers there they sit down with them. Nor is there any clamour or disturbance to pollute their house: but they give every one leave to speak in their turn. Which silence thus kept in their house appears to foreigners like some tremendous mystery. The cause of which is that perpetual sobriety they exercise; and the same settled measure of meat and drink that is allotted them; and that such as is abundantly sufficient for them.

And as for other things, they do nothing but according to the injunctions of their curators. Only these two things are done among them at every one's own free will: which are to assist those that want, and to shew mercy. For they are permitted of their own accord to afford succour to such as deserve it, when they stand in need: and to bestow food on those that are in distress. But they cannot give any thing to their kindred, without the curators. They dispense their anger after a just manner, and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity, and are the ministers of peace. Whatsoever they say also is firmer than an oath. But swearing is avoided by them; and they esteem it *worse than perjury. For they say, that he who cannot be believed without swearing by God, is already condemned. They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients; and choose out of them what is most for the advantage of their soul and body; and they inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their distempers.

But if any one be inclined to join their sect, he is not immediately admitted; but he is prescribed the same method of living which they use for a year: while he continues excluded: and they give him also a small hatchet, and the aforementioned girdle, and the white garment. And when he has given evidence, during that time, that he can observe their continence, he approaches nearer to their way of living, and is made a partaker of the waters of purification. Yet is he not even then admitted to live with them. For after this demonstration of his fortitude, his temper is tried two more years; and if he appear to be worthy, they then admit him into their society. And before he is allowed to touch their common food, he is obliged to take tremendous oaths, that, in the first place, he will exercise piety towards God, that he will observe justice towards men, and that he will do no harm to any one, either of his own accord, or by the command of others; that he will always hate the wicked, and be assistant to the righteous; that he will ever shew fidelity to all men, and especially to those in authority. Because no one obtains the government without God's assistance: and that, if he be in authority, he will at no time whatever abuse his authority; nor endeavour to outshine his subjects, either in his garments, or any other finery: that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies: that he will keep his hands clear from theft, and his soul from unlawful gains: and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others; no not though any one should compel him so to do at the hazard of his life. Moreover he must swear to communicate their doctrines to no one any otherwise than as he received them himself; to abstain from robbery; and to preserve the books belonging to their sect, and the names of the †angels. These are the oaths by which they secure their proselytes to themselves.

* This practice of the Essenes, in refusing to swear, and esteeming swearing on ordinary occasions, worse than perjury, is delivered here in general words, as are the parallel injunctions of our Saviour's, Matt. v. 34; xxiii. 16, and of St. James, v. 12. But all admit of particular exceptions, for solemn causes, and on great and necessary occasions. Thus these very Essenes, who here so zealously avoid swearing, are said to admit none till they take tremendous oaths to perform their several duties, to God, and to their neighbour; without supposing they thereby break this rule, not to swear at all. The case is the same in Christianity, as we learn from the Apostolical Constitutions: which, although they agree with Christ and St. James, in forbidding to swear in general, v. 12, vi. 23, yet do they explain it elsewhere, by avoiding to "swear falsely, and to swear often, and in vain," ii. 36, and again, by "not swearing at all;" but withal, adding, that "If that cannot be avoided, to swear truly," vii. 3. Which abundantly explain to us the nature of the measure of this general injunction.

† This mention of the names of angels, so particularly preserved by the Essenes: (if it mean more than those messengers who were employed to bring them the peculiar books of their sect:) looks like a prelude to that worshipping of angels blamed by St. Paul, as superstitious, and unlawful, in some such sort of people as these Essenes were, Coloss. ii. 8, as is the prayer towards the sun for his rising every morning, mentioned before, very like those not much later observances made mention of in the preaching of Peter, Authent. Rec. Part II. page 669, and regarding a kind of worship of angels, and of the moon; and not celebrating the new moons, or other festivals, unless the moon appeared. Which, indeed, seems to me the earliest mention of any regard to the moon's phases in fixing the Jewish calendar. Of which the Talmud and later Rabbins talk so much, and upon so little ancient foundation.

But for those that are caught in any heinous sins, they cast them out of their society. And he who is thus separated from them, does often die after a miserable manner. For as he is bound by the oath he has taken, and by the customs he has been engaged in, he is not at liberty to partake of that food that he meets with elsewhere; but is forced to eat grass, and to famish his body with hunger, till he perish. For which reason they receive many of them again, when they are at their last gasp, out of compassion to them: as thinking the miseries they have endured till they came to the very brink of death, to be a sufficient punishment for the sins they had been guilty of.

But in the judgments they exercise they are most accurate and just. Nor do they pass sentence by the votes of a court that is fewer than a hundred. And as to what is once determined by that number, it is unalterable. What they most of all honour, after God himself, is the name of their *legislator: whom if any one blaspheme, he is punished capitally. They also think it a good thing to obey their elders, and the major part. Accordingly if ten of them be sitting together, no one will speak while the other nine are against it. They also avoid spitting in the midst of them, or on the right side. Moreover they are †stricter than any other of the Jews in resting from their labours on the seventh day. For they not only get their food ready the day before that they may not be obliged to kindle a fire on that day; but they will not even remove any vessel out of its place, nor perform the most pressing necessities of nature. Nay, on other days they dig a small pit, a foot deep, with a paddle,‡ (which kind of hatchet is given them, when they are first admitted among them;) and covering themselves round with their garment, that they may not affront the divine rays of light, they ease themselves into that pit. After which they put the earth that was dug out again into that pit. And even this they do only in the most lonely places, which they choose for this purpose. And it is a rule with them to wash themselves afterwards as if it were a defilement.

After the time of their preparatory trial is over, they are parted into four classes. And so far are the juniors inferior to the seniors, that if the seniors should be touched by the juniors they must wash themselves, as if they had intermixed with the company of a foreigner. They are long-lived also. Insomuch that many of them live above a hundred years, by means of the simplicity of their diet: nay, as I think, by means of the regular course of life they observe. They contemn the miseries of life, and are above pain, by the generosity of their mind. And as for death, if it will be for their glory, they esteem it better than living always. And, indeed, our war with the Romans gave abundant evidence what great souls they had in their trials. Wherein, although they were tortured and distorted, burnt and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme their legislator, or to eat what was forbidden them; yet could they not be made to do either of them: no nor once to flatter their tormentors, or to shed a tear. But they smiled in their very pains; and laughed those to scorn who inflicted the torments upon them; and resigned up their souls, with great cheerfulness: as expecting to receive them again.

For their doctrine is that bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal and continue for ever: and that they come out of the most subtile air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural enticement. But that when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then, as released from a long bondage, rejoice and mount upward. And this is like the opinion of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean; in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain, or snow, or with intense heat: but that this place is such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a west wind, that is perpetually blowing from the ocean. While they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den, full of never ceasing punishments. And, indeed, the Greeks seem to have followed the same notion, when they allot the islands of their blessed to their brave men, whom they call heroes, and demigods; and to the souls of the wicked, the region of the ungodly in Hades: where their fables relate that certain persons, such as Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ixion, and Tityus, are punished: which is built on this first supposition that souls are immortal. And thence are those exhortations to virtue, and dehortations from wickedness collected; whereby good men are bettered in the conduct of their life by the hope they have of reward after their death; and whereby the vehement inclinations of bad men to vice are restrained, by the fear and expectation they are in, that although they should lie concealed in this life, they should suffer immortal punishment after their death. These are the divine doctrines of the Essenes about the soul: which lay an unavoidable bait for such as have once had a taste of their philosophy.

There are also those among them who undertake to §foretell things to come; by reading the holy books, and using several sorts of purifications, and being perpetually conversant in the discourses of the prophets. And it is but seldom that they miss in their predictions.

Moreover, there is another order of Essenes, who agree with the rest as to their way of living, and customs, and laws, but differ from them in the point of marriage: as thinking that by not marrying they cut off the principal part of human life, which is the prospect of succession: nay, rather that, if all men should be of the same opinion, the whole race of mankind would fail. However, they try their spouses for three years; and if they find that they are likely to be fruitful, they then actually marry them. But they do not use to ‖accompany with their wives when they

---

* Moses.

† Of the Jewish or Essene rigour in the observance of rest on the sabbath-day, see Dean Aldrich's and Dr. Hudson's notes here.

‡ See Deut. xxiii. 12, 13.

§ Dean Aldrich reckons up three examples of this gift of prophecy in several of these Essenes out of Josephus himself; viz. in the History of the War, I. 3, Judas foretold the death of Antigonus at Strato's Tower, II. 7, 3. Simon foretold that Archelaus should reign but nine or ten years. And Antiq. XV. 10, Menahem foretold that Herod should be a king, and should reign tyrannically; and that for more than twenty or even thirty years. All which came to pass accordingly.

‖ This law or counsel of perfection, was taken into the Christian religion: and is extant, as such, in the Constitut. VI. 28. In the Recognitions, VI. 10, 11, and in others of the ancient fathers. See Cotelerius's note on the place in the Constitutions.

are pregnant: as a demonstration that they do not marry out of regard to pleasure, but for the sake of posterity. Now the women go into the baths with some of their garments on: as the men do with somewhat girded about them. And these are the customs of this order of Essenes.

But as to the two other orders at first mentioned, the Pharisees are those who are esteemed most skilful in the exact explication of their laws, and introduce the first sect. These ascribe all to *fate, and to God: and yet allow that to act what is right or the contrary, is principally in the power of men: although fate does co-operate in every action. They say that all souls are incorruptible: but that the †souls of good men only are removed into other bodies: but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. But the Sadducees are those that compose the second order, and take away fate entirely; and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil: and they say that to act what is good, or what is evil, is at men's own choice; and that the one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul; and the punishments and rewards in Hades.‡ Moreover the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and are for the exercise of concord, and regard for the public. But the behaviour of the Sadducees one towards another is in some degree wild; and their conversation with those that are of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers to them. And this is what I had to say concerning the philosophic sects among the Jews.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE DEATH OF SALOME; THE CITIES WHICH HEROD AND PHILIP BUILT; THE DISTURBANCES OCCASIONED BY PILATE; THE IMPRISONMENT OF AGRIPPA, WITH HIS SUBSEQUENT LIBERATION AND GOOD FORTUNE; AND THE BANISHMENT OF HEROD ANTIPAS.

NOW as the ethnarchy of Archelaus was fallen into a Roman province, the other sons of Herod, Philip, and that of Herod who was called Antipas, each of them assumed the administration of their own tetrarchies. For when Salome died, she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of Augustus, both her toparchy, and Jamnia: as also her plantation of palm-trees that was in Phasaelis. But when the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years, six months, and two days, both Herod and Philip continued in their tetrarchies: and the latter of them built the city §Cæsarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Paneas. As also the city Julias, in the lower Gaulanitis. Herod also built the city ‖Tiberias in Galilee; and in Perea, beyond Jordan, another that was also called Julias.

Now Pilate, who was sent as procurator into Judea by Tiberias, sent by night those images of Cæsar that are called ensigns into Jerusalem. This excited a very great tumult among the Jews, when it was day. For those that were near them were astonished at the sight of them; as indications that their laws were trodden under foot. For those laws do not permit any sort of image to be brought into the city. Nay, besides the indignation which the citizens had themselves at this procedure, a vast number of the people came running out of the country. These came zealously to Pilate to Cæsarea; and besought him to carry those ensigns out of Jerusalem, and to preserve their ancient laws inviolable. But upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down prostrate upon the ground, and continued immoveable in that posture, for five days, and as many nights.

On the next day Pilate sat upon his tribunal, in the open market-place; and called to him the multitude, as desirous to give them an answer. And then gave a signal to the soldiers, that they should all, as by agreement, at once encompass the Jews with their weapons. So the band of soldiers stood round about the Jews, in three ranks. The Jews were under the utmost consternation at that unexpected sight. Pilate also said to them, that they should be cut in pieces, unless they would admit of Cæsar's images: and gave intimation to the soldiers to draw their swords. Hereupon the Jews, as it were at one signal, fell down in vast numbers together, and exposed their necks bare; and cried out that they would rather be slain than that their law should be transgressed. Hereupon Pilate was greatly surprised at their prodigious superstition, and gave order that the ensigns should be carried out of Jerusalem.

After this he raised another disturbance, by expending that sacred treasure which is called ¶Corban upon aqueducts; whereby he brought water from the distance of four hundred furlongs. At this the multitude had indignation. And when Pilate was come to Jerusalem, they came about his tribunal, and made a clamour at it. Now when he was apprised beforehand of this disturbance, he mixed his own soldiers in their armour with the multitude; and ordered

* Or, Providence.

† There is so much more here about the Essenes, than is cited from Josephus in Porphyry and Eusebius: and yet so much less about the Pharisees and Sadducees, the two other Jewish sects, than would naturally be expected in proportion to the Essenes, or third sect; nay, than seems to be referred to by himself elsewhere, that one is tempted to suppose Josephus had at first written less of the one, and more of the two others than his present copies afford us. As also that by some unknown accident our present copies are here made up of the larger edition in the first case, and of the smaller in the second. See the note in Havercamp's edition. However, what Josephus says in the name of the Pharisees, that only the souls of good men go out of one body into another; although all souls be immortal; and still the souls of the bad are liable to eternal punishment: as also what he says afterward, Antiquities, XVIII. 1, that the soul's vigour is immortal; and that under the earth they receive rewards or punishments according as their lives have been virtuous or vicious in the present world; that to the bad is allotted an eternal prison; but that the good are permitted to live again in this world, are nearly agreeable to the doctrines of Christianity. Only Josephus's rejection of the return of the wicked into other bodies, or into this world, which he grants to the good, looks somewhat like a contradiction to St. Paul's account of the doctrine of the Jews, that "they themselves allowed that there should be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust," Acts xxiv. 15. Yet because Josephus's account is that of the Pharisees; and St. Paul's that of the Jews in general, and of himself, the contradiction is not very certain.

‡ Hades includes the place of rewards as well as of punishments.

§ Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27.

‖ Frequently mentioned in the New Testament.

¶ This use of Corban, or Oblation, as here applied to the sacred money dedicated to God in the treasury of the temple, illustrates our Saviour's words, Mark vii. 11, 12.

them to conceal themselves under the habits of private men, and not, indeed, to use their swords; but with their staves to beat those that made the clamour. He then gave the signal from his tribunal, to do as he had bidden them. Now the Jews were so sadly beaten, that many of them perished by the stripes they received; and many of them perished as trodden to death by themselves. By which means the multitude was astonished at the calamity of those that were slain, and held their peace.

In the mean time Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who had been slain by his father Herod, came to Tiberius to accuse Herod the tetrarch. Who not admitting of his accusation, he staid at Rome, and cultivated a friendship with others of the men of note, but principally with Caius the son of Germanicus, who was then but a private person. Now this Agrippa, at a certain time, feasted Caius. And as he was very complaisant to him on several other accounts, he at length stretched out his hands, and openly wished that Tiberius might die; and that he might quickly see him emperor of the world. This was told to Tiberius, by one of Agrippa's domestics. Who thereupon was very angry, and ordered Agrippa to be bound; and had him very ill treated in prison for six months, until Tiberius died; after he had reigned twenty-two years, six months, and three days.

But when Caius was made Cæsar, he *released Agrippa from his bonds, and made him king of Philip's tetrarchy, who was now dead. But when Agrippa had arrived at that degree of dignity, he inflamed the ambitious desires of Herod the tetrarch: who was chiefly induced to hope for the royal authority by his wife Herodias: for she reproached him for his sloth; and told him that it was only because he would not sail to Cæsar, that he was destitute of that greater dignity. For since Cæsar had made Agrippa a king, from a private person, much more would he advance him from a tetrarch to that dignity. These arguments prevailed with Herod: so that he came to Caius. By whom he was punished for his ambition, by being banished into Spain. For Agrippa followed him in order to accuse him. To whom also Caius gave his tetrarchy by way of addition. So Herod died in Spain; whither his wife had followed him.†

CHAP. X.

OF THE ORDERS WHICH CAIUS ISSUED RELATIVE TO THE ERECTION OF HIS STATUE IN THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM; AND OF THE CONDUCT OF PETRONIUS.

NOW Caius Cæsar did so grossly abuse the fortune he had arrived at as to take himself to be a god; and to desire to be so called; and to cut off those of the greatest nobility out of his country. He also extended his impiety as far as the Jews. Accordingly he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem to place his statue in the temple: ‡and commanded, that in case the Jews would not admit of it, he should slay those that opposed, and carry all the rest of the nation into captivity. But God concerned himself with these commands. However, Petronius marched out of Antioch into Judea, with three legions, and many Syrian auxiliaries. Now as to the Jews, some of them could not believe the stories that spake of a war: but those that did believe them were in the utmost distress how to defend themselves. And the terror diffused itself presently through them all. For the army was already come to Ptolemais.

This Ptolemais is a maritime city of Galilee built in the great plain. It is encompassed with mountains. That on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to Galilee: but that on the south belongs to Carmel, which is distant from it a hundred and twenty furlongs. And that on the north is the highest of them all, and is called by the people of the country, the ladder of the Tyrians, which is at the distance of a hundred furlongs. The very small river §Belus runs by it, at the distance of two furlongs. Near which there is ‖Memnon's monument; and near it is a place no larger than a hundred cubits, which deserves admiration. For the place is round, and hollow, and affords such sand as glass is made of: which place when it hath been emptied by the many ships there loaded, it is filled again by the winds, which bring into it, as it were on purpose, that sand which lay remote, and was no more than bare common sand: while this mine presently turns it into glassy sand. And what is still more wonderful, that glassy sand which is superfluous, and is once removed out of the place, becomes bare common sand again. And this is the nature of the place we are speaking of.

But now the Jews got together in great numbers, with their wives and children, into that plain that was by Ptolemais; and made supplication to Petronius, first for their laws, and in the next place for themselves. So he was prevailed upon by the multitude of the supplicants, and by their supplications; and left his army and the statue at Ptolemais, and then went forward into Galilee; and called together the multitude, and all the men of note to Tiberias, and shewed them the power of the Romans, and the threatenings of Cæsar: and besides this, proved that their petition was unreasonable; because while all the nations in subjection to them had placed the images of Cæsar in their several cities, among the rest of their gods, for them alone to oppose it, was almost like the behaviour of revolters, and was injurious to Cæsar.

And when they insisted on their law, and the customs of their country; and how it was not only not permitted them to make either an image of God, or, indeed, of a man, and to put it in any despicable part of their country, much less in the temple; Petronius replied, "And am not I also

* Dean Aldrich produces here two testimonies that confirm what Josephus says, as to Caius's freeing Agrippa from imprisonment, and bestowing the kingdom of his grandfather Herod upon him: I mean Dio LIX. page 645, and Philo in Flaccum, page 665, 666.

† Antiq. XVIII. 8.

‡ Whatever compliances the Jews might be disposed to make to his will, it was highly improbable they would concede this point, because their law was so express against idolatry, and they were remarkably tenacious of the sanctity of their temple. B.

§ This account of a place, near the mouth of the river Belus in Phœnicia, whence came that sand out of which the ancients made their glass, is a known thing in history: particularly in Tacitus and Strabo, and more largely in Pliny: as Aldrich and Spanheim here inform us.

‖ This Memnon had several monuments: and one of them appears, both by Strabo and Diodorus, to have been in Syria: and not improbably in this very place. See Dean Aldrich's note here.

bound to keep the law of my own lord? For if I transgress it, and spare you, it is but just that I perish: while he that sent me, and not I, will commence a war against you: for I am under command as well as you." Hereupon the whole multitude cried out, that they were ready to suffer for their law. Petronius then quieted them, and said: "Will you then make war against Cæsar?" The Jews said, "We offer sacrifice twice every day for Cæsar and for the Roman people: but if he will place images among us, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation: and we are ready to expose ourselves, together with our children and wives to be slain." At this Petronius was astonished, and pitied them on account of the inexpressible sense of religion the men were under, and that courage of theirs which made them ready to die for it. So they were dismissed without success.

But on the following days he got together the men of power privately, and the multitude publicly, and sometimes he used persuasions, and sometimes he gave them his advice; but he chiefly made use of threatenings to them, and insisted upon the power of the Romans, and the anger of Caius: and besides, upon the necessity he was himself under to do as he was enjoined. But as they could be no way prevailed upon, and he saw that the country was in danger of lying without tillage, (for it was about seed-time that the multitude continued for fifty days together idle,) he at last got them together, and told them, that it was best for him to run some hazard himself. "For," said he, "either by the divine assistance, I shall prevail with Cæsar, and shall myself escape the danger as well as you, which will be matter of joy to us both: or, in case Cæsar continue in his rage, I will be ready to expose my own life for such a great number as you are." Hereupon he dismissed the multitude, who prayed greatly for his prosperity; and he took the army out of Ptolemais, and returned to Antioch: from whence he presently sent an epistle to Cæsar, and informed him of the irruption he had made into Judea, and of the supplications of the nation; and that unless he had a mind to lose both the country, and the men in it, he must permit them to keep their law, and must countermand his former injunction. Caius answered that epistle in a violent way; and threatened to have Petronius put to death for his being so tardy in the execution of what he had commanded. But it happened that those who brought Caius's epistle were tossed by a storm, and were detained on the sea for three months; while others that brought the news of Caius's death had a good voyage. Accordingly Petronius received the epistle concerning Caius seven and twenty days before he received that which was against himself.

CHAP. XI.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CLAUDIUS, AND THE REIGN OF AGRIPPA.—ALSO CONCERNING THE DEATHS OF AGRIPPA AND OF HEROD; AND WHAT CHILDREN THEY BOTH LEFT BEHIND THEM.

NOW when Caius had reigned three years and eight months, and had been slain by treachery, Claudius was hurried away by the armies that were at Rome to take the government upon him. But the senate, upon the reference of the consuls, Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, gave orders to the three regiments of soldiers that staid with them to keep the city quiet; and went up into the capitol, in great numbers, and resolved to oppose Claudius by force, on account of the barbarous treatment they met with from Caius; and they determined either to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as they had of old been governed; or at least to choose by vote such a one for emperor as might be worthy of it.

Now it happened at this time Agrippa sojourned at Rome; and that both the senate called him to consult with them; and at the same time Claudius sent for him out of the camp; that he might be serviceable to him as he should have occasion for his service. So he perceiving that Claudius was in effect made Cæsar already, went to him: who sent him as an ambassador to the senate, to let them know, what his intentions were: that, in the first place, it was without his seeking, that he was hurried away by the soldiers: moreover that he thought it was not just to desert those soldiers in such their zeal for him; and that, if he should do so, his own fortune would be in uncertainty: for that it was a dangerous case to have been once called to the empire. He added farther, that he would administer the government as a good prince, and not like a tyrant: for that he would be satisfied with the honour of being called emperor; but would, in every one of his actions, permit them all to give him their advice: for that although he had not been by nature for moderation, yet would the death of Caius afford him a sufficient demonstration how soberly he ought to act in that station.

This message was delivered by Agrippa. To which the senate replied, that since they had an army, and the wisest counsels on their side, they would not endure a voluntary slavery. And when Claudius heard what answer the senate had made, he sent Agrippa to them again with the following message, that he could not bear the thoughts of betraying them that had given their oaths to be true to him, and that he saw he must fight, though unwillingly: that however, if it must come to that, it was proper to choose a place without the city for the war; because it was not agreeable to piety to pollute the temples of their own city with the blood of their countrymen; and this only on occasion of their imprudent conduct. And when Agrippa had heard this message, he delivered it to the senators.

In the mean time one of the soldiers belonging to the senate drew his sword, and cried out, "O my fellow soldiers, what is the meaning of this choice of ours, to kill our brethren, and to use violence to our kindred that are with Claudius? while we may have him for our emperor whom no one can blame; and who hath so many just reasons to lay claim to the government: and this with regard to those against whom we are going to fight." When he had said this, he marched through the whole senate, and carried all the soldiers along with him. Upon which all the patricians were immediately in a great fright at being thus deserted: and because there appeared no other way whither they could turn themselves for deliverance, they made haste the same way with the soldiers, and went to Claudius. But those that had the greatest luck in flattering the good fortune of Claudius betimes, met them before the

walls with their naked swords: and there was reason to fear that those that came first might have been in danger, before Claudius could know what violence the soldiers were going to offer them, had not Agrippa ran before, and told him what a dangerous thing they were going about; and that unless he restrained the violence of these men, who were in a fit of madness against the patricians, he would lose those on whose account it was most desirable to rule; and would be emperor over a desert.*

When Claudius heard this, he restrained the violence of the soldiery, and received the senate into the camp, and treated them after an obliging manner; and went out with them presently to offer their thank-offerings to God, which were proper upon his first coming to the empire. Moreover he bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately: and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis and Auranitis; and still besides these, that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanias. This gift he declared to the people by a decree; but ordered the magistrates to have the donation engraved on tables of brass,† and to be set up in the capitol. He then bestowed on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law, by marrying his daughter Bernice, the kingdom of Chalcis.

So now riches flowed in to Agrippa by his enjoyment of so large a dominion. Nor did he abuse the money he had on small matters. But he began to encompass Jerusalem with a wall, which, had it been brought to perfection, had made it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege. But his death, which happened at Cæsarea, before he had raised the walls to their due height, prevented him. He had then reigned three years, as he had governed his tetrarchies three other years. He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cypros: Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; and a son born of the same mother, whose name was Agrippa. He was left a very young child; so that Claudius made the country a Roman province; and sent Cuspius Fadus to be its procurator; and after him Tiberius Alexander: who, making no alterations of the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquillity. Now after this, Herod king of Chalcis died, and left behind him two sons, born to him of his brother's daughter Bernice. Their names were Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus. He also left behind him Aristobulus, whom he had by his former wife, Mariamne. There was besides another son of his who died a private person: his name was also Aristobulus, who left behind him a daughter, whose name was Jotape. And these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus, the son of Herod: which Aristobulus and Alexander were born to Herod by Mariamne, and were slain by him. But as for Alexander's posterity they reigned in Armenia.‡

* See Antiquities, XIX. 4.

† Tacitus several times mentions this method of celebrating and preserving the memory of important events. It appears to have been a very general practice. B.

‡ Antiq. XX. 1.

§ Compare with these accounts in Josephus that of Justus of Tiberias, who was greatly acquainted with the family of this Agrippa. He says, that this Agrippa, the last king of the Jews, who took the government under Claudius, had it augmented under Nero; and still more augmented by Vespasian; and died in the third year of Trajan.

CHAP. XII.

TUMULTS ARISE UNDER CUMANUS, BUT ARE COMPOSED BY QUADRATUS.—FELIX IS MADE PROCURATOR OF JUDEA; AND AGRIPPA IS ADVANCED FROM CHALCIS TO A GREATER KINGDOM.

AFTER the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, Claudius set §Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, over his uncle's kingdom;‖ while Cumanus took upon him the office of procurator of the rest, which was a Roman province; and therein he succeeded Alexander. Under this Cumanus began the troubles, and the Jews' ruin came on. For when the multitude were come together to Jerusalem, to the feast of unleavened bread, and a Roman cohort stood over the cloisters of the temple: (for they always were armed, and kept guard at the festivals, to prevent any innovation, which the multitude thus gathered together might make;) one of the soldiers pulled back his garment, and stooping down, after an indecent manner, turned his posteriors to the Jews; and spake such words as might be expected upon such a posture. At this the whole multitude had indignation; and made a clamour to Cumanus, that he would punish the soldier. While the rasher part of the youth, and such as were naturally the most tumultuous, fell to fighting; and caught up stones, and threw them at the soldiers. Upon this Cumanus was afraid lest all the people should make an assault upon him: and sent to call for more armed men. Who when they came, in great numbers, into the cloisters, the Jews were in a great consternation; and being beaten out of the temple, they ran into the city. And the violence with which they crowded to get out was so great, that they trod upon each other, and squeezed one another, till ten thousand of them were killed: insomuch that this feast became the cause of mourning to the whole nation: and every family lamented their own relations.

Now there followed after this another calamity, which arose from a tumult made by robbers. For at the public road of Bethoron, one Stephen, a servant of Cæsar's, carried some furniture, which the robbers fell upon, and seized.¶ Upon this Cumanus sent men to go round about to the neighbouring villages, and to bring their inhabitants to him bound: as laying it to their charge that they had not pursued after the thieves, and caught them. Now here it was that a certain soldier, finding the sacred book of the law, tore it to pieces, and **threw it into the fire. Hereupon the Jews were in great disorder,†† as if their whole country were in a flame; and assembled themselves so many of them by their zeal for their religion, as by an engine; and ran together with united clamour to Cæsarea to Cumanus; and

‖ A. D. 48.

¶ See Antiquities, XX. 4.

** Reland notes here, that the Talmud, in recounting ten sad accidents for which the Jews ought to rend their garments, reckons this for one; when they hear that the law of God is burnt.

†† The great zeal of the Jews for their law easily accounts for the ferment which this action excited. It appears to have been a peculiar disposition of providential circumstances for the preservation of the inspired writings, that they should so resent any injury threatened, or attempted upon them. B.

made supplication to him, that he would not overlook this man, who had offered such an affront to God, and to his law; but punish him for what he had done. Accordingly he, perceiving that the multitude would not be quiet unless they had a satisfactory answer from him, gave order that the soldier should be brought, and drawn through those that required to have him punished, to execution: which being done, the Jews went their ways.

After this there happened a fight between the Galileans and the Samaritans, at a village called Geman; which is situate in the great plain of Samaria; where, as a great number of Jews were going up to Jerusalem to the *feast, a certain Galilean was slain. And besides a vast number of people ran together out of Galilee, in order to fight with the Samaritans. But the principal men among them came to Cumanus, and besought him, that before the evil became incurable, he would come into Galilee and bring the authors of this murder to punishment: for that there was no other way to make the multitude separate without coming to blows. However, Cumanus postponed their supplications to the other affairs he was then about; and sent the petitioners away without success.

But when the affair of this murder came to be told at Jerusalem, it put the multitude into disorder, and they left the feast: and, without any generals to conduct them, they marched with great violence to Samaria. Nor would they be ruled by any of the magistrates that were set over them. But they were managed by one Eleazar, the son of Dineus, and by Alexander, in these their thievish and seditious attempts. These men fell upon those that were in the neighbourhood of the Acrabatene toparchy, and slew them, without sparing any age; and set the village on fire.

But Cumanus took one troop of horsemen, called the troop of Sebaste, out of Cæsarea; and came to the assistance of those that were spoiled. He also seized upon a great number of those that followed Eleazar, and slew more of them. And as for the rest of the multitude of those that went so zealously to fight with the Samaritans, the rulers of Jerusalem ran out clothed with sackcloth, and having ashes on their head, and begged of them to go their ways; lest by their attempt to revenge themselves upon the Samaritans they should provoke the Romans to come against Jerusalem; to have compassion upon their country, and temple; their children, and their wives; and not bring the utmost danger of destruction upon them, in order to avenge themselves upon one Galilean only. The Jews complied with these persuasions, and dispersed themselves. But still there was a great number who betook themselves to robbing, in hopes of impunity; and rapines and insurrections of the bolder sort happened over the whole country. And the men of power among the Samaritans came to Tyre, to †Ummidius Quadratus, president of Syria, and desired that they who had laid waste the country might be punished. The great men of the Jews, and Jonathan the son of Ananus, the high-priest, came thither, and said, that the Samaritans were the beginners of the disturbance; on account of that murder they had committed: and that Cumanus had given occasion to what had happened, by his unwillingness to punish the original authors of that murder.

But Quadratus put both parties off for that time, and told them, that when he should come to those places he would make a diligent inquiry after every circumstance. After which he went to Cæsarea, and crucified all those whom Cumanus had taken alive; and when from thence he was come to the city Lydda, he heard the affair of the Samaritans, and sent for eighteen of the Jews whom he had learned to have been concerned in that fight, and beheaded them: but he sent two others of those that were of the greatest power among them, and both Jonathan and Ananias the high-priests, as also Ananus the son of this Ananias, and certain others that were eminent among the Jews to Cæsar: as he did in like manner by the most illustrious of the Samaritans. He also ordered that Cumanus, the procurator, and Celer the tribune should sail to Rome, in order to give an account of what had been done to Cæsar. When he had finished these matters, he went up from Lydda to Jerusalem, and finding the multitude celebrating their feast of unleavened bread without any tumult, he returned to Antioch.‡

Now when Cæsar at Rome had heard what Cumanus and the Samaritans had to say: (where it was done in the hearing of Agrippa, who zealously espoused the cause of the Jews; as in like manner many of the great men stood by Cumanus:) he condemned the Samaritans; and commanded that three of the most powerful men among them should be put to death. He banished Cumanus, and sent Celer bound to Jerusalem, to be delivered over to the Jews, to be tormented; that he should be drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

After this, Cæsar sent Felix, §the brother of Pallas, to be procurator of Galilee, Samaria, and Perea; and removed Agrippa from Chalcis unto a greater kingdom. For he gave

* Probably the feast of tabernacles.

† This Ummidius, or Numidius, or, as Tacitus calls him, Vimidius Quadratus, is mentioned in an ancient inscription still preserved, as Spanheim here informs us: which calls him UMMIDIUS QUADRATUS.

‡ A. D. 52.

§ Take the character of this Felix (who is well known from the Acts of the Apostles; particularly from his trembling when St. Paul discoursed of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come; Acts xxiv. 25, and no wonder, when we have elsewhere seen, that he lived in adultery with Drusilla, another man's wife, Antiq. XX. 7,) in the words of Tacitus, produced here by Dean Aldrich: "Felix exercised," says Tacitus, "the authority of a king, with the disposition of a slave: and relying upon the great power of his brother Pallas at court, thought he might safely be guilty of all kinds of wicked practices." Observe also the time when he was made procurator, A. D. 52, that when St. Paul pleaded his cause before him, A. D. 58, he might have been many years a judge unto that nation: as St. Paul says he had then been, Acts xxiv. 10. But as to what Tacitus here says, that before the death of Cumanus, Felix was procurator over Samaria only, does not well agree with St. Paul's words, who would hardly have called Samaria a Jewish nation. In short, since what Tacitus here says, is about countries very remote from Rome, where he lived; since what he says of two Roman procurators, the one over Galilee, the other over Samaria at the same time, is without all example elsewhere; and since Josephus, who lived at that very time in Judea, appears to have known nothing of this procuratorship of Felix, before the death of Cumanus, I much suspect the story itself, as nothing better than a mistake of Tacitus's: especially when it seems not only omitted, but contradicted by Josephus: as any one may find that compares their histories together. Possibly Felix might have been a subordinate judge among the Jews some time before, under Cumanus; but that he was in earnest a procurator of Samaria before, I do not believe. Bishop Pearson, as well as Bishop Lloyd, quotes this account, but with a doubtful clause: Si fides Tacito: If we may believe Tacitus. Pears. Annal. Paulin. page 8. Marshall's Tables at A. D. 49.

him the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip; which contained Batanea, Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis. He also added to it the kingdom of Lysanias, and that *province which Varus had governed. But Claudius himself, when he had administered the government thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, died: and left Nero to be his successor in the empire.† Whom he had adopted by his wife Agrippina's delusions, in order to be his successor, although he had a son of his own, whose name was Britannicus, by Messalina his former wife; and a daughter, whose name was Octavia, whom he had married to Nero. He had also another daughter by Petina, whose name was Antonia.

CHAP. XIII.

OF THE ADDITION OF FOUR CITIES TO AGRIPPA'S KINGDOM, WHILE THE OTHER PARTS OF JUDEA REMAINED UNDER FELIX; THE DISTURBANCES WHICH WERE RAISED BY THE SACARII, THE MAGICIANS, AND AN EGYPTIAN FALSE PROPHET: AND A CONTEST BETWEEN THE JEWS AND SYRIANS AT CÆSAREA.

NOW as to the things in which Nero acted like a madman, out of the extravagant degree of felicity and riches which he enjoyed; and by that means used his good fortune to the injury of others: and after what manner he slew his brother, and wife, and mother; from whom his barbarity spread itself to others that were most nearly related to him; and how, at last, he was so distracted that he became an actor in the scenes, and upon the theatre, I omit to say any more about them: because there are writers upon those subjects every where. But I shall confine myself to those actions of his time in which the Jews were concerned.

Nero, therefore, bestowed the kingdom of the lesser Armenia, upon Aristobulus, ‡Herod's son: and he added to Agrippa's kingdom four cities with the toparchies to them belonging: I mean Abila, and that Julius which is in Perea: Tarichea also, and Tiberias of Galilee. But over the rest of Judea he made Felix procurator. This Felix took Eleazar the arch robber, and many that were with him, alive; when they ravaged the country for twenty years together, and sent them to Rome.§ But as to the number of the robbers whom he caused to be crucified, and of those who were caught among them, and whom he brought to punishment, they were a multitude not to be enumerated.

When the country was purged of these, there sprung up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, which were called Sicarii; who slew men in the day-time, and in the midst of the city. This they did chiefly at the festivals, when they mingled themselves among the multitude, and concealed daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies: and when they fell down dead, the murderers became a part of those that had indignation against them. By which means they appeared persons of such reputation, that they could by no means be discovered. The first man who was slain by them was Jonathan, the high-priest. After whose death many were slain every day: while the fear men were in of being so served was more afflicting than the calamity itself; and while every body expected death every hour; as men do in war. So men were obliged to look before them, and to take notice of their enemies at a great distance: nor if their friends were coming to them, durst they trust them any longer. But, in the midst of their suspicions and guarding of themselves, they were slain. Such was the celerity of the plotters against them, and so cunning was their contrivance.‖

There was also another body of wicked men gotten together, not so impure in their actions, but more wicked in their intentions; which laid waste the happy state of the city no less than did these murderers. These were such men as deceived and deluded the people, under pretence of divine inspiration, but were procuring innovations and changes of the government. And these prevailed with the multitude to act like madmen; and went before them into the wilderness; as pretending that God would there shew them the signals of liberty. But Felix thought this procedure was the beginning of a revolt. So he sent some horsemen and footmen, both armed, who destroyed a great number of them.

But there was an Egyptian false prophet that did the Jews more mischief than the former. For he was a cheat, and pretended to be a prophet also; and got together ¶thirty thousand men that were deluded by him. These he led round about from the wilderness to the mount which was called the mount of Olives; and was ready to break into Jerusalem by force from that place: and if he could but once conquer the Roman garrison and the people, he intended to domineer over them, by the assistance of those guards of his that were to break into the city with him. But Felix prevented his attempt; and met him with his Roman soldiers: while all the people assisted him in his attack upon them. Insomuch that when it came to a battle, the Egyptian ran away, with a few others, while the greatest part of those that were with him were either destroyed, or taken alive: but the rest of the multitude were dispersed to their homes, and there concealed themselves.

Now, when these were quieted, it happened as it does in a diseased body, that another part was subject to an inflammation. For a company of deceivers and robbers got together, and persuaded the Jews to revolt; and exhorted them to assert their liberty: inflicting death on those that continued in obedience to the Roman government; and saying, that such as willingly choose slavery ought to be forced from such inclinations. For they parted themselves into different bodies, and lay in wait up and down the country, and plundered the houses of the great men, and slew the men themselves, and set the villages on fire; and this till all Judea was filled with the effects of their madness. And thus the flame was every day more and more blown up, till it came to a direct war.

There was also another disturbance at Cæsarea. Those Jews who were mixed with the Syrians, that lived there, raising a tumult against them, the Jews pretended that the

* Abilene.
† A. D. 54.
‡ Herod, king of Chalcis.

§ See Antiquities, XX. 8.
‖ Antiq. XX. 8.
¶ Four thousand. See Acts xxi. 38.

city was theirs; and said that he who built it was a Jew, meaning king Herod. The Syrians confessed also that its builder was a Jew: but they still said that the city was a Grecian city: for that he who set up statues and temples in it could not design it for Jews. On which account both parties had a contest with one another: and this contest increased so much, that it came at last to arms; and the bolder sort of them marched out to fight. For the elders of the Jews were not able to put a stop to their own people, that were disposed to be tumultuous; and the Greeks thought it a shame for them to be overcome by the Jews. Now these Jews exceeded the others, in riches and strength of body. But the Grecian part had the advantage of assistance from the soldiery. For the greatest part of the Roman garrison was raised out of Syria: and being thus related to the Syrian part, they were ready to assist it. However, the governors of the city were concerned to keep all quiet: and whenever they caught those that were most for fighting on either side, they punished them with stripes and bonds. Yet did not the sufferings of those that were caught affright the remainder, or make them desist. But they were still more and more exasperated, and deeper engaged in the sedition. And as Felix came once into the market-place, and commanded the Jews, when they had beaten the Syrians, to go their ways; and threatened them if they would not; and they would not obey him: he sent his soldiers out upon them, and slew a great many of them: upon which it fell out that what they had was plundered. And as the sedition still continued, he chose out the most eminent men on both sides, as ambassadors to Nero, to argue about their several privileges.

CHAP. XIV.

OF THE SUCCESSION OF FESTUS, ALBINUS, AND FLORUS TO THE PROCURATORSHIP OF JUDEA; THE LATTER OF WHOM, BY THE BARBARITY OF HIS GOVERNMENT, FORCES THE JEWS INTO THE WAR.

NOW Festus succeeded Felix *as procurator, and made it his business to correct those that made disturbances in the country. So he caught the greatest part of the robbers, and destroyed a great many of them. But Albinus, who succeeded Festus, †did not execute his office as the other had done. Nor was there any sort of wickedness that could be named, but he had a hand in it. Accordingly he did, not only in his political capacity, steal and plunder every one's substance; nor did he only burden the whole nation with taxes; but he permitted the relations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been laid there either by the senate of every city, or by the former procurators, to redeem them for money. And nobody remained in the prisons, as a malefactor, but he who gave him nothing. At this time it was that the enterprises of the seditious at Jerusalem were very formidable: the principal men among them purchasing leave of Albinus to go on with their seditious practices. While that part of the people, who delighted in disturbances, joined themselves to such as had fellowship with Albinus. And every one of these wicked wretches were encompassed with his own band of robbers: while he himself, like an arch robber, or a tyrant, made a figure among his company, and abused his authority over those about him in order to plunder those that lived quietly. The effect of which was that those who lost their goods were forced to hold their peace, when they had reason to shew great indignation at what they had suffered: but that those who had escaped were forced to flatter him that deserved to be punished; out of the fear they were in of suffering equally with others. Upon the whole, nobody durst speak their minds; but tyranny was generally tolerated. And at this time were those seeds sown which brought the city to destruction.

But although such was the character of Albinus, yet did Gessius‡ Florus, who succeeded him §demonstrate him to have been a most excellent person, upon the comparison. For the former did the greatest part of his rogueries in private, and with a sort of dissimulation. But Gessius did his unjust actions to the harm of the nation after a most pompous manner. And as though he had been sent as an executioner to punish condemned malefactors, he omitted no sort of rapine, or of vexation. Where the case was really pitiable, he was most barbarous; and in things of the greatest turpitude he was most impudent. Nor could any one outdo him in disguising the truth; nor could any one contrive more subtle ways of deceit than he did. He, indeed, thought it but a petty offence to get money out of single persons: so he spoiled whole cities, and ruined entire bodies of men at once: and did almost publicly proclaim it in all the country over, that they had liberty given them to turn robbers, upon this condition, that he might go shares with them in the spoils they got. Accordingly his greediness of gain was the occasion that entire toparchies were brought to desolation; and a great many of the people left their own country, and fled into foreign provinces.

And while Cestius Gallus was president of the province of Syria, nobody durst so much as send an ambassage to him against Florus. But when he was come to Jerusalem, upon the approach of the feast of unleavened bread, the people came about him to the number of ‖three millions: these besought him to commiserate the calamities of their nation; and cried out upon Florus as the bane of their country. But as he was present and stood by Cestius, he laughed at their words. However, Cestius, when he had quieted the multitude, and had assured them that he would take care Florus should hereafter treat them in a more gentle manner, returned to Antioch. Florus also conducted

* A. D. 66.

† A. D. 62.

‡ Not long after this beginning of Florus, the most wicked of all the Roman procurators of Judea, and the immediate occasion of the Jewish war, at the 12th year of Nero, and the 17th of Agrippa, or A. D. 66, the history in the twenty books of Josephus's Antiquities ends. Although Josephus did not finish those books till the 13th of Domitian, or A. D. 93, twenty-seven years afterward. As he did not finish their Appendix, containing an account of his own life, till Agrippa was dead, which happened on the 3d year of Trajan, or A. D. 100, as I have observed before.

§ A. D. 64.

‖ Here we may note that 3,000,000 of Jews were present at a Passover, A. D. 65, which confirms what Josephus elsewhere informs us of; that at the Passover a little later they counted 256,500 paschal lambs: which at twelve to each lamb, which is no immoderate calculation, come to 3,078,000. See VI. 9.

him as far as Cæsarea; and deluded him: though he had at that very time the purpose of shewing his anger at the nation, and procuring a war upon them: by which means alone it was that he supposed he might conceal his enormities. For he expected that if the peace continued, he should have the Jews for his accusers before Cæsar: but that if he should procure them to make a revolt, he should divert their laying lesser crimes to his charge, by a misery that was so much greater. He, therefore, every day augmented their calamities, in order to induce them to a rebellion.

Now at this time* it happened that the Grecians at Cæsarea had been too hard for the Jews, and had obtained of Nero the government of the city; and had brought the judicial determination. At the same time began the war; in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa; in the month Artemisius or Jyar. Now the occasion of this war was by no means proportionable to those heavy calamities which it brought upon us. For the Jews that dwelt at Cæsarea had a synagogue, near a place whose owner was a certain Cæsarean Greek. The Jews had endeavoured frequently to purchase the possession of the place; and had offered many times its value for its price. But as the owner overlooked their offers, so did he raise other buildings upon the place, in way of affront to them; and made workshops of them: and left them but a narrow passage, and such as was very troublesome for them to go along to their synagogue. Hereupon the warmer part of the Jewish youth went hastily to the workmen, and forbade them to build there. But as Florus would not permit them to use force, the great men of the Jews, with John the publican, being in the utmost distress what to do, persuaded Florus, with the offer of eight talents, to hinder the work. He then being intent upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do for them all they desired of him; and then went away from Cæsarea to Sebaste, and left the sedition to take its full course: as if he had sold a license to the Jews to fight it out.

Now on the next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowding apace to their synagogue, a certain man of Cæsarea, of a seditious temper, got an earthen vessel, and set it with the bottom upward at the entrance of the synagogue; and sacrificed birds.† This thing provoked the Jews to an incurable degree: because their laws were affronted, and the place was polluted. Whereupon the sober and more moderate part of the Jews thought proper to have recourse to their governors again: while the seditious part, and such as were in the fervour of their youth, were vehemently inflamed to fight. The seditious also among the Gentiles of Cæsarea stood ready for the same purpose. For they had, by agreement, sent the man to sacrifice beforehand, as ready to support him. So that it soon came to blows. Hereupon Jucundus, the master of the horse, who was ordered to prevent the fight, came thither: and took away the earthen vessel; and endeavoured to put a stop to the sedition. But when he was overcome by the violence of the people of Cæsarea, the Jews caught up their books of the law, and retired to Narbata: which was a place belonging to them, distant from Cæsarea sixty furlongs. But John, and twelve of the principal men with him went to Florus, to Sebaste; and made a lamentable complaint of their case; and besought him to help them: and, with all possible decency, put him in mind of the eight talents they had given him. But he had the men seized upon, and put in prison, and accused them for carrying the books of the law out of Cæsarea.

Moreover, as to the citizens of Jerusalem, although they took this matter very ill, yet did they restrain their passions. But Florus acted herein as if he had been hired; and blew up the war into a flame: and sent some to take seventeen talents out of the sacred treasure: and pretended that Cæsar wanted them. At this time the people were in confusion, and ran together to the temple, with prodigious clamours; and called upon Cæsar by name; and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some also of the seditious cried out upon Florus, and cast the greatest reproaches upon him; and carried a basket about, and begged some money for him; as for one that was destitute of possessions, and in a miserable condition. Yet was he not ashamed hereby of his love of money;‡ but was more enraged, and provoked to get still more. And instead of coming to Cæsarea, as he ought to have done, and quenching the flame of war which was beginning thence; and so taking away the occasion of any disturbances; on which account it was that he had received a reward; he marched hastily with an army of horsemen and footmen against Jerusalem: that he might gain his will by the army of the Romans: and might, by his terror, and by his threatenings, bring the city into subjection.

Now the people were desirous of making Florus ashamed of his attempt, and met his soldiers with acclamations; and put themselves in order to receive him very submissively. But he sent Capito, a centurion, beforehand, with fifty soldiers; to bid them go back, and not now make a shew of receiving him in an obliging manner, whom he had so loudly reproached before. And said that it was incumbent on them, in case they had generous souls, and were free speakers, to jest upon him to his face: and appear to be lovers of liberty not only in words, but with their weapons also. With this message the multitude was amazed: and upon the coming of Capito's horsemen into the midst of them they were dispersed before they could salute Florus, or manifest their submissive behaviour to him. Accordingly they retired to their own houses; and spent that night in fear and confusion.

Now at this time Florus took up his quarters at the palace; and on the next day he had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it; when the high-priests and the men of power, and those of the greatest eminence in the city came

* A. D. 66.

† Take here Dr. Hudson's very pertinent note. "By this action," says he, "the killing of a bird over an earthen vessel, the Jews were exposed as a leprous people; for that was to be done by their law in their cleansing of a leper," (Levit. c. xiv.) It is also known that the Gentiles reproached the Jews as subject to the leprosy; and believed that they were driven out of Egypt on that account. This that eminent person Mr. Reland suggested to me.

‡ This is a passion not easily mortified. Those persons in whom it is predominant generally sacrifice every consideration of character and esteem to gratify it, considering gain as superior to every thing beside. B.

all before that tribunal: upon which Florus commanded them to deliver up to him those that had reproached him, and told them that they should themselves partake of the vengeance to them belonging, if they did not produce the criminals. But these demonstrated that the people were peaceably disposed, and they begged forgiveness for those that had spoken amiss; for that it was no wonder that in so great a multitude there should be some more daring than they ought to be, and by reason of their youth foolish also. And that it was impossible to distinguish those that offended from the rest; while every one was sorry for what he had done, and denied it out of fear of what would follow. That he ought, however, to provide for the peace of the nation, and to take such counsels as might preserve the city for the Romans; and rather, for the sake of a great number of innocent people, to forgive a few that were guilty; than for the sake of a few of the wicked, to put so large and good a body of men into disorder.

Florus was more provoked at this, and called out aloud to the soldiers to plunder that which was called the upper market-place, and to slay such as they met with: so the soldiers taking this exhortation of their commander in a sense agreeable to their desire of gain, did not only plunder the place they were sent to, but forcing themselves into every house, they slew its inhabitants: so the citizens fled along the narrow lanes, and the soldiers slew those that they caught, and no method of plunder was omitted: they caught many of the quiet people, and brought them before Florus, whom he first chastised with stripes, and then crucified. Accordingly the whole number of those that were destroyed that day, with their wives and children, (for they did not spare even the infants themselves,) was about three thousand and six hundred. And what made this calamity the heavier, was this new method of Roman barbarity: for Florus ventured then to do what no one had done before, that is to have men of the *equestrian order whipped, and nailed to the cross before his tribunal: who although they were by birth Jews, yet were they of Roman dignity notwithstanding.

CHAP. XV.

BERNICE PRESENTS A PETITION TO FLORUS, TO SPARE THE JEWS, BUT IN VAIN: AND AFTER THE SEDITIOUS FLAME IS QUENCHED, IT IS REKINDLED BY FLORUS.

ABOUT this time †king Agrippa was going to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander upon his having obtained the government of Egypt from Nero. But as his sister Bernice was come to Jerusalem, and saw the wicked practices of the soldiers, she was sorely affected at it; and frequently sent the masters of her horse and her guards to Florus; and begged of him to leave off these slaughters. But he would not comply with her request; nor have any regard either to the multitude of those already slain, or to the nobility of her that interceded; but only to the advantage he should make by this plundering. Nay, this violence of the soldiers brake out to such a degree of madness, that it spent itself upon the queen herself. For they did not only torment and destroy those whom they had caught under her very eyes; but, indeed, had killed herself also, unless she had prevented them by flying to the palace; and had stayed there all night with her guards: which she had about her for fear of an insult from the soldiers. Now she dwelt then at Jerusalem, in order to perform a ‡vow which she had made to God. For it is usual with those that had been either afflicted with a distemper, or with any other distresses, to make vows, and for thirty days before they are to offer their sacrifices, to abstain from wine, and to shave the hair of their head. These things Bernice was now performing; and stood barefoot before Florus's tribunal; and besought him to spare the Jews. Yet could she neither have any reverence paid to her, nor could she escape without some danger of being slain herself.

This happened upon the sixteenth day of the month Artemisias, or Jyar. Now on the next day the multitude, who were in great agony, ran together to the upper market-place, and made the loudest lamentations for those that had perished. And the greatest part of the cries were such as reflected on Florus. At which the men of power were affrighted, together with the high-priests; and rent their garments, and fell down before each of them, and besought them to leave off, and not to provoke Florus to some incurable procedure, besides what they had suffered. Accordingly the multitude complied immediately, out of reverence to those that had desired of them: and out of the hope they had that Florus would do them no more injuries.

So Florus was troubled that the disturbances were over; and endeavoured to kindle that flame again: and sent for the high-priests with the other eminent persons, and said, the only demonstration that the people would not make any other innovations should be this; that they must go out and meet the soldiers that were ascending from Cæsarea: whence two cohorts were coming. And while these men were exhorting the multitude so to do, he sent beforehand,

* Here we have examples of native Jews that were of the equestrian order among the Romans; and so ought never to have been whipped or crucified, according to the Roman laws. See almost the like case in St. Paul himself, Acts xxii. 25—29.

† A. D. 66.

‡ This vow which Bernice, here and elsewhere called queen, not only as daughter and sister to two kings, Agrippa the Great, and Agrippa, junior, but the widow of Herod king of Chalcis, came now to accomplish at Jerusalem, was not that of a Nazarite, but such an one as religious Jews used to make in hopes of any deliverance from a disease, or other danger, as Josephus here intimates. However these thirty days' abode at Jerusalem, for fasting and preparation against the oblation of a proper sacrifice, seems to be too long; unless it were wholly voluntary in this great lady. It is not required in the law of Moses relating to Nazarites, Numb. vi. and is very different from St. Paul's time for such preparation, which was but one day, Acts xxi. 26. So we want already the continuation of the Antiquities, to afford us light here; as they have hitherto done on so many occasions elsewhere. Perhaps in this age the traditions of the Pharisees had obliged the Jews to this degree of rigour; not only as to these thirty days' preparation, but as to the going barefoot all that time: which here Bernice submitted to also. For we know that as God's and our Saviour's yoke is usually easy, and his burden comparatively light, in such positive injunctions, Matt. xi. 30, so did the Scribes and Pharisees sometimes "bind upon men heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, even when they themselves would not touch them with one of their fingers," Matt. xxiii. 4; Luke xi. 46. However, Noldius well observes, De Herod. No. 404, 414, that Juvenal, in his 6th satire, alludes to this remarkable penance or submission of this Bernice to Jewish discipline, and jests upon her for it: as do Tacitus, Dio, Suetonius, and Sextus Aurelius mention her as one well known at Rome, ibid.

and gave directions to the centurions of the cohorts, that they should give notice to those that were under them, not to return the Jews's alutations; and that if they made any reply to his disadvantage, they should make use of their weapons. Now the high-priests assembled the multitude in the temple; and desired them to go and meet the Romans, and to salute the cohorts very civilly; before their miserable case should become incurable. Now the seditious part would not comply with these persuasions. But the consideration of those that had been destroyed made them incline to those that were the boldest for action.

At this time every priest and every *servant of God brought out the holy vessels, and the ornamental garment, wherein they used to minister about sacred things. The harpers also, and the singers of hymns, came out with their musical instruments, aud fell down before the multitude, and begged that they would preserve those holy ornaments to them, and not provoke the Romans to carry off those sacred treasures. You might also see then the high-priests themselves with dust sprinkled, in great plenty, upon their heads; with bosoms deprived of any covering, but what was rent.

These besought every one of the eminent men by name, and the multitude in common, that they would not for a small offence, betray their country to those that were desirous to have it laid waste, saying, "What benefit will it bring to the soldiers to have a salutation from the Jews? Or what amendment of your affairs will it bring you, if you do not now go out to meet them? but if you will salute them civilly, all handle will be cut off from Florus to begin a war: you will thereby gain your country and freedom from all farther sufferings. And besides it will be a sign of a great want of command of yourselves, if you should yield to a few seditious persons: while it is fitter for you, who are so great a people, to force the others to act soberly."

By these persuasions which they used to the multitude, and to the seditious, they restrained some by threatenings, and others by the reverence that was paid them. After this they led them out; and they met the soldiers quietly and after a composed manner. And when they were come up with them they saluted them. But when they had made no answer, the seditious exclaimed against Florus, which was the signal given for falling upon them. The soldiers, therefore, encompassed them presently, and struck them with their clubs: and as they fled away, the horsemen trampled them down. So that a great many fell down dead by the strokes of the Romans; and more by their own violence in crushing one another.

Now there was a terrible crowding about the gate: and while every body was making haste to get before another, the flight of them all was retarded; and a terrible destruction there was among those that fell down: for they were suffocated, and broken to pieces by the multitude of those that were uppermost. Nor could any one of them be distinguished by his relations in order to the care of his funeral. The soldiers also who beat them, fell upon those whom they overtook; without shewing them any mercy, and thrust the multitude through the place called †Bezetha, as they forced their way, in order to get in and seize upon the temple, and the tower Antonia. Florus also being desirous to get those places into his possession, brought such as were with him out of the king's palace, and would have compelled them to get as far as the citadel, Antonia. But his design failed. For the people immediately turned back upon him, and stopped the violence of his attempt. And as they stood upon the tops of their houses, they threw their darts at the Romans: who as they were sorely galled thereby, because those weapons came from above, and they were not able to make a passage through the multitude, which stopped up the narrow passages, retired to the camp, which was at the palace.

But the seditious were afraid lest Florus should come again, and get possession of the temple, through Antonia. So they got immediately upon those cloisters of the temple that joined Antonia, and cut them down. This cooled the avarice of Florus. For whereas he was eager to obtain the treasures of God in the temple; and on that account was desirous of getting into Antonia; as soon as the cloisters were broken down, he left off his attempt. He then sent for the high-priests, and the sanhedrim; and told them, that he was, indeed, himself going out of the city; but that he would leave them as large a garrison as they should desire. Hereupon they promised that they would make no innovations, in case he would leave one band: but not that which had fought with the Jews: because the multitude bore ill will against that band on account of what they had suffered from it. So he changed the band, as they desired; and with the rest of his forces, returned to Cæsarea.

CHAP. XVI.

CESTIUS SENDS NEOPOLITANUS, THE TRIBUNE, TO SEE IN WHAT CONDITION THE AFFAIRS OF THE JEWS WERE.—AGRIPPA MAKES A SPEECH TO THE PEOPLE OF THE JEWS; THAT HE MAY DIVERT THEM FROM THEIR INTENTIONS OF MAKING WAR WITH THE ROMANS.

FLORUS, however, contrived another way to oblige the Jews to begin the war: and sent to ‡Cestius, and accused the Jews falsely of revolting from the Roman government: and imputed the beginning of the former fight to them; and pretended they had been the authors of that disturbance, wherein they were only the sufferers. Yet were not the governors of Jerusalem silent upon this occasion. But did themselves write to Cestius; as did Bernice also; about the illegal practices of which Florus had been

* Levites.

† I take this Bezetha to be that small hill, adjoining to the north side of the temple, whereon was the hospital with five porticoes or cloisters: and beneath which was the sheep-pool of Bethesda, into which an angel or messenger, at a certain season, descended; and where he or they who were first put into the pool, were cured, John v. 1, &c. This situation of Bezetha, in Josephus, on the north side of the temple, and not far off the tower Antonia, exactly agrees to the place of the same pool at this day. Only the remaining cloisters are now but three. See Maundrel, page 106. The entire buildings seem to have been called the New City: and this part, where was the hospital, peculiarly Bezetha or Bethesda. See Chap. 19.

‡ The president of Syria. See Chap. 14.

guilty against the city. And upon reading both accounts, Cestius consulted with his captains what he should do. Now some of them thought it best for him to go up with his army, either to punish the revolt, if it were real, or to settle the Roman affairs on a sure foundation, if the Jews continued quiet under them. But he thought it best to send one of his intimate friends beforehand, to see the state of affairs; and to give him a faithful account of the intentions of the Jews. Accordingly he sent Neopolitanus, one of his tribunes, who met with king Agrippa, as he was returning from Alexandria, at Jamnia; and told him who it was sent him, and on what errand he was sent.

And here it was that the high-priests, and men of power among the Jews, as well as the sanhedrim, came to congratulate the king, upon his safe return. And after they had paid him their respects, they lamented their own calamities, and related to him what barbarous treatment they had met with from Florus. At which barbarity Agrippa had great indignation: but transferred, after a subtle manner, his anger towards those Jews whom he really pitied, that he might beat down their high thoughts of themselves; and would have them believe that they had not been so unjustly treated, in order to dissuade them from avenging themselves. So these great men, as of better understanding than the rest, and desirous of peace, because of the possessions they had, understood that this rebuke which the king gave them was intended for their good. But as to the people, they came sixty furlongs out of Jerusalem, and congratulated both Agrippa and Neopolitanus. But the wives of those who had been slain came running first of all, and lamenting. The people also, when they heard their mourning, fell into lamentations, and besought Agrippa to assist them. They also cried out to Neopolitanus, and complained of the miseries they had endured under Florus: and they shewed them, when they were come into the city, how the market-place was made desolate, and the houses plundered. They then persuaded Neopolitanus, by the means of Agrippa, that he would walk round the city, with one servant, as far as Siloam, that he might inform himself that the Jews submitted to all the rest of the Romans, and were only displeased at Florus, by reason of his exceeding barbarity to them. So he walked round, and had sufficient experience of the good temper the people were in, and then went up to the temple. There he called the multitude together, and highly commended them for their fidelity to the Romans; and earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace: and having performed such parts of divine worship at the temple as he was allowed to do, he returned to Cestius.

But the multitude of the Jews addressed themselves to the king, and to the high-priests; and desired they might have leave to send ambassadors to Nero against Florus; and not by their silence afford a suspicion, that they had been the occasion of such great slaughters as had been made, and were disposed to revolt: alleging that they should seem to have been the first beginners of the war, if they did not prevent the report by shewing who it was that began it. And it appeared openly, that they would not be quiet, if any body should hinder them from sending such an ambassage. But Agrippa, although he thought it too dangerous a thing for them to appoint men to go as the accusers of Florus; yet did not he think it fit for him to overlook them, as they were in a disposition for war. He, therefore, called the multitude together into a large gallery; and placed his sister Bernice in the house of the Asmoneans, that she might be seen by them: (which house was over the gallery, at the passage to the upper city, where the bridge joined the temple to the gallery,) and spake to them as follows:—

*"Had I perceived that you were all zealously disposed to go to war with the Romans, and that the purer and more sincere part of the people did not propose to live in peace, I had not come out to you, nor been so bold as to give you counsel. For all discourses that tend to persuade men to do what they ought to do are superfluous, when the hearers are resolved to do the contrary. But because some are earnest to go to war, because they are young, and without experience of the miseries it brings; and because some are for it, out of an unreasonable expectation of regaining their liberty; and because others hope to get by it, and are therefore earnestly bent upon it, that in the confusion of affairs they may gain what belongs to those that are too weak to resist them; I have thought proper to get you all together, and to say to you what I think to be for your advantage. That so the former may grow wiser, and change their minds; and that the best men may come to no harm by the ill conduct of some others. And let not any one be tumultuous against me, in case what they hear me say do not please them. For as to those that admit of no cure, but are resolved upon a revolt, it will still be in their power to retain the same sentiments after my exhortation is over. But still my discourse will fall to the ground, even with relation to those that have a mind to hear me, unless you will all keep silence. I am well aware that many make a tragical exclamation concerning the injuries that have been offered you by your procurators; and concerning the glorious advantages of liberty. But before I begin the inquiry, who you are that must go to war, and who are they against

* In this speech of king Agrippa's we have an authentic account of the extent and strength of the Roman empire when the Jewish war began. And this speech, with other circumstances in Josephus, demonstrate how wise, and how great a person this Agrippa was. He is the same Agrippa who said to Paul, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian," Acts xxvi. 28, and of whom St. Paul said, "He was expert in all the customs and questions of the Jews," verse 3. See another intimation of the limits of the same Roman empire, Of the War, III. 5. But what seems to me very remarkable here is, that when Josephus, in imitation of the Greeks and Romans, for whose use he wrote his Antiquities, did himself frequently compose the speeches which he put into their mouths, they appear, by the politeness of their phraseology, and their flights of oratory, to be not the real speeches of the persons concerned, who usually were no orators, but of his own elegant composition: but the speech before us is of another nature; full of undeniable facts, and composed in a plain and unartful, but moving way. So that it appears to be king Agrippa's own speech: and to have been given Josephus by Agrippa himself, with whom he had the greatest friendship. Nor may we omit Agrippa's constant doctrine here; that this vast Roman empire was raised and supported by Divine Providence: and that, therefore, it was in vain for the Jews, or any others to think of destroying it. Nor may we neglect to take notice of Agrippa's solemn appeal to the angels here used. The like appeals to which we have in St. Paul, 1 Tim. verse 22, and by the Apostles, in general, in the form of the Ordination of Bishops, Constitut. Apost. VIII. 4.

whom you must fight? I shall first separate those pretences that are by some connected together. For if you aim at avenging yourselves on those that have done you injury, why do you pretend this to be a war for recovering your liberty? But if you think all servitude intolerable, to what purpose serves your complaint against your particular governors? For if they treat you with moderation, it would still be equally an unworthy thing to be in servitude. Consider how the several cases that may be supposed, how little occasion there is for your going to war. Your first occasion is the accusations you have to make against your procurators. Now here you ought to be submissive to those in authority, and not give them any provocation. But when you reproach men greatly for small offences, you excite those whom you reproach to be your adversaries. For this will only make them leave off hurting you privately, and with some degree of modesty; and to lay what you have waste openly. Now nothing so much damps the force of strokes as bearing them with patience. And the quietness of those who are injured diverts the injurious persons from afflicting. But let us take it for granted, that the Roman ministers are injurious to you, and are intolerably severe. Yet are they not all the Romans who thus injure you. Nor hath Cæsar, against whom you are going to make war, injured you. It is not by their command that any wicked governor is sent to you; for they who are in the west cannot see those that are in the east. Nor indeed is it easy for them there, even to hear what is done in these parts. Now it is absurd to make war with a great many, for the sake of one; to do so with such mighty people, for a small cause, and this when these people are not able to know of what you complain. Nay, such crimes as we complain of may soon be corrected. For the same procurator will not continue forever. And it is probable that the successors will come with more moderate inclinations. But as for war, if it be once begun, it is not easily laid down again, nor borne without calamities coming therewith. However, as to the desire of recovering your liberty, it is unseasonable to indulge it so late: whereas you ought to have laboured earnestly in old time, that you might never have lost it. For the first experience of slavery was hard to be endured; and the struggle that you might never have been subject to it would have been just. But that slave who has been once brought into subjection, and then runs away, is rather a refractory slave than a lover of liberty: for it was then the proper time for doing all that was possible that you might never have admitted the Romans into your city, when Pompey came first into the country. But so it was, that our ancestors, and their kings, who were in much better circumstances than we are, both as to money, strong bodies, and valiant souls, did not bear the onset of a small body of the Roman army. And yet you, who have now accustomed yourselves to obedience from one generation to another, and who are so much inferior to those who first submitted, in your circumstances, will venture to oppose the entire empire of the Romans. While those Athenians, who, in order to preserve the liberty of Greece, did once set fire to their own city; who pursued Xerxes, that proud prince, when he sailed upon the land, and walked upon the sea, and could not be contained by the seas, but conducted such an army as was too broad for Europe; and made him run away like a fugitive in a single ship, and brake so great a part of Asia at the lesser Salamis, are yet at this time servants to the Romans: and those injunctions which are sent from Italy, become laws to the principal governing city of Greece. Those Lacedæmonians also, who got the great victories at Thermopylæ, and Platea, and had Agesilaus for their king, and searched every corner of Asia, are contented to admit the same lords. Those Macedonians also, who still fancy what great men their Philip and Alexander were, and see that the latter had promised them the empire over the world; these bear so great a change, and pay their obedience to those whom fortune hath advanced in their stead. Moreover, ten thousand other nations there are, who had greater reason than we to claim their entire liberty, and yet do submit. You are the only people who think it a disgrace to be servants to those to whom all the world had submitted. What sort of army do you rely upon? What are the arms you depend on? Where is your fleet, that may seize upon the Roman seas, and where are those treasures which may be sufficient for your undertakings? Do you suppose, I pray you, that you are to make war with the Egyptians, and with the Arabians? Will not you carefully reflect upon the whole Roman empire? Will not you estimate your own weakness? Hath not your army been often beaten even by your neighbouring nations? while the power of the Romans is invincible in all parts of the habitable earth. Nay, rather they seek for somewhat still beyond that. For all Euphrates is not a sufficient boundary for them on the east side; nor the Danube on the north: and for their southern limit Libya hath been searched over by them, as far as countries uninhabited; as is Cadiz their limit on the west. Nay, indeed, they have sought for another *habitable earth, beyond the ocean; and have carried their arms as far as such British islands as were unknown before. What, therefore, do you pretend to? Are you richer than the Gauls? stronger than the Germans? wiser than the Greeks? more numerous than all men upon the habitable earth? What confidence is it that elevates you to oppose the Romans? Perhaps it will be said, it is hard to endure slavery. Yes: but how much harder is this to the Greeks, who were esteemed the noblest of all people under the sun. These, though they inhabit in a large country, are in subjection to six bundles of Roman rods. It is the same with the Macedonians, who have juster reason to claim their liberty than you have. What is the case of five hundred cities of Asia? Do not they submit to a single governor, and to the consular bundle of rods? What need I speak of the Heniochi, and Cholci, and the nation of Tauri, those that inhabit the Bosphorus and the nations about Pontus, and Meotis; who formerly knew not so much as a lord of their own; but are now subject to three thousand armed men: and where forty long ships keep the sea in peace, which before was not navigable, and very tempestuous. How long a plea may Bithynia, and Cappadocia, the people of Pamphylia; the Lycians, and Cilicians, put in for liberty? But they are made tributary without an army. What are the circumstances of the Thracians, whose country extends in breadth five days' journey, and in length seven; and is of a much more harsh constitution, and much

* See 1 Clem. § 20.

more defensible than yours; and by the rigour of its cold sufficient to keep off armies from attacking them? Do not they submit to two thousand men of the Roman garrisons? Are not the Illyrians, who inhabit the country adjoining, as far as Dalmatia, and the Danube, governed by barely two legions? by which also they put a stop to the insurrections of the Dacians. And for the Dalmatians, who have made such frequent incursions in order to regain their liberty, and who could never before be so thoroughly subdued, but that they always gathered their forces together again, and revolted; yet are they now very quiet under one Roman legion. Moreover, if great advantages might provoke any people to revolt, the Gauls might do it best of all: as being so thoroughly walled round by nature: on the east by the Alps; on the north by the river Rhine; on the south by the Pyrenean mountains; and on the west by the ocean. Now although these Gauls have such obstacles before them to prevent any attacks upon them, and have no fewer than three hundred and *five nations among them; nay have, as one may say, the fountains of domestic happiness within themselves, and send out plentiful streams of happiness over almost all the world; these bear to be tributary to the Romans, and derive their prosperous condition from them. And they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock; as having borne a war of eighty years, in order to preserve their liberty; but by reason of the great regard they have to the power of the Romans, and their good fortune: which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These Gauls, therefore, are kept in servitude by twelve hundred soldiers: which are hardly so many as are their cities. Nor hath the gold dug out of the mines of Spain been sufficient for the support of a war to preserve their liberty; nor could their vast distance from the Romans by land and by sea do it: nor could the martial tribes of the Lusitanians and Spaniards escape. No more than could the ocean, with its tide, which yet was terrible to the ancient inhabitants. Nay, the Romans have extended their arms beyond the pillars of Hercules, and have walked among the clouds, upon the Pyrenean mountains; and have subdued these nations. And one legion is a sufficient guard for these people, although they were so hard to be conquered: and at a distance so remote from Rome. Who is there among you that hath not heard of the great number of the Germans? You have yourselves seen them to be strong, and tall; and that frequently, since the Romans have them among their captives every where. Yet these Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have minds greater than their bodies, and souls that despise death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, have the Rhine for the boundary of their enterprises; and are tamed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captive became their servants; and the rest of the entire nations were obliged to save themselves by flight. Do you also, who depend on the †walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had. For the Romans sailed away to them, and subdued them, while they were encompassed by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than the continent of this habitable earth. And four legions are a sufficient guard to so large an island. And why should I speak much more about this matter? while the Parthians, that most warlike body of men, and lords of so many nations, and encompassed with such mighty forces, send hostages to the Romans. Whereby you may see, if you please, even in Italy, the noblest nation of the east, under the notion of peace, submitting to serve them. Now when almost all people under the sun submit to Roman arms, will you be the only people that make war against them? And this without regarding the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of their boasts of the great Hannibal, and the nobility of their Phœnician original, fell by the hand of Scipio. Nor indeed have the Cyreneans, derived from the Lacedæmonians; nor the Marmaridæ, a nation extended as far as the regions uninhabitable for want of water: nor have the Syrtes, a place terrible to such as barely hear it described, the Nasamonians and Moors, and the immense multitude of the Numidians, been able to put a stop to the Roman valour. And as for the third part of the habitable earth,‡ whose nations are so many that it is not easy to number them; and which is bounded by the Atlantic sea, and the pillars of Hercules; and feeds an innumerable multitude of Ethiopians, as far as the Red Sea, these have the Romans subdued entirely. And besides the annual fruits of the earth, which maintain the multitude of the Romans for eight months in the year, this over and above pays all sorts of tribute, and affords revenues suitable to the necessities of the government. Nor do they, like you, esteem such injunctions a disgrace to them: although they have but one Roman legion that abides among them. And indeed, what occasion is there for shewing you the power of the Romans over remote countries, when it is so easy to learn it from Egypt, in your neighbourhood? This country is extended as far as the Ethiopians, and Arabia the happy; and borders upon India. It hath seven millions five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria: as may be learned from the revenue of the poll-tax. Yet it is not ashamed to submit to the Roman government; although it has Alexandria as a grand temptation to a revolt, by reason it is so full of people, and of riches, and is besides exceeding large: its length being thirty furlongs, and its breadth not less than ten. And it pays more tribute to the Romans in one month, than you do in a year. Nay, besides what it pays in money, it sends corn to Rome that supports it for four months in the year. It is also walled round on all sides, either by almost impassable deserts, or seas that have no havens, or by rivers, or by lakes. Yet have none of these things been found too strong for the Roman good fortune. However, two legions that lie in that city are a bridle both for the remoter parts of Egypt, and for the parts inhabited by the more noble Macedonians. Where, then, are those people whom you are to have for your auxiliaries? Must they come from the parts of the world that are uninhabited? for all that are in the habitable earth are under the Romans. Unless any of you extend his hopes as far as beyond Euphrates; and suppose that those of your own

* Or fifteen.

† Most formidable walls formerly encompassed large cities, and even particular districts of land; and were thought to render them very secure. But, like all other merely human resources, they occasionally failed; and suggest the useful lesson, to rely only on Divine protection. B.

‡ Africa.

nation that dwell in Adiabene will come to your assistance. But certainly these will not embarrass themselves with an unjustifiable war: nor, if they should follow such ill advice, will the Parthians permit them so to do. For it is their concern to maintain the truce that is between them and the Romans; and they will be supposed to break the covenants between them, if any under their government march against the Romans. What remains therefore is, that you have recourse to divine assistance. But this is already on the side of the Romans. For it is impossible that so vast an empire should be settled without God's providence. Reflect how impossible it is for your zealous observation of your religious customs to be here preserved, which are hard to be observed, even when you fight with those whom you are able to conquer. And how can you then most of all hope for God's assistance, when, by being forced to transgress his law, you will make him turn his face from you. And if you do observe the custom of the sabbath-days, and will not be prevailed on to do any thing thereon, you will easily be taken, as were your forefathers by Pompey, who was the *busiest in his siege on those days on which the besieged rested. But if in time of war you transgress the laws of your country, I cannot tell on whose account you will afterward go to war. For your concern is but one, that you do nothing against any of the laws of your forefathers. And how will you call upon God to assist you, when you are voluntarily transgressing against his religion? Now all men that go to war do it either as depending on divine, or on human assistance. But since your going to war will cut off both those assistances, those that are for going to war choose evident destruction. What hinders you from slaying your children and wives with your own hands, and burning this most excellent native city of yours? For by this mad prank you will however escape the reproach of being beaten. But it were best, O my friends, it were best, while the vessel is still in the haven, to foresee the impending storm; and not to set sail out of the port into the middle of the hurricanes. For we justly pity those that fall into great misfortunes without foreseeing them; but he who rushes into manifest ruin, gains reproaches instead of commiseration. But certainly no one can imagine that you can enter into a war as by agreement, or that when the Romans had got you under their power, they will use you with moderation, or will not rather, for an example to other nations, burn your holy city, and utterly destroy your whole nation. For those of you who shall survive the war, will not be able to find a place whither to flee: since all men have the Romans for their lords already; or are afraid they shall have hereafter. Nay, indeed, the danger concerns not those Jews that dwell here only; but those who dwell in other cities also. For there is no people upon the habitable earth which have not some portion of you among them: whom your enemies will slay, in case you go to war; and so every city which hath Jews in it will be filled with slaughter for the sake of a few men; and they who slay them will be pardoned. But if that slaughter be not made by them, consider how wicked a thing it is to take arms against those that are so kind to you. Have pity, therefore, if not upon your wives and children, yet upon this your metropolis, and its sacred walls. Spare the temple, and preserve the holy house, with its holy furniture, for yourselves. For if the Romans get you under their power they will no longer abstain from them: when their former abstinence shall have been so ungratefully requited. I call to witness your sanctuary, and the holy angels of God, and this country common to us all, that I have not kept back any thing that is for your preservation. And if you will follow that advice which you ought to do, you will have that peace which will be common to you and to me. But if you indulge your passions, you will run those hazards which I shall be free from."

When Agrippa had spoken thus, both he and his sister wept; and by their tears repressed a great deal of the violence of the people. But still they cried out, that they would not fight against the Romans, but against Florus, on account of what they had suffered by his means. To which Agrippa replied, "What you have already done is like such as make war against the Romans. For you have not paid the †tribute which is due to Cæsar; and you have cut off the cloisters of the temple from joining to the tower Antonia. You will therefore prevent any occasion of revolt, if you will but join these together again, and pay your tribute. For the citadel does not now belong to Florus: nor are you to pay the tribute money to him."

CHAP. XVII.

OF THE COMMECEMENT OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE JEWS AND THE ROMANS.—ALSO CONCERNING MANAHEM.

THIS advice the people hearkened to: and went up into the temple, with the king and Bernice, and began to rebuild the cloisters. The rulers also and senators divided themselves into the villages, and collected the tributes; and soon got together forty talents, which was the sum that was deficient. And thus did Agrippa then put a stop to that war which was threatened. He also attempted to persuade the multitude to obey Florus, until Cæsar should send one to succeed him. But they were hereby provoked, and cast reproaches upon the king, and got him excluded out of the city. Nay some of the seditious had the impudence to throw stones at him. So when the king saw that the violence of those that were for innovation was not to be restrained, and being very angry at the contumelies he had received; he sent their rulers, together with their men of power, to Florus, to Cæsarea; that he might appoint whom he thought fit to collect the tribute in the country; while he retired to his own kingdom.

At this time some of those who principally excited the people to go to war, made an assault upon a certain fortress, called Masada. They took it by treachery, and slew the Romans that were there, and put others of their own party to keep it. At the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias, the high-priest, a very bold youth, who was at that time

* See Anquities, XIV. 4.

† Julius Cæsar had decreed, that the Jews of Jerusalem should pay an annual tribute to the Romans; excepting the city of Joppa, and for the sabbatical year: as Spanheim observes from the Antiquities, XIV. 10.

governor of the temple, persuaded those that officiated in the divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner. And this was the true beginning of our war with the Romans. For they rejected *the sacrifice of Cæsar, on this account. And when many of the high-priests and principal men besought them not to omit the sacrifice, which it was customary to offer for their princes, they would not be prevailed upon. These relied much upon their multitude; for the most flourishing part of the innovators assisted them: but they had the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.

Hereupon the men of power got together, and conferred with the high-priests; as did also the principal of the Pharisees: and thinking all was at stake, and that their calamities were becoming incurable, took counsel what was to be done. Accordingly they determined to try what they could do with the seditious by words, and assembled the people before the brazen gate; which was that gate of the inner temple which looked toward the sun-rising. And in the first place they shewed the great indignation they had at this attempt for a revolt; and for their bringing so great a war upon their country. After which, they confuted their pretence as unjustifiable; and told them, "that their forefathers had adorned their temple in great part with donations bestowed on them by foreigners: and had always received what had been presented to them from foreign nations. And that they had been so far from rejecting any person's sacrifice, (which would be the highest instance of impiety:) that they had themselves placed those †donations about the temple which were still visible, and had remained there so long a time. That they did now irritate the Romans to take arms against them; and brought up novel rules of a strange divine worship: and determined to run the hazard of having their city condemned for impiety; while they would not allow any foreigner, but Jews only, either to sacrifice, or to worship therein. And if such a law should be introduced in the case of a single private person only, he would have indignation at it, as an instance of inhumanity against him: while they had no regard to the Romans, or to Cæsar, and forbade even their oblations to be received. That, however, they could not but fear, lest, by thus rejecting these sacrifices, they should not be allowed to offer their own: and that their city would lose its principality, unless they grew wiser quickly, and restored the sacrifices as formerly; and indeed amended the injury they had offered foreigners before the report of it came to the ears of those that had been injured."

And as they said these things, they produced those priests that were skilful in the customs of their country; who made their report, that all their forefathers had received sacrifices from foreign nations. But still not one of the innovators would hearken to what was said. Nay, those that ministered about the temple would not attend their divine service, but were preparing matters for beginning the war. So the men of power perceiving that the sedition was too hard for them to subdue, and that the danger which would arise from the Romans would come upon them first of all, endeavoured to save themselves; and sent ambassadors, some to Florus; the chief of which was Simon, the son of Ananias; and others to Agrippa, among whom the most eminent were Saul, and Antipas, and Costobarus, who were of the king's kindred. And they desired of them both, that they would come with an army to the city, and cut off the sedition before it should be too hard to be subdued. Now this terrible message was good news to Florus: and because his design was to have a war kindled, he gave the ambassadors no answer. But Agrippa was equally solicitous for those that were revolting, and for those against whom the war was to be made; and was desirous to preserve the Jews for the Romans, and the temple and metropolis for the Jews. He was also sensible, that it was not for his own advantage that the disturbances should proceed. So he sent three thousand horsemen to the assistance of the people, out of Auranitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis; and these under Darius, the master of his horse, and Philip the son of Jacimus, the general of his army.

Upon this the men of power, with the high-priests, as also all the part of the multitude that were desirous of peace, took courage, and seized upon the ‡upper city. For the seditious part had the lower city, and the temple in their power. So they made use of stones and slings perpetually one against another, and threw darts continually on both sides. And sometimes it happened that they made excursions by troops, and fought it out hand to hand. While the seditious were superior in boldness, but the king's soldiers in skill. These last strove chiefly to gain the temple, and to drive those out of it who profaned it: as did the seditious with Eleazar, besides what they had already, labour to gain the upper city. Thus were there perpetual slaughters on both sides for seven days' time: but neither side would yield up the parts they had seized on.

Now the next day was the §festival of Xylophory, upon which the custom was for every one to bring wood for the altar, that there might never be a want of fuel, for that fire which was unquenchable, and always burning. Upon that day they excluded the opposite party from the observance of this part of religion. And when they had joined to themselves many of the Sicarii, who crowded in among the weaker people; (that was the name for such robbers as had under their bosoms swords, called sicæ:) they grew bolder, and carried their undertaking farther; insomuch that the king's soldiers were overpowered by their multitude and boldness; and so they gave way, and were driven out of the upper city by force. The others then set fire to the house of Ananias, the high-priest; and to the palaces of Agrippa, and Bernice. After which, they carried the fire to the place where the archives were deposited, and made haste to burn the contracts belonging to their creditors, and thereby to dissolve their obligations for paying their debts: and this was done in order to gain the multitude of those who had been debtors; and that they might persuade the poorer sort to join in their insurrection with safety against the more wealthy. So the keepers of the records fled away; and the restset fire to them. And when they had thus burnt down the nerves of the city, they fell upon their enemies. At which time some of the men of power, and of the high-

* See Chap. 10. † See Luke xxi. 5.

‡ Mount Sion. § The 14th of the month Lous, or Ab.

priests went into the vaults under-ground, and concealed themselves; while others fled with the king's soldiers to the upper palace, and shut the gates immediately. Among the latter were Ananias, the high-priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditious were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the buildings they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.

But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous or Ab, they made an assault upon Antonia, and besieged the garrison which was in it two days, and then took the garrison and slew them, and set the citadel on fire. After which they marched to the palace, whither the king's soldiers were fled, and parted themselves into four bodies, and made an attack upon the walls: as for those that were within it, no one had the courage to sally out, because those that assaulted them were so numerous; but they distributed themselves into the breast-works and turrets, and shot at the besiegers, whereby many of the robbers fell under the walls: nor did they cease to fight one with another, either by night or by day, while the seditious supposed that those within would grow weary for want of food, and those within supposed the others would do the like by the tediousness of the siege.

In the mean time one Manahem, the son of Judas that was called the Galilean, (who was a very cunning sophister, and had formerly reproached the Jews under Cyrenius, that after God they were subject to the Romans,) took some of the men of note with him, and retired to Masada; where he broke open king Herod's armoury, and gave arms not only to his own people, but to other robbers also. These he made use of for a guard, and returned in the state of a king to Jerusalem. He became the leader of the sedition, and gave orders for continuing the siege: but they wanted proper instruments, and it was not practicable to undermine the walls, because the darts came down upon them from above. But still they dug a mine from a great distance under one of the towers, and made it totter; and having done that, they set fire on what was combustible and left it; and when the foundations were burnt below, the tower fell down suddenly. Yet did they then meet with another wall that had been built within: for the besieged were sensible beforehand of what they were doing, and probably the tower shook as it was undermining; so they provided themselves with another fortification: which, when the besiegers unexpectedly saw, while they thought they had already gained the place, they were under some consternation. However those that were within sent to Manahem, and to the other leaders of the sedition, and desired they might go out upon a capitulation. This was granted to the king's soldiers, and their own countrymen only, who went out accordingly: but the Romans that were left alone were greatly dejected: for they were not able to force their way through such a multitude, and to desire them to give them their right hand for their security they thought would be a reproach to them; and besides, if they should give it them, they durst not depend upon it. So they deserted their camp, as easily taken, and ran away to the royal towers; that called *Hippicus, that called Phasaelus, and that called Mariamne. But Manahem and his party fell upon the place whence the soldiers were fled; and slew as many of them as they could catch, before they got up to the towers; and plundered what they left behind them; and set fire to their camp. This was executed on the sixth day of the month Gorpeius, or Elul.

But on the next day the high-priest was caught, where he had concealed himself, in an aqueduct. He was slain, together with Hezekiah his brother, by the robbers. Hereupon the seditious besieged the towers, and kept them guarded, lest any of the soldiers should make their escape. Now the overthrow of the places of strength, and the death of the high-priest Ananias, so puffed Manahem, that he became barbarously cruel: and, as he thought he had no antagonist to dispute the management of affairs with him, he was no better than an insupportable tyrant. But Eleazar and his party, when words had passed between them to this effect, that "It was not proper when they revolted from the Romans, out of the desire of liberty, to betray that liberty to any of their own people, and to bear a lord, who, though he should be guilty of no violence, was yet meaner than themselves: as also that, in case they were obliged to set some one over their public affairs, it was fitter they should give that privilege to any one rather than to him:" they made an assault upon him in the temple. For he went up thither to worship in a pompous manner, and adorned with royal garments, and had his followers with him in their armour. But Eleazar and his party fell violently upon him; as did also the rest of the people: and taking up stones to attack him, they threw them at the sophister, and thought that if he were once ruined, the entire sedition would fall to the ground. Now Manahem and his party made resistance for some time, but when they perceived that the whole multitude were falling upon them, they fled which way every one was able. Those that were caught were slain; and those that hid themselves were searched for. A few there were of them who privately escaped to Masada; among whom was Eleazar, the son of Jairus, who was of kin to Manahem, and acted the part of a tyrant at Masada afterward. As for Manahem himself, he ran away to the place called Ophla, and there lay skulking in private: but they took him alive, and drew him out before them all; they then tortured him with many sorts of torments, and after all slew him. As they did by those that were captains under him; and particularly by Absalom, the principal instrument of his tyranny.

And, as I said, so far truly the people assisted them; while they hoped this might afford some amendment to the seditious practices. But the others were not in haste to put an end to the war, but hoped to prosecute it with less danger, now they had slain Manahem. It is true, that when the people earnestly desired that they would leave off besieging the soldiers, they were the more earnest in pressing it forward: and this till Metilius, who was the Roman general, sent to Eleazar, and desired that they would give them security to spare their lives; but agreed to deliver up their arms, and what else they had with them. The others readily complied with their petition; and sent to them Gorion, the son of Nicodemus, Ananias, the son of Sadduk, and Judas, the son of Jonathan; that they might give them the security of their right hands, and of their oaths. After which, Metilius brought down his soldiers. Which soldiers, while they were in arms, were not meddled with by any of

* See Book VI. chap. 4.

the seditious; nor was there any appearance of treachery. But as soon as, according to the articles of capitulation, they had all laid down their shields and swords,* and were under no farther suspicion of any harm, but were going away, Eleazar's men attacked them after a violent manner, and encamped them round and slew them: while they neither defended themselves, nor entreated for mercy, but only cried out upon the breach of their articles of capitulation, and their oaths. And thus were all these men barbarously murdered, excepting Metilius. For when he entreated for mercy, and promised that he would turn Jew, and be circumcised, they saved him alive, but not one else. This loss to the Romans was but light: there being no more than a few slain out of an immense army: but still it seemed to be a prelude to the destruction of the Jews. While men made public lamentation when they saw that such occasions were afforded for a war as were incurable; that the city was all over polluted with such abominations, from which it was but reasonable to expect some divine vengeance, even though they should escape revenge from the Romans. So that the city was filled with sadness, and every one of the moderate men in it were under great disturbance, as likely themselves to undergo punishment for the wickedness of the seditious. For indeed it so happened, that this murder was perpetrated on the sabbath-day: on which day the Jews have a respite from their works, on account of divine worship.

CHAP. XVIII.

OF THE CALAMITIES AND SLAUGHTERS THAT CAME UPON THE JEWS.

NOW the people of Cæsarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day and hour when the soldiers were slain. Which one would think must have come to pass by the direction of Providence. Insomuch that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were killed; and all Cæsarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants. For Florus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. Upon this stroke which the Jews received at Cæsarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged. So they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella and Scythopolis; and after them Gadara, and Hippos. And falling upon Gaulanitis, they destroyed some cities there, and set others on fire; and then went to Kedasa, belonging to the Tyrians, and to Ptolemais, and to Gaba, and to Cæsarea. Nor was either *Sebaste, or Askelon able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked. And when they had burnt these to the ground, they entirely demolished Anthedon and Gaza. Many also of the villages that were about every one of these cities were plundered; and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

However the Syrians equalled the Jews in the multitude of the men whom they slew. For they killed those whom they caught in their cities: and that not only out of the hatred they bare them, as formerly, but to prevent the danger under which they were from them, so that the disorders in all Syria were terrible; and every city was divided into two armies encamped one against another. And the preservation of the one party was in the destruction of the other. So the day time was spent in shedding of blood; and the night in fear: which was of the two the more terrible. For when the Syrians thought they had ruined the Jews, they had the Judaizers in suspicion also. And as each side did not care to slay those whom they only suspected on the other, so did they greatly fear them, when they were mingled with the other, as if they were certainly foreigners. Greediness of gain was also a provocation to kill the opposite party, even to such as had formerly appeared very mild and gentle towards them. For they without fear plundered the effects of the slain, and carried off the spoils of those whom they slew to their own houses, as if they had been gained in a pitched battle. And he was a man of honour who got the greatest share, as having prevailed over the greatest number of his enemies. It was then common to see cities filled with dead bodies, still lying unburied; and those of old men, mixed with infants, all dead and scattered about together. Women also lay amongst them, without any covering. The whole province was indeed full of inexpressible calamities; while the dread of still more barbarous practices which were threatened, were every where greater than what had been already perpetrated.

Thus far the conflict had been between Jews and foreigners. But when they made excursions to Scythopolis, they found Jews that acted as enemies. For as they stood in battle array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety before their relation to us, they fought against their own countrymen. Nay, their alacrity was so very great, that those of Scythopolis suspected them. These were afraid, therefore, lest they should make an assault upon the city in the night time; and to their great misfortune, should therefore make an apology for themselves to their own people for their revolt from them. So they commanded them, that in case they would confirm their agreement, and demonstrate their fidelity to them, who were of a different nation, they should go out of the city, with their families, into a neighbouring grove. And when they had done as they were commanded, without suspecting any thing, the people of Scythopolis lay still for the interval of two days, to tempt them to be secure. But on the third night they watched their opportunity and cut all their throats: some, as they lay unguarded, and some as they lay asleep. The number that was slain was above thirteen thousand: and then they plundered them all of what they had.

It will now deserve our relation what befel Simon. He was the son of one Saul, a man of reputation among the Jews. This man was distinguished from the rest by the strength of his body, and the boldness of his conduct: although he abused them both to the injury of his countrymen. For he came every day, and slew a great many of the Jews of Scythopolis: and he frequently put them to flight, and became himself alone the cause of his army's conquering. But a just punishment overtook him for the

* This might very probably be considered as an act of submission; as an unarmed soldier could no longer be an object of fear or danger. B.

† Samaria.

murders he had committed upon those of the same nation with him. For when the people of Scythopolis threw darts at them in the grove, he drew his sword, but did not attack any of the enemy. For he saw that he could do nothing against such a multitude. But he cried out after a very moving manner, and said, "O ye people of Scythopolis, I deservedly suffer for what I have done with relation to you, when I gave you such security of my fidelity, by slaying so many of those that were related to me. Wherefore we very justly experience the perfidiousness of foreigners, while we acted after a most wicked manner against our own nation. I will therefore die, polluted wretch as I am, by mine own hands. For it is not fit I should die by the hand of our enemies. And let the same action be to me both a punishment for my great crimes, and a testimony of my courage to my condemnation; that so no one of our enemies may have it to boast of, that he slew me; and no one may insult upon me as I fall." Now when he had said this, he looked round upon his family with eyes of commiseration and of rage. That family consisted of a wife and children, and his aged parents. So in the first place he caught his father by his grey hairs, and ran his sword through him: and after that he did the like to his wife and children: every one almost offering themselves to his sword; as desirous to prevent being slain by their enemies. So when he had gone over all his family, he stood upon their bodies to be seen by all; and stretching out his right hand to be observed by all, he sheathed his entire sword in his own bowels. This young man was to be pitied on account of the strength of his body, and the courage of his soul. But since he had assured foreigners of his fidelity against his own countrymen he suffered deservedly.

Besides this murder at Scythopolis, the other cities rose against the Jews that were among them. Those of Ascalon slew two thousand five hundred; and those of Ptolemais two thousand: and put not a few into bonds. Those of Tyre also put a great number to death; but kept a great number in prison. Moreover, those of Hippos, and those of Gadara did the like: while they put to death the boldest of the Jews; but kept those of whom they were afraid in custody. As did the rest of the cities of Syria: according as they every one either hated them, or were afraid of them. Only the Antiochians, the Sidonians, and Apamians, spared those that dwelt with them: and would not endure either to kill any of the Jews, or to put them in bonds. And perhaps they spared them, because their own number was so great, that they despised their attempts. But I think the greatest part of this favour was owing to their commiseration of those whom they saw to make no innovations. As for the Gerasens, they did no harm to those that abode with them; and for those who had a mind to go away, they conducted them as far as their borders reached.

There was also a plot laid against the Jews in Agrippa's kingdom. For he was himself gone to Cestius Gallus, to Antioch; but had left the care of the public affairs to one of his companions, named Noarus; who was of kin to king *Sohemus. Now there came seventy men, out of Batanea; who were the most considerable, for their families and prudence, of the rest of the people. These desired to have an army put into their hands: that if any tumult should happen they might have about them a guard sufficient to restrain such as might rise up against them. But Noarus sent out some of the king's armed men by night, and slew all those men. Which bold action he ventured upon without the consent of Agrippa: and was such a lover of money, that he chose to be so wicked to his own countrymen, though he brought ruin upon the kingdom thereby. And thus cruelly did he treat that nation, and this contrary to the laws also, until Agrippa was informed of it. Who did not indeed dare to put him to death, out of regard to Sohemus; but still he put an end to his procuratorship immediately. But as to the seditious, they took the citadel which was called Cypros, and was above Jericho; and cut the throats of the garrison; and utterly demolished the fortifications. This was about the same time that the multitude of the Jews that were at Macherus persuaded the Romans, who were in garrison, to leave the place, and deliver it up to them. These Romans being in great fear, lest the place should be taken by force, made an agreement with them to depart, upon certain conditions. And when they had obtained the security they desired, they delivered up the citadel. Into which the people of Macherus put a garrison for their own security, and held it in their own power.

But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of the place against the Jews was perpetual, and this from that very time when Alexander the Great, upon finding the readiness of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, and as a reward for their assistance, gave them equal privileges in this city with the Grecians themselves. This honorary reward continued among them under his successors: who also set apart for them a particular place, that they might live without being polluted by the Gentiles; and were thereby not so much intermixed with foreigners as before. They also gave them this farther privilege, that they should be called Macedonians. Nay, when the Romans got possession of Egypt, neither the first Cæsar, nor any one that came after him, thought of diminishing the honours which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still conflicts perpetually arose with the Grecians: and although the governors did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse. But at this time especially, when there were tumults in other places also, the disorders among them were put into a greater flame. For when the Alexandrians had once a public assembly, to deliberate about an ambassage they were sending to Nero, a great number of Jews came flocking to the theatre. But when their adversaries saw them, they immediately cried out, and called them their enemies, and said they came as spies. Upon which they rushed out, and laid violent hands upon them. And as for the rest, they were slain as they ran away. But there were three men whom they caught, and hauled along, in order to have them burnt alive. But all the Jews came in a body to defend them: who at first threw stones at the Grecians; but after that they took lamps, and rushed with violence into

* Of this Sohemus we have mention made by Tacitus. We also learn from Dio, that his father was king of the Arabians of Iturea: [which Iturea is mentioned by St. Luke, iii. 1.] both whose testimonies are quoted here by Dr. Hudson. See Noldius, No. 371.

the theatre, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man. And this they had soon done, unless Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had restrained their passion. However, this man did not begin to teach them wisdom by arms; but sent among them privately some of the principal men, and thereby entreated them to be quiet, and not provoke the the Roman army against them. But the seditious made a jest of the entreaties of Tiberius, and reproached him for so doing.

Now when he perceived that those that were for innovations would not be pacified, till some great calamity should overtake them, he sent out upon them those two Roman legions that were in the city; and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who, by chance, were come thither out of Libya, to the ruin of the Jews. They were also permitted not only to kill them, but to plunder them of what they had, and to set fire to their houses. These soldiers rushed violently into that part of the city that was called Delta, where the Jewish people lived together; and did as they were bidden; though not without bloodshed on their own side also. For the Jews got together, and set those that were the best armed among them in the forefront, and made resistance for a great while. But when once they gave back, they were destroyed unmercifully: and their destruction was complete; some being caught in the open fields, and others forced into their houses: which houses were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans. Wherein no mercy was shewed to the infants, and no regard had to the aged: but they went on in the slaughter of persons of every age, till all the place was overflowed with blood; and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps. Nor had the remainder been preserved, had they not betaken themselves to supplication. So Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire. Accordingly, these being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation. But the populace of Alexandria bare so very great hatred to the Jews, that it was difficult to recall them; and it was a hard thing to make them leave their dead bodies.

And this was the miserable calamity which at this time befell the Jews at Alexandria. Hereupon Cestius thought fit no longer to lie still, while the Jews were every where up in arms. So he took out of Antioch the twelfth legion; and out of each of the rest he selected two thousand; with six cohorts of footmen, and four troops of horsemen; besides those auxiliaries which were sent by the kings. Of which *Antiochus sent two thousand horsemen, and three thousand footmen: with as many archers: and Agrippa sent the same number of footmen, and one thousand horsemen. Sohemus also followed with four thousand: a third part whereof were horsemen, but most part were archers. And thus did he march to Ptolemais. There were also great numbers of auxiliaries gathered together from the free cities; who had not indeed the same skill in martial affairs, but made up in their alacrity, and in their hatred to the Jews, what they wanted in skill. There came also along with Cestius, Agrippa himself; both as a guide in his march over the country, and a director of what was fit to be done. So Cestius took part of his forces, and marched hastily to Zabulon; a strong city of Galilee, which was called the city of men, and divides the country of Ptolemais from our nation. This he found deserted by its inhabitants, the multitude having fled to the mountains; but full of all sorts of good things. Those he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder, and set fire to the city; although it were of admirable beauty, and had its houses built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. After this he overran all the country, and seized upon whatsoever came in his way, and set fire to the villages that were round about them; and then returned to Ptolemais. But when the Syrians, and especially those of Berytus, were busy in plundering, the Jews resumed their courage; for they knew that Cestius was retired; and fell upon those that were left behind unexpectedly, and destroyed about two thousand of them.

Now Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cæsarea. But he sent part of his army before him to Joppa: and gave order, that if they could take that city by surprise they should keep it; but that in case the citizens should perceive they were coming to attack them, they then should stay for him, and for the rest of the army. So some of them made a brisk march by the sea side, and some by land, and so coming upon them on both sides, they took the city with ease. And as the inhabitants had made no provision beforehand for a flight, nor had gotten any thing ready for fighting; the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all, with their families; and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred. In like manner Cestius sent also a considerable body of horsemen to the toparchy of †Narbatene, that adjoined to Cæsarea: who destroyed the country, and slew a great multitude of its people. They also plundered what they had, and burnt their villages.

But Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee; and delivered to him as many of his forces as he supposed sufficient to subdue that nation. He was received by the strongest city of Galilee; which was Sepphoris, with acclamations of joy. Which wise conduct of that city occasioned the rest of the cities to be in quiet. While the seditious part, and the robbers, ran away to the mountain Asamon, which lies in the very middle of Galilee, and is situate over against Sepphoris. So Gallus brought his forces against them. But while those men were in the superior parts above the Romans, they easily threw their darts upon them as they made their approaches; and slew about two hundred of them. But when the Romans had gone round the mountains, and were gotten into the parts above their enemies, the others were soon beaten. Nor could they who had only light armour on sustain the force of them that fought them armed all over. Nor when they were beaten could they escape the enemy's horsemen. Insomuch that only some few concealed themselves in certain places hard to be come at, among the mountains, while the rest, above two thousand in number, were slain.

* Spanheim notes on this place, that this later Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, is mentioned by Dio, LIX. page 645, and that he is mentioned by Josephus elsewhere twice also, V. 11. and Antiq. XIX. 8.

† See chap. 14.

CHAP. XIX.

OF WHAT CESTIUS DID AGAINST THE JEWS; HIS INVESTMENT OF JERUSALEM; AND THE CALAMITIES HE UNDERWENT IN HIS RETREAT.

NOW Gallus, seeing nothing more that looked towards an innovation in Galilee, returned with his troops to Cæsarea. But Cestius removed with his whole army, and marched to *Antipatris. And when he was informed that there was a great body of Jewish forces gotten together in a certain tower called †Aphek, he sent a party before to fight them. But this party dispersed the Jews by affrighting them, before it came to a battle. So they came, and finding their camp deserted, they burnt it, as well as the villages that lay about it. But when Cestius had marched from Antipatris to Lydda, he found the city empty of its men. For the ‡whole multitude were gone up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles. Yet did he destroy fifty of those that shewed themselves, and burnt the city, and so marched forwards. And ascending by §Bethoron, he pitched his camp at a certain place called ‖Gabao; fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.

But as for the Jews, when they saw the war approaching to their metropolis, they left the feast, and betook themselves to their arms. And taking courage greatly from their multitude, they went in a sudden and disorderly manner to the fight, with a great noise; and without any consideration of the rest of the seventh day: although the sabbath was the day to which they had the greatest regard. But that rage which made them forget their religious observance of the sabbath, made them too hard for their enemies in the fight. With such violence, therefore, did they fall upon the Romans, as to break into their ranks, and to march through the midst of them; making a great slaughter as they went. Insomuch, that unless the horsemen, and such part of the footmen as were not yet tired in the action had wheeled round, and succoured that part of the army which was not yet broken, Cestius, with his whole army, had been in danger. However, five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were slain: of which number four hundred were footmen, and the rest horsemen: while the Jews lost only twenty-two. Of whom the most valiant were the kinsmen of ¶Monobazus, king of Adiabene: and their names were Monobazus, and Kenedeus. And next to them were Niger of Perea, and Silas of Babylon; who had deserted from king Agrippa to the Jews. For he had formerly served in his army. When the front of the Jewish army had been cut off, the Jews retired into the city. But still Simon, the son of Giora, fell upon the backs of the Romans, as they were ascending up Bethoron, and put the hindmost of the army into disorder; and carried off many of the beasts that carried the weapons of war; and led them into the city. But as Cestius tarried there three days, the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and set watches at the entrances, and appeared openly resolved not to rest, when once the Romans should begin to march.

Now when Agrippa observed that even the affairs of the Romans were likely to be in danger, while such an immense multitude of their enemies had seized upon the mountains round about; he determined to try what the Jews would agree to by words: as thinking that he should either persuade them all to desist from fighting; or however, that he should cause the sober part of them to separate from the opposite party. So he sent Borceus and Phebus, the persons of his party that were the best known to them; and promised that Cestius should give them his right hand, to secure them of the Romans' entire forgiveness of what they had done amiss, if they would throw away their arms, and come over to them. But the seditious, fearing lest the whole multitude, in hopes of security to themselves, should go over to Agrippa, resolved immediately to fall upon and kill the ambassadors. Accordingly they slew Phebus, before he said a word. But Borceus was only wounded, and so prevented his fate by fleeing away. And when the people were very angry at this, they had the seditious beaten with stones, and clubs; and drove them before them into the city.

But now Cestius, observing that the disturbances that were begun among the Jews afforded him a proper opportunity to attack them, took his whole army along with him, and put the Jews to flight, and pursued them to Jerusalem. He then pitched his camp upon the elevation called **Scopus, or the watch-tower; which was distant seven furlongs from the city. Yet did not he assault them in three days' time: out of expectation that those within might perhaps yield a little: and in the mean time he sent out a great many of his soldiers into the neighbouring villages, to seize upon their corn. And on the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperbereteus or Tisri, when he had put his army in array, he brought it into the city. Now the people were kept under by the seditious. But the seditious themselves were greatly affrighted at the good order of the Romans; and retired from the suburbs, and retreated into the inner part of the city, and into the temple. But when Cestius was come into the city, he set the part called ††Bezetha, which is called Cenopolis or the new city,

* In the road to Jerusalem.

† See Antiquities, VIII. 14.

‡ Here we have an eminent example of that Jewish language, which Dr. Wall truly observes we several times find used in the sacred writings; I mean where the words all, or whole multitude, &c. are used for much the greatest part only; but not so as to include every person, without exception. For when Josephus had said, that the whole multitude, [all the males,] of Lydda were gone to the feast of tabernacles, he immediately adds, that however no fewer than fifty of them appeared, and were slain by the Romans. Other examples somewhat like this I have observed elsewhere in Josephus; but I think, none so remarkable as this. See Wall's Critical Observations on the Old Testament, page 49, 50.

We have also here two eminent facts to be observed, viz. the first example, that I remember, in Josephus, of the onset of the Jews' enemies upon their country when their males were gone up to Jerusalem, to one of their three sacred festivals: which, during the theocracy, God had promised to preserve them from, Exod. xxxiv. 24. The second fact is, the breach of the sabbath by the seditious Jews in an offensive fight; contrary to the universal doctrine and practice of their nation in these ages; and even contrary to what they themselves afterward practised in the rest of this war. See the note on Antiq. XVI. 2.

§ See Chap. 12.

‖ See Antiquities, VII. 1.

¶ See Antiquities, XX. 2.

** See Book V. chap. 2.

†† See Chap. 15.

on fire: as he did also to the timber-market. After which he came into the upper city, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace. And had he but at this very time attempted to get within the walls by force, he had won the city presently: and the war had been put an end to at once. But Tyrannius Priscus, the muster-master of the army, and a great number of the officers of the horse, had been corrupted by Florus; and diverted him from that attempt. And that was the occasion that this war lasted so very long; and thereby the Jews were involved in such incurable calamities.

In the mean time many of the principal men of the city were persuaded by Ananus, the son of Jonathan, and invited by Cestius into the city, and were about to open the gates for him. But he overlooked this offer, partly out of his anger at the Jews; and partly because he did not thoroughly believe they were in earnest. Whence it was that he delayed the matter so long, that the seditious perceived the treachery, and threw Ananus and those of his party down from the wall, and pelting them with stones, drove them into their houses. But they stood themselves at proper distances in the towers, and threw their darts at those that were getting over the wall. Thus did the Romans make their attack against the wall for five days; but to no purpose. But on the next day Cestius took a great many of his choicest men, and with them the archers; and attempted to break into the temple at the northern quarter of it. But the Jews beat them off from the cloisters; and repulsed them several times when they were gotten near to the wall: till at length the multitude of the darts cut them off, and made them retire. But the first rank of the Romans rested their shields upon the wall; and so did those that were behind them; and the like did those that were still more backward; and guarded themselves with what they call Testudo; the back of a tortoise: upon which the darts that were thrown fell, and slided off without doing them any harm. So the soldiers undermined the wall, without being themselves hurt; and got all things ready for setting fire to the gate of the temple.

Now it was that a horrible fear seized upon the seditious. Insomuch that many of them ran out of the city, as though it were to be taken immediately. But the people upon this took courage; and where the wicked part of the city gave ground, thither did they come, in order to set open the gates and to admit Cestius as their benefactor. Who, had he but continued the siege a little longer, had certainly taken the city. But it was, I suppose, owing to the *aversion God had already against the city and the sanctuary, that he was hindered from putting an end to the war that very day.

It then happened that Cestius was not conscious either how the besieged despaired of success, nor how courageous the people were for him: and so he recalled his soldiers from the place; and by despairing of any expectation of taking it, without having received any disgrace, he retired from the city, without any reason in the world. But when the robbers perceived this unexpected retreat of his, they resumed their courage, and ran after the hinder parts of his army, and destroyed a considerable number of both their horsemen, and their footmen. And now Cestius lay all night at the camp, which was at Scopus: and as he went off farther the next day, he thereby invited the enemy to follow him; who still fell upon the hindmost, and destroyed them. They also fell on the flank on each side of the army, and threw darts upon them obliquely. Nor durst those that were hindmost turn back upon those who wounded them behind: as imagining that the multitude of those that pursued them was immense. Nor did they venture to drive away those that pressed upon them on each side; because they were heavy with their arms, and were afraid of breaking their ranks to pieces: and because they saw the Jews were light, and ready for making incursions upon them. And this was the reason why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to revenge themselves upon their enemies. So they were galled all the way; and their ranks were put into disorder; and those that were thus put out of their ranks were slain. Among whom were Priscus, the commander of the sixth legion; and Longinus the tribune; and Emilius Secundus, the commander of a troop of horsemen. So it was not without difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former camp; and that not without the loss of a great part of their baggage. There it was that Cestius stayed two days, and was in great distress to know what he should do in these circumstances. But when, on the third day, he saw a still greater number of enemies, and all the parts round about him full of Jews, he understood that his delay was to his own detriment: and that if he stayed any longer there he should have still more enemies upon him.

That he might flee the faster, therefore, he gave orders to cast away what might hinder the army's march. So they killed the mules, and other creatures, excepting those that carried their darts, and machines, which they retained for their own use: and this principally because they were afraid lest the Jews should seize upon them. He then made his army march on as far as †Bethoron. Now the Jews did not so much press upon them when they were in large open places. But when they were penned up in their descent through narrow passages, then did some of them get before, and hindered them from getting out of them, and others thrust the hindmost down into the lower places: and the whole multitude extended themselves, over against the neck of the passage, and covered the Roman army with their darts. In which circumstances, as the footmen knew not how to defend themselves, so the danger pressed the

* There may another very important, and very providential reason be here assigned, for this strange and foolish retreat of Cestius's: which, if Josephus had been now a Christian, he might probably have taken notice of also: and that is, the affording the Jewish Christians in the city an opportunity of calling to mind the prediction and caution given them by Christ about 33½ years before; that when they should see the abomination of desolation, [the idolatrous Roman armies, with the images of their idols, in their ensigns, ready to lay Jerusalem desolate,] stand where it ought not; or, in the holy place. Or, when they should see Jerusalem compassed with armies, they should then flee to the mountains. By complying with which those Jewish Christians fled to the mountains of Perea, and escaped this destruction. See Lit. Accompli. of Proph. page 69, 70. Nor was there, perhaps, any one instance of a more unpolitic, but more providential conduct than this retreat of Cestius visible during this whole siege of Jerusalem; which yet was providentially such a great tribulation, as had not been from the beginning of the world to that time: no, nor ever should be. Ibid. page 70, 71.

† See Chap. 12.

horsemen still more: for they were so pelted, that they could not march along the road in their ranks; and the ascents were so high that the cavalry were not able to march against the enemy. The precipices also, and valleys into which they frequently fell, and tumbled down, were such on each side of them, that there was neither place for their flight, nor any contrivance could be thought of for their defence: till the distress they were at last in was so great, that they betook themselves to lamentations, and to such mournful cries as men use in the utmost despair. The joyful acclamations of the Jews also, as they encouraged one another, echoed the sounds back again. These last composing a noise of those that at once rejoiced and were in a rage. Indeed things were come to such a pass, that the Jews had almost taken Cestius's entire army prisoners, had not the night come on: when the Romans fled to Bethoron; and the Jews seized upon all the places round about them, and watched for their coming out in the morning.

Then it was that Cestius, despairing of obtaining room for a public march, contrived how he might best run away. And when he had selected four hundred of the most courageous of his soldiers, he placed them at the strongest of their fortifications: and gave order, that when they went up to the morning guard, they should erect their ensigns; that the Jews might be made to believe that the entire army was there still: while he himself took the rest of his forces with him, and marched, without any noise, thirty furlongs. But when the Jews perceived, in the morning, that the camp was empty, they ran upon those four hundred who had deluded them, and immediately threw their darts at them, and slew them: and then pursued after Cestius. But he had already made use of a great part of the night in his flight, and still marched quicker when it was day. Insomuch that the soldiers, through the astonishment and fear they were in, left behind them their *engines for sieges, and for throwing of stones; and a great part of their other instruments of war.† So the Jews went on pursuing the Romans as far as Antipatris. After which, seeing they could not overtake them, they came back, and took the engines, and spoiled the dead bodies, and gathered the prey together which the Romans had left behind, and came back running and singing to their metropolis: while they had themselves lost a few only; but had slain of the Romans five thousand and three hundred footmen, and three hundred and eighty horsemen. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dius, or Marhesvan, in the ‡twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

CHAP. XX.

CESTIUS SENDS AMBASSADORS TO NERO.—THE PEOPLE OF DAMASCUS SLAY THOSE JEWS THAT LIVED WITH THEM.—THE PEOPLE OF JERUSALEM, AFTER PURSUING CESTIUS, RETURN TO PREPARE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THEIR CITY; AND APPOINT SEVERAL GENERALS FOR THEIR ARMIES; PARTICULARLY JOSEPHUS, THE WRITER OF THESE BOOKS.—SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS ADMINISTRATION.

AFTER this calamity had befallen Cestius, many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city, as from a ship when it was going to sink. Costobarus therefore, and Saul, who were brethren, together with Philip, the son of Jacimus, the commander of king Agrippa's forces, ran away from the city, and went to Cestius. But how Antipas, who had been besieged with them in the king's palace, but would not now flee away with them, was afterward slain by the seditious, §we shall relate hereafter. However, Cestius sent Saul, and his friends, at their own desire, to Achaia, to Nero; to inform him of the great distress they were in; and to lay the blame of kindling the war upon Florus: as hoping to alleviate his own danger, by provoking his indignation against Florus.

In the mean time the people of Damascus, when they were informed of the destruction of the Romans, set about the slaughter of those Jews that were among them. And as they had them already cooped up in the place of public exercises, which they had done out of the suspicion they had of them, they thought they should meet with no difficulty in the attempt. Yet did they distrust their own wives; who were almost all of them addicted to the Jewish religion: on which account it was that their greatest concern was how they might conceal the thing from them. So they came upon the Jews, and cut their throats, as being in a narrow place; in number ten thousand, and all of them unarmed: and this in one hour's time, without any body to disturb them.

But as to those who had pursued after Cestius, when they were returned back to Jerusalem, they overbore some of those that favoured the Romans by violence; and some they persuaded by entreaties to join with them; and got together in great numbers in the temple; and appointed a great many generals for the war. ||Joseph also, the son of Gorion, and Ananus, the high-priest, were chosen as governors of all affairs within the city: and with a particular charge to repair the walls. For they did not ordain ¶Eleazar, the son of Simon to that office; although he had gotten into his possession the prey they had taken from the Romans, and the money they had taken from Cestius; together with a great part of the public treasures: because they saw he was of a tyrannical temper; and that his followers were, in their

* See Book V. chap. 6.

† Many of the military machines in use in these early ages were very lumbersome and unwieldly, so that they were obliged, from necessity, to abandon them in particular exigency. B.

‡ A. D. 66.

§ See Book IV. chap. 4.

|| From this name of Joseph, the son of Gorion, or Gorion, the son of Joseph, as IV. 3, one of the governors of Jerusalem, who was slain at the beginning of the tumults by the zealots, IV. 6, the much later Jewish author of a history of that nation, takes his title; and yet personates our true Josephus, the son of Matthias. But the cheat is too gross to be put upon the learned world.

¶ See Chap. 19.

behaviour, like guards about him. However, the want they were in of Eleazar's money, and the subtle tricks used by him, brought all so about, that the people were circumvented, and submitted themselves to his authority in all public affairs.

They also chose other generals for Idumea: Jesus, the son of Sapphias, one of the high-priests; and Eleazar, the son of Ananias, the high-priest. They also enjoined *Niger, the then governor of †Idumea, who was of a family that belonged to Perea beyond Jordan, and was thence called the Peraite, that he should be obedient to those forenamed commanders. Nor did they neglect the care of other parts of the country: but Joseph, the son of Simon, was sent as general to Jericho, as was Manasseh to Perea: and John, the Essene, to the toparchy of Thamna. Lydda was also added to his portion, and Joppa, and Emmaus. But John, the son of Matthias, was made governor of the toparchies of Gophnitica, and ‡Acrabatene: as was Josephus, the son of Matthias, both of the Galilees. §Gamala also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under his command.

So every one of the other commanders administered the affairs of his portion with what alacrity and prudence they were masters of. But as to Josephus, when he came into Galilee, his first care was to gain the good will of the people of that country: as sensible that he should thereby have in general good success, although he should fail in other points. And being conscious that if he communicated part of his power to the great men, he should make them his firm friends; and that he should gain the same favour from the multitude, if he executed his commands by persons of their own country, and with whom they were well acquainted, he chose out ‖seventy of the most prudent men, and those elders in age, and appointed them to be rulers of all Galilee: as he chose seven judges in every city to hear the lesser quarrels. For as to the greater causes, and those wherein life and death were concerned, he enjoined that they should be brought to him, and the seventy elders.

Josephus also, when he had settled these rules for determining causes by the law, with regard to the people's dealings one with another, betook himself to make provision for their safety against external violence. And as he knew the Romans would fall upon Galilee, he built walls in proper places: about Jotapata, Bersabee, and Salamis; and besides these about Capharecco, Japha, and Sigo, and what they call mount Tabor, and Taricheæ, and Tiberias. He also built walls about the caves near the ¶lake of Gennesar; which places lay in the lower Galilee. The same he did to the places of upper Galilee; as well as to the rock called the rock of the Achabari, and to Seph, and Jamnith, and Meroth. And in Gaulanitis he fortified Seleucia, Sogane, and Gamala. But as to those of Sepphoris, they were the only people to whom he gave leave to build their own walls; and this because he perceived they were wealthy, and ready to go to war, without standing in need of any injunction for that purpose. The case was the same with Gischala, which had a wall built about it by John, the son of Levi himself, but with the consent of Josephus. But for the building of the rest of the fortresses, he laboured together with all the other builders, and was present to give the necessary orders for that purpose. He also got together an army out of Galilee of more than a hundred thousand young men; all which he armed with the old weapons that he had collected together, and prepared for them.

And when he considered that the Roman power became invincible, chiefly by their readiness in obeying orders, and the constant exercise of their arms, he despaired of teaching his men the use of their arms, which was to be obtained by experience: but observing that their readiness in obeying orders was owing to the multitude of their officers, he made his partitions in his army more after the Roman manner; and appointed a great many subalterns. He also distributed the soldiers into various classes, whom he had put under captains of tens, and captains of hundreds, and then under captains of thousands; and besides these he had commanders of larger bodies of men. He also taught them to give the signals one to another, and to call and recall the soldiers by the trumpets; to expand the wings of an army, and make them wheel about; and when one wing had success, to turn again to assist those that were hard set; and to join in the defence of what had most suffered. He also continually instructed them in what concerned the courage of the soul, and the hardiness of the body. And above all he exercised them for war, by declaring to them distinctly the good order of the Romans: and that they were to fight with men who, both by the strength of their bodies and courage of their souls, had conquered in a manner the whole habitable earth. He told them, that he should make trial of the good order they would observe in war, even before it came to any battle, in case they would abstain from the crimes they use to indulge themselves in: such as theft, robbery, and rapine; and from defrauding their own countrymen: and never to esteem the harm done to those that were so near of kin to them any

* See Book I. chap. 1.

† We may observe here that the Idumeans, as having been proselytes of justice since the days of John Hyrcanus, during about 195 years, were now esteemed as part of the Jewish nation, and here provided with a Jewish commander accordingly. See the note upon Antiq. XIII. 9.

‡ See Antiquities, XII. 8.

§ Antiq. XIII. 15.

‖ We see here, and in Josephus's account of his own life, how exactly he imitated his legislator Moses; or perhaps only obeyed what he took to be his perpetual law, in appointing seven lesser judges, for smaller causes, in particular cities; and perhaps for the first hearing of greater causes: with the liberty of an appeal to seventy-one supreme judges: especially in those causes where life and death were concerned. As Antiq. IV. 8. See also Of the War, IV. 5. Moreover, we find that he imitated Moses, as well as the Romans, in the number and distribution of the subaltern officers of his army: as Exod. xviii. 25; Deut. i. 15, and in his charge against the offences common among soldiers: as Deut. xxiii. 9. In all which he shewed his great wisdom, piety, and skilful conduct in martial affairs. Yet may we discern in his very high character of Ananus the high-priest; IV. 5, who seems to have been the same who condemned St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, to be stoned, under Albinus the procurator; that when he wrote these books, Of the War, he was not so much as an Ebonite Christian. Otherwise he would not have failed, according to his usual custom, to have reckoned his barbarous murder, as a just punishment upon him for his cruelty to the chief, or rather only Christian bishop of the circumcision. Nor, had he been then a Christian, could he immediately have spoken so movingly of the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, without one word of either the condemnation of James, or crucifixion of Christ: as he did when he was become a Christian afterward.

¶ See Antiquities, V. 1; XVIII. 2.

advantage to themselves. For that wars are managed the best, when the warriors preserve a good conscience; but that all such as are ill men in private life, will not only have those for enemies who attack them, but God himself also for their antagonist.

Now he chose for the war such an army as was sufficient: that is sixty thousand footmen, and* two hundred and fifty horsemen. And besides these, on which he put the greatest trust, there were about four thousand five hundred mercenaries. He had also six hundred men as his body-guards. Now the cities easily maintained the rest of his army, excepting the mercenaries. For every one of the cities enumerated above, sent out half their men to the army, and retained the other half at home, in order to get provisions for them. Insomuch that the one part went to the war, and the other part to their work; and so those that sent out their corn, were paid for it by those that were in arms, by that security which they enjoyed from them.

CHAP. XXI.

CONCERNING JOHN OF GISCHALA.—THE STRATAGEMS USED BY JOSEPHUS AGAINST THE PLOTS JOHN LAID AGAINST HIM; AND THE RECOVERY OF CERTAIN CITIES WHICH HAD REVOLTED FROM HIM.

NOW †as Josephus was thus engaged in the administration of the affairs of Galilee, there arose a treacherous person, ‡a man of Gischala, the son of Levi, whose name was John. His character was that of a very cunning and knavish person, beyond the ordinary rate of the other men of eminence there; and for wicked practices he had not his fellow any where. Poor he was at first: and for a long time his wants were a hindrance to him in his wicked designs. He was a ready liar; and yet very sharp in gaining credit to his fictions. He thought it a point of virtue to delude people; and would deceive even such as were the dearest to him. He was a hypocritical pretender to humanity; but where he had hopes of gain he spared not the shedding of blood. His desires were ever carried to great things; and he encouraged his hopes from those mean wicked tricks which he was the author of. He had also a peculiar knack of thieving. In some time he got certain companions in his impudent practices. At first they were but a few: but as he proceeded on in his evil course, they became still more and more numerous. He took care that none of his partners should be easily caught in their rogueries; but chose such out of the rest as had the strongest constitution of body, and the greatest courage of soul, together with great skill in martial affairs. So he got together a band of four hundred men, who came principally out of the country of Tyre; and were vagabonds, that had run away from its villages. And by the means of these he laid waste all Galilee, and irritated a considerable number, who were in great expectation of a war then suddenly to arise among them.

However, John's want of money had hitherto restrained him in his ambition after command, and in his attempts to advance himself. But when he saw that Josephus was highly pleased with the activity of his temper, he persuaded him, in the first place, to entrust him with repairing the walls of his native city Gischala: in which work he got a great deal of money from the rich citizens. He afterwards contrived a very shrewd trick; and pretending that the Jews who dwelt in Syria were obliged to make use of oil that was made by others than those of their own nation, he desired leave of Josephus to send oil to their borders. So he bought four amphoræ with such Tyrian money, as was of the value of four Attic drachmæ: and sold every half amphora at the same price. And as Galilee was very fruitful in oil, and was peculiarly so at that time; by sending away great quantities, and having the sole privilege so to do, he gathered an immense sum of money together, which money he immediately used to the disadvantage of him who gave him that privilege. And, as he supposed, that if he could once overthrow Josephus, he should obtain himself the government of Galilee, so he gave order to the robbers that were under his command to be more zealous in their thievish expeditions; that by the rise of many that desired innovations in the country he might either catch their general in his snares, as he came to the country's assistance, and then kill him; or if he should overlook the robbers, he might accuse him for his negligence to the people of the country. He also spread abroad a report far and near, that Josephus was delivering up the administration of affairs to the Romans. And many such plots did he lay in order to ruin him.

Now at the same time certain young men of the village Darbaritta, who kept guard in the great plain, laid snares for Ptolemy, who was Agrippa's and Bernice's steward, and took from him all that he had with him: among which things there were a great many costly garments, and no small number of silver cups, and six hundred pieces of gold; yet were they not able to conceal what they had stolen; but brought it all to Josephus to Taricheæ. Hereupon he blamed them for the violence they had offered to the king and queen; and deposited what they brought to him with Eneas, the most potent man of Taricheæ, with an intention of sending the things back to their owners at a proper time. This act of Josephus's brought him into the greatest danger. For those that had stolen the things had an indignation at him; both because they gained no share of it for themselves; and because they perceived beforehand what was Josephus's intention, and that he would freely deliver up what had cost them so much pains, to the king and queen. These ran away by night to several villages, and declared to all men that Josephus was going to

* I should think that an army of 60,000 footmen should require many more than 250 horsemen: and we find Josephus had more horsemen under his command than 250 in his future history. I suppose the number of the thousand is dropt in our present copies.

† The reader may observe a few variations in the circumstances relating to Josephus in this chapter, when they are compared with the same Josephus's accounts in the history of his own life. And I must confess I think those in his life ought, generally, to be corrected from these in his Books of the War. For as that life was written by him about thirty years after these books of the War, he must have better recollected such circumstances at the former time than at the latter. And it seems to me that either these Books of the War were not then by him, when he wrote his Life; or that he therein trusted his present memory too much, without consulting them.

‡ See chap. 20.

betray them. They also raised great disorders in all the neighbouring cities: insomuch that in the morning a hundred thousand armed men came running together. This multitude was crowded together at the Taricheæ, and made a very peevish clamour against him: while some cried out, that they should depose the traitor; and others that they should burn him. Now John irritated a great many; as did also one Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who was then governor of Tiberias. Then it was that Josephus's friends, and the guards of his body were so affrighted at this violent assault of the multitude, that they all fled away but *four. And as he was asleep they awaked him, as the people were going to set fire to the house. And although those four that remained persuaded him to run away, he was neither surprised at his being deserted, nor at the great multitude that came against him: but leaped out to them with his clothes rent, and ashes sprinkled on his head; with his hands behind him; and his sword hanging at his neck. At this sight his friends, especially those of Tiracheæ, commiserated his condition. But those that were come out of the country, and those in their neigbourhood to whom his government seemed burdensome, reproached him: and bade him produce the money which belonged to them all immediately: and to confess the agreement he had made to betray them. For they imagined, from the habit in which he appeared, that he would deny nothing of what they had suspected concerning him: and that it was in order to obtain pardon that he had put himself into so pitiable a posture. But this humble appearance was only designed as preparatory to a stratagem of his: who thereby contrived to set those that were so angry at him at variance one with another, about the things they were angry at. However, he promised he would confess all. Hereupon he was permitted to speak: when he said, "I did neither intend to send this money back to Agrippa, nor to gain it myself. For I did never esteem one that was your enemy, to be my friend: nor did I look upon what would tend to your disadvantage, to be my advantage. But, O people of Taricheæ, I saw that your city stood in more need than others of fortifications for your security: and that it wanted money in order for the building it a wall. I was also afraid lest the people of Tiberias and other cities should lay a plot to seize upon these spoils; and therefore it was that I intended to retain this money privately, that I might encompass you with a wall. But if this does not please you, I will produce what was brought me, and leave it to you to plunder it. But if I have conducted myself so well as to please you, you may, if you think proper, punish your benefactor."

Hereupon the people of Taricheæ loudly commended him: but those of Tiberias, with the the rest of the company gave him hard names, and threatened what they would do to him. So both sides left off quarrelling with Josephus, and began quarrelling one with another. So he grew bold upon the dependence he had on his friends, who were the people of Taricheæ, and about forty thousand in number; and spake more freely to the whole multitude: and reproached them greatly for their rashness: and told them, that with this money he would build walls about Taricheæ; and would put the other cities in a state of security also. For that they should not want money if they would but agree for whose benefit it was to be procured, and would not suffer themselves to be irritated against him who procured it for them.

Hereupon the rest of the multitude, that had been deluded, retired: but yet so that they went away angry. And two thousand of them made an assault upon him in their armour. And as he was already gone to his own house, they stood without and threatened him. On which occasion Josephus again used a second stratagem to escape them. For he got upon the top of his house, and with his right hand desired them to be silent, and said he could not tell what they would have: nor could he hear what they said for the confused noise. But he said he would comply with all their demands, in case they would but send some of their number in to him that might talk with him about it. And when the principal of them, with their leaders, heard this, they came into the house. He then drew them to the most retired part of the house, and shut the door of that hall where he put them: and then had them whipped till every one of their inward parts appeared naked. In the mean time the multitude stood round the house; and supposed that he had a long discourse with those that were gone in, about what they claimed of him. He had then the doors set open immediately, and sent the men out all bloody. Which so terribly affrighted those that had before threatened him, that they threw away their arms, and ran away.

But as for John his envy grew greater upon this escape of Josephus's; and he framed a new plot against him. He pretended to be sick; and by a letter desired that Josephus would give him leave to use the hot baths that were at Tiberias, for the recovery of his health. Hereupon Josephus, who hitherto suspected nothing of John's plots against him, wrote to the governors of the city, that they would provide a lodging and necessaries for John. Which favours when he had made use of, in two days' time he did what he came about. Some he corrupted with delusive frauds; and others with money: and so persuaded them to revolt from Josephus. Silas, however, who was appointed guardian of the city by Josephus, wrote to him immediately; and informed him of the plot against him. Which epistle, when Josephus had received, he marched with great diligence all night, and came early in the morning to Tiberias. At which time the rest of the multitude met him. But John, who suspected that his coming was not for his advantage, sent one of his friends, and pretended that he was sick; and that being confined to his bed he could not come to pay him his respects. But as soon as Josephus had gotten the people of Tiberias together at the Stadium, and tried to discourse with them about the letters that he had received, John privately sent some armed men, and gave them orders to slay him. But when the people saw that the armed men were about to draw their swords, they cried out. At which cry Josephus turned himself about: and when he saw that the swords were just at his throat, he marched away in great haste to the sea-shore; and left off that speech which he was going to make to the people, upon an elevation of six cubits high. He then seized on a ship which lay in the haven; and leaped into it, with two of his guards; and fled away into the midst of the lake.

* All but one. See his Life.

Now the soldiers he had with him took up their arms, and marched against the plotters. But Josephus was afraid lest a civil war should be raised by the envy of a few men, and bring the city to ruin. So he sent some of his party to tell them, that they should do no more than provide for their own safety; that they should not kill any body; nor accuse any for the occasion they had afforded of a disorder. Accordingly these men obeyed his orders, and were quiet. But the people of the neighbouring country, when they were informed of this plot, and of the plotter, got together in great multitudes to oppose John. But he prevented their attempt, and fled away to Gischala; while the Galileans came running out of their several cities to Josephus. And as they were now become many thousands of armed men, they cried out that they were come against John, the common plotter against their interest: and would at the same time burn him, and that city which had received him. Hereupon Josephus told them that he took their good will to him kindly: but still he restrained their fury, and intended to subdue his enemies by prudent conduct, rather than by slaying them. So he excepted those of every city which had joined in this revolt with John, by name, who had readily been shewn him by those that came from every city; and caused public proclamation to be made, that he would seize upon the effects of those that did not forsake John within five days' time, and would burn both their houses, and their families with fire. Whereupon three thousand of John's party left him immediately: who came to Josephus, and threw their arms down at his feet. John then betook himself, together with his two thousand Syrian runagates, from open attempts, to more secret ways of treachery. Accordingly he privately sent messengers to Jerusalem to accuse Josephus, as having too great power: and to let them know that he would soon come, as a tyrant, to their metropolis, unless they prevented him. But this accusation the people were aware of beforehand; and had no regard to it. However, some of the grandees, out of envy, and some of the rulers also, sent money to John privately; that he might be able to get together mercenary soldiers, in order to fight Josephus. They also made a decree of themselves, for recalling him from his government. Yet did they not think that decree sufficient. So they sent withal two thousand five hundred armed men; and four persons of the highest rank among them. Joazar, the son of Nomicus; Ananias, the son of Sadduk, and Simon and Judas, the sons of Jonathan; all very able men in speaking; that these persons might withdraw the good will of the people from Josephus. These had it in charge, that if he would voluntarily come away they should permit him to come and give an account of his conduct; but if he obstinately insisted upon continuing in his government, they should treat him as an enemy. Now Josephus's friends had sent him word that an army was coming against him: but they gave him no notice beforehand what the reason of their coming was: that being only known among some secret councils of his enemies. And by this means it was that four cities revolted from him immediately; Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias. Yet did he recover these cities without war: and when he had routed those four commanders by stratagem; and had taken the most potent of their warriors, he sent them to Jerusalem. And the people of Galilee had great indignation at them, and were in a zealous disposition to slay, not only these forces, but those that sent them also, had not those forces prevented it by running away.

Now John was detained afterward within the walls of Gischala, by the fear he was in of Josephus. But within a few days Tiberias revolted again: the people within it inviting king Agrippa to return to the exercise of his authority there. And when he did not come at the time appointed, and when a few Roman horsemen appeared that day, they expelled Josephus out of the city. Now this revolt of theirs was presently known at Taricheæ. And as Josephus had sent out all the soldiers that were with him to gather corn, he knew not how either to march out alone against the revolters, or to stay where he was: because he was afraid the king's soldiers might prevent him if he tarried, and might get into the city. For he did not intend to do any thing on the next day, because it was the sabbath and would hinder his proceeding. So he contrived to circumvent the revolters by a stratagem. And in the first place he ordered the gates of Taricheæ to be shut, that nobody might go out, and inform those of Tiberias, for whom it was intended, what stratagem he was about. He then got together all the ships that were upon the lake, which were found to be two hundred and thirty: and in each of them he put no more than four mariners. So he sailed to Tiberias with haste, and kept at such a distance from the city, that it was not easy for the people to see the vessels: and ordered that the empty vessels should float up and down there; while himself, who had but seven of his guards with him, and those unarmed also, went so near as to be seen. But when his adversaries, who were still reproaching him, saw him from the walls, they were so astonished that they supposed all the ships were full of armed men, and threw down their arms; and by signals of intercession they besought him to spare the city.

Upon this Josephus threatened them terribly; and reproached them, that when they were the first that took up arms against the Romans, they should spend their force beforehand in civil dissensions; and do what their enemies desired above all things; and that besides they should endeavour so hastily to seize upon him who took care of their safety; and had not been ashamed to shut the gates of their city against him that built their walls: that, however, he would admit of any intercessors that might make some excuse for them: and with whom he would make such agreement as might be for the city's security. Hereupon ten of the most potent men of Tiberias came down to him presently. And when he had taken them into one of his vessels, he ordered them to be carried a great way off from the city. He then commanded that fifty others of their senate, such as were men of the greatest eminence, should come to him; that they also might give him some security on their behalf. After which, under new pretences, he called forth others, one after another, to make the leagues between them. He then gave order to the masters of those vessels which he had thus filled, to sail away immediately for Taricheæ; and to confine those men in the prison there. Till at length he took all their senate, consisting of six hundred persons; and about two thousand of the populace; and carried them away to Taricheæ.

And when the rest of the people cried out, that it was one Clitus that was the chief author of this revolt; they desired him to spend his anger upon him only. But Josephus, whose intention it was to slay nobody, commanded one Levius, belonging to his guards, to go out of the vessel in order to cut off both Clitus's hands. Yet was Levius afraid to go out by himself alone, to such a large body of enemies, and refused. Now Clitus saw that Josephus was in a great passion in the ship, and ready to leap out of it, in order to execute the punishment himself. He begged, therefore, from the shore, that he would leave him one of his hands, which Josephus agreed to; upon condition that he would himself cut off the other hand. Accordingly he drew his sword, and with his right hand cut off his left.* So great was the fear he was in of Josephus. And thus he took the people of Tiberias prisoners; and recovered the city again †with empty ships, and seven of his guard. Moreover, a few days afterward he took Gischala; which had revolted with the people of Sepphoris; and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it. Yet did he get all the plunder together, and restored it to the inhabitants: and the like he did to the inhabitants of Sepphoris, and Tiberias. For when he had subdued those cities, he had a mind, by letting them be plundered, to give them some good instruction; while at the same time he regained their good-will by restoring them their money again.

CHAP. XXII.

THE JEWS MAKE READY FOR THE WAR; AND SIMON THE SON OF GIORAS BEGINS PLUNDERING.

THUS were the disturbances of Galilee quieted: and the people, upon their ceasing to prosecute their civil dissensions, betook themselves to make preparations for a war with the Romans. Now in Jerusalem the high-priest Ananus, and as many of the men of power as were not in the interest of the Romans, both repaired the walls, and made a great many warlike instruments. Insomuch that, in all parts of the city, darts, and all sorts of armour were upon the anvil. Although the multitude of the young men were engaged in exercises without any regularity; and all places were full of tumultuous doings. But the moderate sort were exceeding sad: and a great many there were who, out of the prospect they had of the calamities that were coming upon them, made great lamentations. There were also such omens observed as were understood to be forerunners of evils, by such as loved peace: but were by those that kindled the war interpreted so as to suit their own inclinations. And the very state of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus's concern was to lay aside, for a while, the preparations for the war; and to persuade the seditious to consult their own interest; and to restrain the madness of those that had the name of zealots. But their violence was too hard for him. And what end he came to we shall relate ‡hereafter.

But as for the §Acrabbene toparchy, Simon, the son of Gioras, got a great number of those that were fond of innovations together; and betook himself to ravage the country. Nor did he only harass the rich men's houses, but tormented their bodies, and appeared openly to affect tyranny in his government. And when an army was sent against him by Ananus, and the other rulers, he and his retired to the robbers that were at Masada; and stayed there, and plundered the country of Idumea with them; till both Ananus, and his other adversaries were slain; and until the rulers of that country were so afflicted with the multitude of those that were slain, and with the continual ravage of what they had, that they raised an army, and put garrisons into the villages, to secure them from those insults. And in this state were the affairs of Judea at that time.

* Such hard and cruel conditions, did victors, flushed with success, and armed with power, compel the vanquished to submit to. It appears hence how dearly many purchase a wretchedly protracted mortal existence. B.

† I cannot but think this stratagem of Josephus's, which is related both here and in his Life, to be one of the finest that ever was invented and executed by any warrior whomsoever.

‡ See Book IV. chap. 5.

§ Antiq. XII. 1.

BOOK III.

Containing an Interval of about One Year.

FROM VESPASIAN'S COMING TO SUBDUE THE JEWS, TO THE TAKING OF GAMALA.

CHAP. I.

VESPASIAN IS SENT INTO SYRIA BY NERO; IN ORDER TO MAKE WAR AGAINST THE JEWS.

WHEN Nero was informed of the Romans' ill success in Judea, a concealed consternation and terror, as is usual in such cases, fell upon him. Although he openly looked very big, and was very angry; and said, that what had happened was rather owing to the negligence of the commander, than to any valour of the enemy. And as he thought it fit for him, who bare the burden of the whole empire, to despise such misfortunes; he now pretended so to do: and to have a soul superior to all such sad accidents. Yet did the disturbance that was in his soul plainly appear by the solicitude he was in how to recover his affairs again.

And as he was deliberating to whom he should commit the care of the East, now it was in so great a commotion; and who might be best able to punish the Jews for their rebellion, and might prevent the same distemper from seizing upon the neighbouring nations also; he found no one but Vespasian equal to the task: and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war. Seeing he was grown an old man already in the camp; and from his youth had been exercised in warlike exploits. He was also a man that had long ago pacified the West, and made it subject to the Romans; when it had been put into disorder by the Germans. He had also by his arms recovered to them Britain, which had been little known before.* Whereby he procured to his father Claudius to have a triumph bestowed on him, without any exertion or labour of his own.

So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favourable omens: and saw that Vespasian's age gave him sure experience, and great skill; and that he had his sons as hostages for his fidelity to himself; and that the flourishing age they were in would make them fit instruments under their father's prudence. Perhaps also there was some interposition of Providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterward. Upon the whole, he sent this man to take upon him the command of the armies that were in Syria. But this not without great encomiums and flattering compliments, such as necessity required, and such as might mollify him into compliance. So Vespasian sent his son Titus from Achaia, where he had been with Nero to Alexandria; to bring back with him from thence the fifth and the tenth legions: while himself, when he had passed over the Hellespont, came by land into Syria; where he gathered together the Roman forces; with a considerable number of auxiliaries from the kings in that neighbourhood.

CHAP. II.

OF A GREAT SLAUGHTER OF THE JEWS ABOUT ASCALON: AND THE ARRIVAL OF VESPASIAN AT PTOLEMAIS.

NOW the Jews after they had beaten Cestius, were so much elevated with their unexpected success, that they could not govern their zeal: but like people blown up into a flame by their good fortune, carried the war to remoter places. Accordingly they presently got together a great multitude of all their most hardy soldiers, and marched away for Ascalon. This was an ancient city, distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs; and always at enmity with the Jews. On which account they determined to make their first effort against it; and to make their approaches to it as near as possible. This excursion was led on by three men, who were the chief of them all, both for strength, and sagacity: Niger called the Peraite, Silas of Babylon, and John the Essene. Now Ascalon was

* Take the confirmation of this, in the words of Suetonius, here produced by Dr. Hudson. "In the reign of Claudius," says he, "Vespasian, for the sake of Narcissus, was sent as a lieutenant of a legion into Germany. Thence he removed into Britain: and fought thirty battles with the enemy." In Vesp. § 4. We may also here note from Josephus, that Claudius, the emperor, who triumphed for the conquest of Britain, was enabled so to do by Vespasian's conduct and bravery: and that he is here styled the father of Vespasian.

strongly walled about; but had almost no assistance to be relied on near them. For the garrison consisted only of one cohort of footmen, and one troop of horsemen; whose captain was Antonius.

Those Jews, therefore, out of their anger, marched faster than ordinary:* and as if they had come but a little way, approached very near the city, and were come even to it. But Antonius, who was not much unapprised of the attack they were going to make upon the city, drew out his horsemen beforehand. And being neither daunted at the multitude, nor at the courage of the enemy, he received their first attacks with great bravery: and when they crowded to the very walls, he beat them off. Now the Jews were unskilful in war, but were to fight with those that were skilful therein; they were footmen to fight with horsemen; they were in disorder, to fight those that were united together; they were poorly armed, to fight those that were completely so; they were to fight more by their rage, than by sober counsel; and were exposed to soldiers that were exactly obedient, and did every thing they were bidden upon the least intimation. So they were easily beaten. For as soon as ever their first ranks were once in disorder, they were put to flight by the enemy's cavalry; and those of them that came behind such as crowded to the wall, fell upon their own party's weapons; and became one another's enemies. And this so long till they all were forced to give way to the attacks of the horsemen, and were dispersed all the plain over: which plain was wide, and very fit for the cavalry. This circumstance was very commodious for the Romans; and occasioned the slaughter of the greatest number of the Jews. For such as ran away they could overrun them; and made them turn back. And when they had brought them back after their flight, and driven them together, they ran them through, and slew a vast number of them: insomuch that others encompassed others of them, and drove them before them, whithersoever they turned themselves, and slew them easily with their arrows: and the great number there were of the Jews seemed a solitude to themselves, by reason of the distress they were in. While the Romans had such good success, with their small number, that they seemed to themselves to be the greater multitude. And as the former strove zealously under their misfortunes, out of the shame of a sudden flight, and hopes of the change in their success; so did the latter feel no weariness, by reason of their good fortune. Insomuch that the fight lasted till the evening, till ten thousand of the Jews lay dead; with two of their generals, John and Silas: and the greater part of the remainder were wounded, with Niger, their remaining general; who fled away together to a small city of Idumea, called Sallis. Some few also of the Romans were wounded in this battle.

Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken by so great a calamity: but the losses they had sustained rather quickened their resolution for other attempts. For overlooking the dead bodies which lay under their feet, they were enticed by their former glorious actions, to venture on a second destruction. So when they had lain still so little a while that their wounds were not yet thoroughly cured, they got together all their forces, and came with greater fury, and in much greater numbers to Ascalon. But their former ill fortune followed them; as the consequence of their unskilfulness, and other deficiences in war. For Antonius laid ambushes for them in the passages they were to go through: where they fell into snares unexpectedly: and where they were compassed about with horsemen, before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting: and were above eight thousand of them slain. So all the rest of them ran away; and with them Niger: who still did a great many bold exploits in his flight. However, they were driven along together by the enemy, who pressed hard upon them, into a certain strong tower, belonging to a village called Bezedel. However, Antonius and his party, that they might neither spend any considerable time about this tower, which was hard to be taken; nor suffer their commander, and the most courageous man of them all, to escape from them, they set the wall on fire. And as the tower was burning, the Romans went away rejoicing; as taking it for granted that Niger was destroyed. But he leaped out of the tower into a subterraneous cave, in the innermost part of it, and was preserved. And on the third day afterward he spake out of the ground to those that, with great lamentation, were searching for him, in order to give him a decent funeral. And when he was come out, he filled all the Jews with an unexpected joy; as though he were preserved by God's providence, to be their commander for the time to come.

Now Vespasian took along with him his army from Antioch, (which is the metropolis of Syria, and without dispute, deserves the place of the †third city in the habitable earth that was under the Roman empire, both in magnitude, and other marks of prosperity,) where he found king Agrippa, with all his forces, waiting for his coming; and marched to Ptolemais. At this city also the inhabitants of Sephoris of Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans. These citizens had beforehand taken care of their own safety: and being sensible of the power of the Romans, they had been with Cestius Gallus, before Vespasian came; and had given their faith to him, and received the security of his right hand; and had received a Roman garrison. And at this time they received Vespasian, the Roman general, very kindly; and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen. Now the general delivered them, at their desire, as many horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should come against them. And, indeed, the danger of losing Sepphoris would be no small one, in this war, that was now beginning; seeing it was the largest city of Galilee, and built in a place by nature very strong; and might be a security of the whole nation's fidelity to the Romans.

* As the evil passions give rise to war, at least in most cases, so they predominate in its execution. Mankind is, indeed, reduced to a most deplorable state of degeneracy, when they are so easily and evidently urged to what is evil, and with so much difficulty excited to that which is good. B.

† Spanheim and Reland both agree, that the two cities here esteemed greater than Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, were Rome and Alexandria. Nor is there any occasion for doubt in so plain a case.

CHAP. III.

CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF GALILEE, SAMARIA, AND JUDEA.

NOW Phœnicia and Syria encompass about the Galilees; which are two, and called the Upper Galilee, and the Lower. They are bounded towards the sun-setting with the borders of the territory belonging to Ptolemais, and by Carmel: which mountain had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians. To this mountain adjoins Gaba, which is called the city of horsemen: because those horsemen that were dismissed by Herod the king dwelt therein. They are bounded on the south with Samaria, and Scythopolis; as far as the river Jordan. On the east with Hippene, and Gadaris: and also with Gaulanitis, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa. Its northern parts are bounded by Tyre, and the country of the Tyrians. As for that Galilee which is called the Lower, it extends in length from Tiberias to Zebulon; and of the maritime places *Ptolemais is its neighbour. Its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the great plain, as far as Bersabe. From which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca: which divides the land of the Tyrians, from it. Its length is also from Meroth to Thella, a village near to Jordan.

These two Galilees, of so great largeness, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, have been always able to make a strong resistance on all occasions of war. For the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy; and have been always very numerous. Nor has the country been ever destitute of men of courage; or wanted a numerous set of them. For their soil is universally rich, and fruitful, and full of plantations of trees of all sorts. Insomuch that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation, by its fruitfulness. Accordingly it is all cultivated by its inhabitants; and no part of it lies waste. The cities also lie here very thick; and the many villages there are here, are every where so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of †them contained above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

In short, if any one will suppose that Galilee is inferior to Perea in magnitude, he will be obliged to prefer it before it in its strength. For this is all capable of cultivation; and is every where fruitful. But for Perea, which is indeed much larger in extent, the greater part of it is desert, rough, and less disposed for the production of the milder kinds of fruits. Yet it has a moist soil, in other parts, and produces all kinds of fruits; and its plains are planted with trees of various sorts, but the olive-tree, the vine, and the palm-tree, are chiefly cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents, which issue out of the mountains; and with springs that never fail to run, even when the torrents fail as they do in the dog-days. Now the length of Perea is from Macherus, to Pella; and its breadth from Philadelphia, to Jordan. Its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as we have already said; as well as its western by Jordan. The land of Moab is its southern border; and its eastern limits reach to Arabia, and Silbonitis; and besides to Philadelphine, and Gerasa.

Now as to the country of Samaria, it lies between Judea and Galilee. It begins at a village that is in the great plain, called Ginea; and ends at the Acrabene toparchy: and is entirely of the same nature with Judea. For both countries are made up of hills and vallies; and are moist enough for agriculture; and are very fruitful. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers; but derive their chief moisture from rain-water, of which they have no want. And for those rivers which they have, all their waters are exceeding sweet. By reason also of the excellent grass they have, their cattle yield more milk than do those in other places. And what is the greatest sign of excellency, and of abundance, they each of them are very full of people.

In the limits of Samaria and Judea lies the village Anauth, which is also named Borceos. This is the northern boundary of Judea. The southern parts of Judea, if they be measured lengthways, are bounded by a village adjoining to the confines of Arabia. The Jews that dwell there call it Jordan. However, its breadth is extended from the river Jordan, to Joppa. The city Jerusalem is situate in the very middle. On which account some have, with sagacity enough, called that city the navel of the country. Nor, indeed, is Judea destitute of such delights as come from the sea: since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais. It was parted into eleven portions. Of which the royal city Jerusalem was the supreme; and presided over all the neighbouring country, as the head does over the body. As to the other cities that were inferior to it, they presided over their several toparchies. Gophna was the second of those cities; and next to that Acrabatta: after them Thamna, Lydda, Emmaus, Pella, Idumea, Engaddi, Herodium, and Jericho: and after them came Jamnia, and Joppa: as presiding over the neighbouring people. And besides these there were the region of Gamala, and Gaulanitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis: which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa. This last country begins at mount Libanus, and the fountains of Jordan; and reaches breadthways to the lake of Tiberias; and in length is extended from a village called Arpha, as far as Julias. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians. And thus have I, with all possible brevity, described the country of Judea, and those that lie round about it.

CHAP. IV.

JOSEPHUS MAKES AN ATTEMPT UPON SEPPHORIS, BUT IS REPELLED.—TITUS COMES WITH A GREAT ARMY TO PTOLEMAIS.

NOW ‡the auxiliaries which were sent to assist the people of Sepphoris, being a thousand horsemen, and six thousand footmen, under Placidus the tribune, pitched their

* Once belonging to the tribe of Aser; but afterwards a sort of Gentile city.

† These were most probably the cities, not the villages.

‡ A. D. 67.

camp in two bodies, in the *great plain. The foot were put into the city, to be a guard to it; but the horse lodged abroad in the camp. These last, by marching continually one way or other, and overrunning the parts of the adjoining country, were very troublesome to Josephus, and his men. They also plundered all the places that were out of the liberties of the city, and intercepted such as durst go abroad. On this account it was that Josephus marched against the city; as hoping to take what he had lately encompassed with so strong a wall, before they revolted from the rest of the Galileans, that the Romans would have had much ado to take it. By which means he proved too weak, and failed of his hopes; both as to the forcing the place, and as to his prevailing with the people of Sepphoris, to deliver it up to him. But by this means he provoked the Romans to treat the country according to the laws of war. Nor did the Romans, out of the anger they bore at this attempt, leave off either by night, or by day, burning the places in the plain; and stealing away the cattle that were in the country; and killing whatsoever appeared capable of fighting perpetually; and leading the weaker people as slaves into captivity. So that Galilee was completely filled with fire and blood. Nor was it exempted from any kind of misery or calamity. For the only refuge they had was, that when they were pursued, they could retire to the cities which had been walled by Josephus.

But as to Titus, he sailed over from Achaia to Alexandria, and that sooner than the winter season did usually permit. So he took with him those forces he was sent for; and, marching with great expedition, he came suddenly to Ptolemais: and there finding his father, together with the two legions, the fifth and the tenth, which were the most eminent legions of all, he joined them to that fifteenth legion which was with his father. Eighteen cohorts followed these legions. There came also five cohorts from Cæsarea, with one troop of horsemen; and five other troops of horsemen from Syria. Now these ten cohorts had severally a thousand footmen, but the other thirteen cohorts had no more than six hundred footmen apiece, with a hundred and twenty horsemen. There were also a considerable number of auxiliaries got together, that came from the kings †Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus: each of them contributing one thousand footmen that were archers, and a thousand horsemen. Malichus also, the king of Arabia, sent a thousand horsemen; besides five thousand footmen, the greatest part of which were archers. So that the whole army, including the auxiliaries sent by the kings, as well horsemen as footmen, when all were united together, amounted to sixty thousand; besides the servants, who as they followed in vast numbers, so because they had been trained up in war, with the rest, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men. For as they were in their masters' service in times of peace, so did they undergo the like dangers with them in times of war. Insomuch that they were inferior to none either in skill or in strength; only they were subject to their masters.

* There were two great plains in Judea. See Reland, tom. 1, chap. 55.

† This Antiochus was king of Commagene. Agrippa's kingdom has just been described, chap. 3. It contained, as Reland distinctly observes, only the tetrarchy of Philip given him by Claudius, and part of Galilee given him by Nero, i. e. that part which contained Tiberias, Taricheæ, and Julias, with fourteen villages thereto belonging; and Sohemus was king of Emesa in Syria.

CHAP. V.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE ROMAN ARMIES, AND CAMPS; AND OF OTHER PARTICULARS, FOR WHICH THE ROMANS ARE COMMENDED.

NOW one cannot but admire at the precaution of the Romans, in providing themselves of such household servants, as might not only serve at other times for the common offices of life, but might also be of advantage to them in their wars. And, indeed, if any one do but attend to the other parts of their military discipline, he will be forced to confess, that their obtaining so large a dominion, has been the acquisition of their valour, and not the bare gift of fortune. For they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war: nor do they then put their hands first into motion, while they avoided so to do in times of peace. But as if their weapons did always cling to them, they have never any truce from warlike exercises. Nor do they stay till times of war admonish them to use them. For their military exercises differ not at all from the real use of their arms. But each soldier is every day exercised, and that with great diligence, as if it were in time of war. This is the reason why they bear the fatigue of battles so easily: for neither can any disorder remove them from their usual regularity; nor can fear affright them out of it; nor can labour tire them. Which firmness of conduct makes them always to overcome those that have not the same firmness. Nor would he be mistaken that should call those their exercises bloodless battles; and their battles sanguinary exercises. Nor can their enemies easily surprise them with the suddenness of their incursions. For as soon as they have marched into an enemy's land, they do not begin to fight, till they have walled their camp about. Nor is the fence they raise rashly made, or uneven. Nor do they all abide in it; nor do those that are in it take their places at random. But if it happen that the ground be uneven, it is first levelled. Their camp is also four square by measure: and carpenters are ready in great numbers, with their tools, to erect their buildings for them.

As for what is within the camp, it is set apart for tents: but the outward circumference resembles a wall, and is adorned with towers at equal distances: where between the towers stand the engines for throwing arrows and darts, and for slinging stones: and where they lay all other engines that can annoy the enemy, all ready for their several operations. They also erect four gates, one at each side of the circumference: and those large enough for the entrance of the beasts, and wide enough for making excursions, if occasion should require. They divide the camp within into streets, very conveniently; and place the tents of the commanders in the middle: but in the very midst of all is the general's own tent, in the nature of a temple. Insomuch that it appears to be a city built on the sudden; with its market-place, and place for handicraft trades; and with

seats for the superior and inferior officers; where if any differences arise, their causes are heard and determined. The camp, and all that is in it, is also speedily encompassed with a wall round about; and this by the multitude and the skill of the labourers. And if occasion require, a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth is equal.*

When they have thus secured themselves, they live together by companies, with quietness, and decency: as are all their other affairs managed with good order and security. Each company have also their wood, and their corn, and their water brought them, when they stand in need of them. For they neither sup nor dine as they please themselves singly, but all together. Their times also for sleeping, watching, and rising, are notified beforehand by the sound of trumpets. Nor is any thing done without such a signal. And in the morning the soldiery go every one to their centurions, and these centurions to their tribunes, to salute them. With whom all the superior officers go to the general of the whole army: who then gives them the watch-word, and other orders; to be by them carried to all that are under their command. The same is observed when they go to fight: and thereby they turn themselves about on the sudden, when there is occasion for making sallies; and also as they come back when they are recalled in crowds.

Now when they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives a sound: at which time nobody lies still; but at the first intimation they take down their tents; and all is made ready for their going out. Then do the trumpets sound again, to order them to get ready for the march. Then they lay their baggage suddenly upon their mules, and other beasts of burden, and stand as at the place of starting, ready to march. They also set fire to their camp: because it will be easy for them to erect another, and that it may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give a sound the third time, that they are to go out; in order to excite those that, on any account, are a little tardy: that so no one may be out of his rank when the army marches. Then the crier stands at the general's right hand, and asks them, thrice, in their own tongue, whether they be ready to go out to the war or not? To which they reply, as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, "We are ready." And this they do almost before the question is asked them, as if they were inspired with a kind of martial fury: and at the same time that they so cry out, they lift up their right hands.

When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise, and in a decent manner: and every one keeps his own rank, as if they were going to war. The footmen are armed with breast-plates, and head-pieces; and have swords on each side: but the sword which is upon their left side, is much longer than the other.† For that on the right side is not longer than a span. Those footmen also that are chosen out from the rest of the foot soldiers have a spear, and a long buckler: besides a saw, a basket, a pickaxe, an axe, a thong of leather, and a hook; with provisions for three days. So that a footman has no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The horsemen have a long sword on their right sides, and a long pole in their hand. A shield also lies by them obliquely on one side of their horses; with three or more darts that are held in their quiver, having broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also head-pieces, and breast-plates, in like manner as have all the footmen. And for those that are chosen to be about the general, their armour no way differs from that of the horsemen belonging to other troops. And he always leads the legions forth, to whom the lot assigns that employment.

This is the manner of the marching and resting of the Romans: as also these are the several sorts of weapons they use. But when they are to fight, they leave nothing without fore-cast, nor to be done off-hand. But counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun: and what has been there resolved upon is put in execution presently. For which reason they seldom commit any errors; and if they have been mistaken at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors which they commit upon taking counsel beforehand, to be better than such rash success as is owing to fortune only. Because such a fortuitous advantage tempts them to be inconsiderate: while consultation, though it may sometimes fail of success, has this good in it, that it makes men more careful hereafter. But for the advantages that arise from chance, they are not owing to him that gains them. And as to what melancholy accidents happen unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them; that they had, however, taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

Now they so manage the preparatory exercises of their weapons, that not the bodies of the soldiers only, but their souls may also become stronger. They are moreover hardened for war by fear. For their laws inflict capital punishments, not only for soldiers running away from their ranks; but for slothfulness and inactivity, though it be but in a lesser degree. Their generals also are still more severe than their laws. For they prevent any imputation of cruelty towards those under condemnation, by the great rewards they bestow on the valiant soldiers. And the readiness of obeying their commanders is so great, that it is very ornamental in peace: but when they come to a battle, the whole army is but one body; so well coupled together are their ranks; so sudden are their turnings about; so sharp their hearing, as to what orders are given them; so quick their sight of the ensigns; and so nimble are their hands when they set to work. Whereby it comes to pass, that what they do is done quickly; and what they suffer, they bear with the greatest patience. Nor can we find any examples where they have been conquered in battle, when

* This description of the exact symmetry and regularity of the Roman army, and of the Roman encampments; with the sounding their trumpets and order of war, described in this and the next chapter, is so very like to the symmetry and regularity of the people of Israel, in the wilderness, that one cannot well avoid the supposal, that the one was the ultimate pattern of the other; and that the tactics of the ancients were taken from the rules given by God to Moses. And it is supposed by some skilful in these matters, that these accounts of Josephus's, as to the Roman camp, armour, and conduct in war, are preferable to those in the Roman authors themselves.

† The design of two might be either, to attack at a greater or less distance, for which reason one was longer than the other: or, that the soldier might not be left defenceless in case of losing one, but might immediately employ the other against his antagonist. B.

they came to a close fight ; either by the multitude of their enemies ; or by their stratagems ; or by the difficulties in the places they were in : no nor by fortune neither. For their victories have been surer to them than fortune could have granted them. In a case, therefore, where counsel still goes before action, and where, after taking the best advice, that advice is followed by so active an army, what wonder is it that Euphrates on the east, the ocean on the west, the most fertile regions of Libya on the south, and the Danube and the Rhine on the north, are the limits of this empire ? One might well say, that the Roman possessions are inferior to the Romans themselves.

This account I have given the reader ; not so much with intention of commending the Romans, as of comforting those that have been conquered by them : and for the deterring others from attempting innovations under their government. This discourse of the Roman military conduct, may also be of use to such of the curious as are ignorant of it, and yet have a mind to know it. I return now from this digression.

CHAP. VI.

PLACIDUS ATTEMPTS TO TAKE JOTAPATA, AND IS BEATEN OFF.—VESPASIAN MARCHES INTO GALILEE.

VESPASIAN, with his son Titus, had tarried some time at Ptolemais, and had put his army in order. But when Placidus, who had overrun Galilee, and had besides slain a great number of those whom he had caught ; (which were only the weaker part of the Galileans, and such as were of timorous souls :) saw that the warriors ran always to those cities whose walls had been built by Josephus, he marched furiously against Jotapata, which was of them all the strongest : as supposing he should easily take it by a sudden surprise ; and that he should thereby obtain great honour to himself among the commanders ; and bring a great advantage to them in their future campaign : because, if this strongest place of them all were once taken, the rest would be so affrighted, as to surrender themselves. But he was mistaken in his undertaking. For the men of Jotapata were apprised of his coming to attack them, and came out of the city, and expected him there. So they fought the Romans briskly, when they least expected it ; being both many in number, and prepared for fighting, and of great alacrity : as esteeming their country, their wives, and their children to be in danger ; and easily put the Romans to flight, and wounded many of them ; and slew *seven of them, because their retreat was not made in a disorderly manner : because the strokes only touched the surface of their bodies, which were covered with their armour in all parts ; and because the Jews did rather throw their weapons upon them from a great distance, than venture to come hand to hand with them ; and had only light armour on, while the others were completely armed. However, three men of the Jews' side were slain ; and a few were wounded. So Placidus, finding himself unable to assault the city, ran away.

But as Vespasian had a great mind to fall upon Galilee, he marched out of Ptolemais, having put his army into that order wherein the Romans used to march. He ordered those auxiliaries which were lightly armed, and the archers to march first ; that they might prevent any sudden assaults from the enemy ; and might search out the woods that looked suspiciously, and were capable of ambuscades. Next to these followed that part of the Romans which was completely armed, both footmen and horsemen. Next to these followed ten out of every hundred, carrying along with them their arms, and what was necessary to measure out a camp : and, after them, such as were to make the road even, and straight ; and if it were any where rough and hard to be passed over, to bed it ; and to cut down the woods that hindered their progress, that the army might not be in distress, or tired with their march. Behind these he set such carriages of the army as belonged both to himself, and to the other commanders, with a considerable number of horsemen for their security. After these he marched himself : having with him a select body of footmen, and horsemen, and pikemen. After these came the peculiar cavalry of his own legion : for there were a hundred and twenty horsemen that peculiarly belonged to every legion. Next to these came the mules, that carried the engines for sieges, and the other warlike machines of that nature. After these came the commanders of the cohorts, and tribunes : having about them soldiers chosen out of the rest. Then came the ensigns, encompassing the eagle, which is at the head of every Roman legion ; the king, and the strongest of all birds : which seems to them a signal of dominion, and an omen that they shall conquer all against whom they march. These sacred ensigns were followed by the trumpeters. Then came the main army in their squadrons, and battalions, with six men in depth : which were followed at last by a centurion ; who, according to custom, observed the rest. As for the servants of every legion, they all followed the footmen, and led the baggage of the soldiers, which was carried by the mules, and other beasts of burden. But behind all the legions came the whole multitude of mercenaries ; and those that brought up the rear came last of all, for the security of the whole army : being both footmen, and those in their armour also ; with a great number of horsemen.

And thus did Vespasian march with his army, and came to the bounds of Galilee, where he pitched his camp, and restrained his soldiers, who were eager for war. He also shewed his army to the enemy ; in order to affright them, and to afford them a season for repentance : to see whether they would change their minds before it came to a battle : and at the same time he got things ready for besieging their strong holds. And, indeed, this sight of the general brought many to repent of their revolt ; and put them all into a con-

* I cannot but here observe an eastern way of speaking, frequent among them, but not usual among us : where the word only or alone is not set down, but perhaps some way supplied in the pronunciation. Thus Josephus here says, that those of Jotapata slew seven of the Romans, as they were marching off : because the Romans' retreat was regular ; their bodies were covered over with their armour ; and the Jews fought at some distance. His meaning is clear, that these were the reasons why they slew only, or no more than seven. I have met with many the like examples in the Scriptures, in Josephus, &c. but did not note down the particular places. This observation ought to be borne in mind upon many occasions.

sternation. For those that were in Josephus's camp, which was at the city called Garis, not far from Sepphoris, when they heard that the war was come near to them, and that the Romans would suddenly fight them hand to hand, dispersed themselves, and fled not only before they came to a battle, but even before the enemy came in sight. While Josephus, and a few others were left behind. And as he saw that he had not an army sufficient to engage the enemy, that the spirits of the Jews were sunk, and that the greater part would willingly come to terms, if they might be credited, he already despaired of the success of the whole war; and determined to get as far as he possibly could out of danger. So he took those that staid along with him, and fled to Tiberias.

CHAP. VII.

VESPASIAN, WHEN HE HAD TAKEN THE CITY GADARA, MARCHES TO JOTAPATA.—AND AFTER A LONG SIEGE, THE CITY IS BETRAYED BY A DESERTER, AND TAKEN BY VESPASIAN.

SO Vespasian marched to the city Gadara, and took it upon the first onset: because he found it destitute of any considerable number of men grown up, and fit for war. He came then into it, and slew all the youth; the Romans having no mercy on any age whatsoever. And this was done out of the hatred they bore the nation; and because of the iniquity they had been guilty of in the *affair of Cestius. He also set fire not only to the city itself, but to all the villages, and small cities that were round about it. Some of which were quite destitute of inhabitants; and out of some of them he carried the inhabitants into captivity.

As to Josephus, his retiring to that city which he chose for his security, put it into great fear. For the people of Tiberias did not imagine that he would have run away, unless he had entirely despaired of the success of the war. And, indeed, as to that point, they were not mistaken about his opinion. For he saw whither the affairs of the Jews would tend at last: and was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by repentance. However, although he expected that the Romans would forgive him, yet did he choose to die many times over rather than to betray his country, and to dishonour that supreme command of the army which had been entrusted with him: or to live happily under those, against whom he was sent to fight. He determined, therefore, to give an exact account of affairs to the principal men at Jerusalem, by a letter, that he might not by too much aggrandizing the power of the enemy make them too timorous; nor by relating their power beneath the truth, encourage them to stand out, when they were perhaps disposed to repentance. He also sent them word that if they thought of coming to terms, they must suddenly write him an answer; or if they resolved upon war, they must send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. Accordingly he wrote these things; and sent messengers immediately to carry his letter to Jerusalem.

Now Vespasian was very desirous of demolishing Jotapata: for he had received intelligence, that the greatest part of the enemy had retired thither; and that it was on other accounts a place of great security to them. Accordingly he sent both footmen and horsemen to level the road, which was mountainous, and rocky: not without difficulty to be travelled over by footmen, but absolutely impracticable for horsemen. Now these workmen accomplished what they were about in four days' time, and opened a broad way for the army. On the fifth day, †which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius, or Jyar, Josephus prevented him, and came from Tiberias, and went into Jotapata, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deserter told this good news to Vespasian, that Josephus had removed himself thither: which made him hasten to the city: as supposing that with taking that, he should take all Judea, in case he could but get Josephus under his power. So he took this news to be of the greatest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God, that he who appeared to be the most prudent man of all their enemies, had of his own accord shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly he sent Placidus, with a thousand horsemen; and Eburius, a Decurion, a person that was of eminence both in counsel and in action, to encompass the city round; that Josephus might not escape away privately.

Vespasian also, the very next day, took his whole army, and followed them: and by marching till late in the evening, arrived at Jotapata. And bringing his army to the northern side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain small hill, which was seven furlongs from the city, and still greatly endeavoured to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into a consternation. Which was, indeed, so terrible to the Jews immediately, that not one of them durst go out beyond the wall. Yet did the Romans put off the attack at that time, because they had marched all the day. Although they placed a double row of battalions round the city, with a third row beyond them round the whole, which consisted of cavalry: in order to stop up every way for an exit. Which thing making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly. For nothing makes men fight so desperately in war, as necessity.

Now when, the next day, an assault was made by the Romans, the Jews at first stayed out of the walls, and opposed them, as having formed themselves a camp before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers, and slingers, and the whole multitude that could throw to a great distance, he permitted them to go to work. While he himself, with the footmen, got upon an acclivity, whence the city might easily be taken. Josephus was then in fear for the city, and leaped out, and all the Jewish multitude with him. These fell together upon the Romans in great numbers, and drove them away from the wall, and performed a great many glorious and bold actions. Yet did they suffer as much as they made the enemy suffer. For as despair of deliverance encouraged the Jews, so did a sense of shame equally encourage the Romans. These last had skill, as well as strength; the other had only courage, which armed them, and made them fight furiously. And when the fight had lasted all day, it was put an end to by the

* See Book II. chap. 19.
† A. D. 67.

coming on of the night. They had wounded a great many of the Romans, and killed thirteen men: while of the Jews' side seventeen were slain and six hundred wounded.

On the next day the Jews made another attack upon the Romans, and went out of the walls, and fought a much more desperate battle with them than before. For they were now become more courageous than formerly, and that on account of the unexpected good opposition they had made the day before: as they found the Romans also to fight more desperately. For a sense of shame inflamed these into a passion, as esteeming their failure of a sudden victory to be a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans try to make an impression upon the Jews till the fifth day continually: while the people of Jotapata made sallies, and fought at the walls most desperately. Nor were the Jews affrighted at the strength of the enemy; nor were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in taking the city.

Now Jotapata is almost entirely built on a precipice; having on all the other sides of it every way vallies immensely deep and steep. Insomuch that those who would look down would have their sight fail them before it reaches to the bottom. It is only to be come at on the north side: where the utmost part of the city is built on the mountain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. This mountain Josephus had encompassed with a wall, when he fortified the city; that its top might not be capable of being seized upon by enemies. The city is covered all round with other mountains, and can no way be seen, till a man comes just upon it. And this was the strong situation of Jotapata.

Vespasian, therefore, in order to try how he might overcome the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defence of the Jews, made a resolution to prosecute the siege with vigour. To that end he called the commanders that were under him to a council of war; and consulted with them which way the assault might be managed to the best advantage. And when the resolution was there taken to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was practicable, he sent his whole army abroad to get the materials together. So when they had cut down all the trees on the mountains that adjoined to the city, and had gotten together a vast heap of stones, besides the wood they had cut down; some of them brought hurdles, in order to avoid the effects of the darts that were shot from above upon them. These hurdles they spread over their backs; under cover whereof they formed their bank; and so were little or nothing hurt by the darts that were thrown upon them from the wall: while others pulled the neighbouring hills to pieces, and perpetually brought earth to them. So that while they were busy three sorts of ways, nobody was idle. However, the Jews cast great stones from the walls upon the hurdles which protected the men, with all sorts of darts also. And the noise of what could not reach them, was yet so terrible, that it was some impediment to the workmen.

Vespasian then set the engines for throwing stones and darts round about the city. The number of the engines were in all a hundred and sixty: and he bade them fall to work, and dislodge those that were upon the wall. At the same time such engines as were intended for that purpose threw at once lances upon them, with a great noise; and stones of the weight of a talent were thrown by the engines that were prepared for that purpose; together with fire, and a vast multitude of arrows; which made the wall so dangerous, that the Jews durst not only not come upon it, but durst not come to those parts within the wall which were reached by the engines. For the multitude of the Arabian archers, as well as all those that threw darts, and slung stones, fell to work at the same time with the engines. Yet did not the others lie still, when they could not throw at the Romans from a higher place. For they then made sallies out of the city, like private robbers, by parties, and pulled away the hurdles that covered the workmen, and killed them, when they were thus naked. And when those workmen gave way, these cast away the earth that composed the bank, and burnt the wooden parts of it, together with the hurdles: till at length Vespasian perceived that the intervals there were between the works were of disadvantage to him. For those spaces of ground afforded the Jews a place for assaulting the Romans. So he united the hurdles; and at the same time joined one part of the army to the other: which prevented the private excursions of the Jews.

And when the bank was now raised, and brought nearer than ever to the battlements that belonged to the walls, Josephus thought it would be entirely wrong in him if he could make no contrivances in opposition to theirs, and that might be for the preservation of the city. So he got together his workmen, and ordered them to build the wall higher. And when they said, that this was impossible to be done while so many darts were thrown at them, he invented this sort of cover for them. He bade them fix piles, and expand them before the raw hides of oxen, newly killed: that these hides by yielding and hollowing themselves when the stones were thrown at them, might receive them. For that the other darts would slide off them; and the fire that was thrown would be quenched by the moisture that was in them. And these he set before the workmen. And under them these workmen went on with their works in safety, and raised the wall higher, and that both by day, and by night, till it was twenty cubits high. He also built a good number of towers upon the wall, and fitted to it strong battlements. This greatly discouraged the Romans, who in their own opinions were already gotten within the walls: while they were now at once astonished at Josephus's contrivance, and at the fortitude of the citizens that were in the city.

And now Vespasian was plainly irritated at the great subtlety of this stratagem, and at the boldness of the citizens of Jotapata. For taking heart again, upon the building of this wall, they made fresh sallies upon the Romans, and had every day conflicts with them by parties: together with all such contrivances as robbers made use of, and with the plundering of all that came to hand, as also with the setting fire to all the other works. And this till Vespasian made his army leave off fighting them; and resolved to lie round the city, and to starve them into a surrender. As supposing that either they would be forced to petition him for mercy, by want of provisions: or if they should have the courage to hold out to the last, they would perish by famine. And he concluded he should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he gave them an interval, and

then fell upon them when they were weakened by famine. But still he gave orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

Now the besieged had plenty of corn within the city, and indeed of all other necessaries. But they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city: the people being there usually satisfied with rain water. Yet is it a rare thing in that country to have rain in summer.* And at this season, during the siege, they were in great distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst. And they were very sad at this time particularly, as if they were already in want of water entirely. For Josephus seeing that the city abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were of good courage; and being desirous to protract the siege to the Romans longer than they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure. But this scanty distribution of water, was deemed by them as a thing more hard than the want of it. And their not being able to drink as much as they would, made them more desirous of drinking than they had otherwise been. Nay, they were as much disheartened hereby, as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans unacquainted with the state they were in. For when they stood over against them, beyond the wall, they could see them running together, and taking their water by measure: which made them throw their javelins thither, the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him. But Josephus being desirous of frustrating that hope, gave command, that they should wet a great many of their clothes, and hang them round the battlements, till the entire wall was of a sudden all wet with the running down of the water. At this sight the Romans were discouraged, and under consternation, when they saw them able to throw away in sport so much water, when they supposed them not to have enough to drink themselves. This made the Roman general despair of taking the city by their want of necessaries; and to betake himself again to arms, and to try to force them to surrender: which was what the Jews greatly desired. For as they despaired of either themselves or their city's being able to escape, they perferred a death in battle, before one by hunger and thirst.

However, Josephus contrived another stratagem besides the foregoing, to get plenty of what they wanted. There was a certain rough and uneven place that could hardly be ascended; and on that account was not guarded by the soldiers. So Josephus sent out certain persons along the western parts of the valley, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased of the Jews, that were out of the city, and procured from them abundance of what necessaries they wanted in the city; he enjoined them also to creep generally along by the watch as they came into the city, and to cover their backs with such sheepskins as had their wool upon them; that if any one should spy them out in the night time, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived the contrivance, and encompassed that rough place about themselves.

And now it was that Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long; and that his own life would be in doubt, if he continued in it. So he consulted how he, and the most potent men of the city might flee out of it. When the multitude understood this, they came all round about him, and begged of him not to overlook them while they entirely depended on him, and him alone. For that there was still hopes of the city's deliverance, if he would stay with them: because every body would undertake any pains with great cheerfulness on his account; and in that case there would be some comfort, though they should be taken. That it became him neither to flee from his enemies, nor to desert his friends; nor to leap out of that city, as out of a ship that was sinking in a storm, into which he came when it was quiet and in a calm. For that by going away, he would be the cause of drowning the city: because nobody would then venture to oppose the enemy, when he was once gone upon whom they wholly confided.

Hereupon Josephus avoided letting them know that he was to go away to provide for his own safety: but told them, that he would go out of the city for their sakes: for that if he staid with them he should be able to do them little good, while they were in a safe condition: and that if they were once taken, he should only perish with them, to no purpose. But that if he were once gotten free from this siege, he should be able to bring them very great relief. For that he would immediately get the Galileans together, out of the country, in great multitudes, and draw the Romans off their city by another war. That he did not see what advantage he could bring to them now, by staying among them, but only provoke the Romans to besiege them more closely, as esteeming it a most valuable thing to them to take him. But that if they were once informed that he was fled out of the city, they would greatly remit of their eagerness against it. Yet did not this plea move the people; but inflamed them the more to hang about him. Accordingly both the children and the old men, and the women, with their infants, came mourning to him, and fell down before him, and all of them† caught hold of his feet, and held him fast, and besought him with great lamentations, that he would take his share with them in their fortune. And I think they did this, not that they envied his deliverance, but that they hoped for their own; for they could not think they should suffer any great misfortune, provided Josephus would but stay with them.

Now Josephus thought, that if he resolved to stay, it would be ascribed to their entreaties; and if he resolved to go away by force, he should be put into custody. His commiseration also of the people under their lamentations had much broken his eagerness to leave them. So he resolved to stay: and arming himself with the common despair of the citizens, he said to them, "Now is the time to begin to fight in earnest, when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is a brave thing to prefer glory before life and to set about some such noble undertaking as may be remem-

* The Eastern countries are so frequently and copiously replenished with dew, that rain is not essential to their fertility. B.

† See Matt. xxviii. 9.

bered by late posterity." Having said this, he fell to work immediately, and made a sally, and dispersed the enemy's out-guards, and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled the coverings of their tents to pieces, that were upon their banks, and set fire to their works. And this was the manner in which he never left off fighting, neither the next day, nor that after it; but went on with it for a considerable number both of days and nights.

Upon this Vespasian, when he saw the Romans distressed by these sallies, (though they were ashamed to be made to run away by the Jews; and when at any time they made the Jews run away, their heavy armour would not let them pursue them far: while the Jews, when they had performed any action, and before they could be hurt themselves, still retired into the city;) ordered his armed men to avoid their onsets, and not fight it out with men under desperation: while nothing is more courageous than despair. But that their violence would be quenched, when they saw they failed of their purposes; as fire is quenched when it wants fuel. And that it was proper for the Romans to gain their victories as cheap as they could, since they were not forced to fight, but only to enlarge their own dominions. So he repelled the Jews in great measure by the Arabian archers, and the Syrian slingers, and by those that threw stones at them. Nor was there any intermission of the great number of their offensive engines. Now the Jews suffered greatly by those engines, without being able to escape from them. And when these engines threw their stones or javelins a great way, and the Jews were within their reach, they pressed hard upon the Romans, and fought desperately, without sparing either soul or body: one part succouring another by turns, when it was tired down.

When, therefore, Vespasian looked upon himself as in a manner besieged by these sallies of the Jews; and when his banks were now not far from the walls, he determined to make use of his battering ram. This ram is a vast beam of wood, like the mast of a ship. Its forepart is armed with a thick piece of iron at the head of it, which is so carved as to resemble the head of a ram: whence its name is taken. This ram is slung in the air by ropes, passing over its middle, and is hung like the balance in a pair of scales from another beam, and braced by strong beams that pass on both sides of it, in the nature of a cross. When this instrument is pulled backward by a great number of men, with united force, and then thrust forward, by the same men, with a mighty noise, it batters the walls with that iron part which is prominent. Nor is there any tower so strong, or walls so broad, that can resist any more than its first batteries; but all are forced to yield to it at last. This was the experiment which the Roman general betook himself to, when he was eagerly bent upon taking the city, but found lying in the field so long to be to his disadvantage: because the Jews would never let him be quiet. So these Romans brought the several engines for galling the enemy nearer to the walls, that they might reach such as were upon the walls; and endeavoured to frustrate their attempts; while these threw stones and javelins at them. In the like manner did the archers and slingers come both together closer to the wall. This brought matters to such a pass, that none of the Jews durst mount the walls. And then it was that the other Romans brought the battering ram, which was cased with hurdles all over, and in the upper part was secured by skins that covered it: and this both for the security of themselves, and of the engine. Now at the very first stroke of this engine the wall was shaken: and a terrible clamour was raised by the people within the city, as if they were already taken.

Now when Josephus saw this ram still battering the same place, and that the wall would quickly be thrown down by it, he resolved to elude for a while the force of the engine. With this design he gave orders to fill sacks with chaff, and to hang them down before that place where they saw the ram always battering, that the stroke might be turned aside; or that the place might feel less of the strokes by the yielding nature of the chaff. This contrivance very much delayed the attempts of the Romans: because, let them remove their engine to what part they pleased, those that were above it removed their sacks, and placed them over against the strokes it made; insomuch that the wall was no way hurt, and this by the diversion of the strokes; till the Romans made an opposite contrivance of long poles, and by tying hooks at their ends cut off the sacks. Now when the battering ram thus recovered its force, and the wall having been newly built, was giving way, Josephus and those about him had afterward immediate recourse to fire to defend themselves. Accordingly they took whatsoever they had that was dry, and made a sally three ways, and set fire to the machines and the hurdles, and the banks of the Romans themselves. Nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance: being at once under a consternation at the Jews' boldness; and being prevented by the flames from coming to their assistance. For the materials being dry, with the bitumen, pitch, and brimstone that were among them, the fire caught hold of every thing immediately: and what cost the Romans a great deal of pains, was in one hour consumed.

And here a certain Jew appeared worthy of commendation. He was the son of Sameas, and was called Eleazar; and was born at Saab in Galilee. This man took up a stone of a vast bigness, and threw it down from the wall upon the ram; and this with so great a force, that it brake off the head of the engine. He also leaped down, and took up the head of the ram, from the midst of them; and, without any concern, carried it to the top of the wall: and this, while he stood as a fit mark to be pelted by all his enemies. Accordingly he received the strokes upon his naked body, and was wounded with five darts. Nor did he mind any of them, while he went up to the top of the wall; where he stood in the sight of them all, as an instance of the greatest boldness. After which he threw himself on a heap with his wounds upon him, and fell down together with the head of the ram. Next to him two brothers shewed their courage. Their names were Netir and Philip, both of the village Ruma, and both of them Galileans also. These men leaped upon the soldiers of the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with such a noise and force, as to disorder their ranks, and to put to flight all upon whomsoever they made their assaults.

After these men's performances, Josephus, and the rest of the multitude with him, took a great deal of fire, and

burnt both the machines, and their coverings; with the works belonging to the fifth, and to the tenth legion: which they put to flight. When others followed them immediately, and buried those instruments, and all their materials under ground. However, about the evening, the Romans erected the battering ram again, against that part of the wall which had suffered before. Where a certain Jew, that defended the city from the Romans, hit Vespasian with a dart in his foot, and wounded him a little: the distance being so great, that no considerable impression could be made by the dart, thrown so far off. However, this caused the greatest disorder among the Romans. For when those that stood near him saw his blood, they were disturbed at it: and a report went abroad through the whole army, that the general was wounded. While the greatest part left the siege, and came running together, with surprise and fear, to the general. And before them all came Titus, out of the concern he had for his father. Insomuch that the multitude were in great confusion; and this out of the regard they had for their general, and by reason of the agony that the son was in. Yet did the father soon put an end to the son's fear, and to the disorder the army was under. For being superior to his pains, and endeavouring soon to be seen by all that had been in a fright about him; he excited them to fight the Jews more briskly. For now every body was willing to expose himself to danger immediately, in order to avenge their general: and then they encouraged one another with loud voices, and ran hastily to the walls.

But still the friends of Josephus, although they fell down dead one upon another by the darts and stones which the engines threw upon them; yet did they not desert the wall: but fell upon those that managed the ram, under the protection of the hurdles, with fire, and iron weapons, and stones. And these could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually: while they were seen by those whom they could not see. For the light of their own flame shone about them, and made them a most visible mark to the enemy: as they were in the day time. While the engines could not be seen at a great distance; and so what was thrown at them was hard to be avoided. For the force with which these engines threw stones and darts, made them hurt several at a time; and the violent noise of the stones that were cast by the engines was so great, that they carried away the pinnacles of the wall, and broke off the corners of the towers. For no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the largeness of the stones. And any one may learn the force of the engines by what happened this very night: for as one of those that stood round about Josephus was near the wall, his head was carried away by such a stone; and his skull was flung as far as three furlongs. In the day time also, a pregnant woman was so violently stricken, as she was just come out of her house, that the infant was carried to the distance of half a furlong: so great was the force of that engine. The noise of the instruments themselves was very terrible: the sound of the darts and stones that were thrown by them was so also: of the same sort was that noise the dead bodies made, when they were dashed against the wall. And, indeed, dreadful was the clamour which these things raised in the women within the city: which was echoed back at the same time by the cries of such as were slain. While the whole space of ground whereon they fought ran with blood; and the wall might have been ascended over by the bodies of the dead carcasses. The mountains also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes. Nor was there on that night any thing of terror wanting, that could either affect the hearing, or the sight. Yet did a great part of those that fought so hard for Jotapata fall manfully; as were a great part of them wounded. However, the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, though it had been battered without intermission. However, those within covered their bodies with their armour, and raised works over against that part which was thrown down, before those machines were laid, by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

In the morning Vespasian got his army together, in order to take the city by storm, after a little recreation, upon the hard pains they had been at the night before. And as he was desirous to draw off those that opposed him from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of the horsemen get off their horses, and placed them in three ranks, over against those ruins of the wall; but covered with their armour on every side; and with poles in their hands. That so these might begin their ascent as soon as the instruments for such ascent were laid. Behind them he placed the flower of the footmen. But for the rest of the horse, he ordered them to extend themselves over against the wall, upon the whole hilly country; in order to prevent any from escaping out of the city, when it should be taken. And behind these he placed the archers round about: and commanded them to have their darts ready to shoot. The same commands he gave to the slingers, and to those that managed the engines; and bade them take up other ladders; and have them ready to lay upon those parts of the wall which were yet untouched; that the besieged might be engaged in trying to hinder their ascent by them, and leave the guard of the parts that were thrown down; while the rest of them should be overborne by the darts cast at them; and might afford his men an entrance into the city.

But Josephus, understanding the meaning of Vespasian's contrivance, set the old men, together with those that were tired out, at the sound parts of the wall, as expecting no harm from those quarters; but stationed the strongest of his men at the place where the wall was broken down: and before them all six men by themselves; among whom he took his share of the first and greatest danger. He also gave orders, that when the legions made a shout they should stop their ears, that they might not be affrighted at it; and that to avoid the multitude of the enemies' darts they should bend down on their knees, and cover themselves with their shields; and that they should retreat a little backward for a while, till the archers should have emptied their quivers. But that when the Romans should lay their instruments for ascending the walls, they should suddenly leap out, and with their own instruments should meet the enemy; and that every one should then strive to do his best; in order, not to defend his own city, as if it were possible to be preserved, but in order to revenge it, when it was already destroyed: and that they should set before their eyes how

their old men were to be slain, and their children and wives were to be killed immediately by the enemy, and that they would beforehand spend all their fury on account of the calamities just coming upon them, and pour it out on the actors.

Thus did Josephus dispose of both his bodies of men. But the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw their city encompassed by a threefold army; (for none of the usual guards that had been fighting before were removed:) when they also saw not only the walls thrown down, but their enemies, with swords in their hands; as also the hilly country above them shining with their weapons; and the darts in the hands of the Arabian archers; they made a lamentable outcry of destruction, as if the misery were not only threatened, but actually come upon them already. But Josephus ordered the women to be shut up in their houses, lest they should render the actions of the men too effeminate, by making them commiserate their condition: and commanded them on pain of punishment to hold their peace: while he came himself before the breach, where his allotment was. For as for those who brought ladders to the other places, he took no notice of them, but earnestly waited for the shower of arrows that was coming.

Now the trumpeters of the several Roman legions sounded together; and the army made a terrible shout: and the darts, as by order, flew so fast, that they intercepted the light. However, Josephus's men remembered the charge he had given them, they stopped their ears at the sounds, and covered their bodies against the darts. And as to the engines that were ready to go to work, the Jews ran out upon them, before those that should have used them were gotten upon them. And on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great conflict, and many actions of the hands, and of the soul, were exhibited; while the Jews did earnestly endeavour, in the extreme danger they were in, not to shew less courage than those who, without being in danger, fought so stoutly against them. Nor did they leave struggling with the Romans till they either fell down dead themselves, or killed their antagonists. But the Jews grew weary with defending themselves continually, and had not sufficient men to come in their places, and succour them; while on the side of the Romans fresh soldiers still succeeded those that were tired, and still new men got upon the machines for ascent, in the room of those that were thrust down; these encouraging one another, and joining side to side with their shields, which were a protection to them, they became a body not to be broken; and as this band thrust away the Jews, as though they were themselves but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

In this distress Josephus took necessity *for his counsellor, (which necessity is very sagacious in invention, when it is irritated by despair,) and gave order to pour scalding oil upon those whose shields protected them. Whereupon they soon got it ready; being many that brought it, and what they brought being a great quantity also; and poured it on all sides upon the Romans, and threw down upon them their vessels, as they were still hissing from the heat of the fire. This so burnt the Romans, that it dispersed that united band: who now tumbled down from the wall with horrid pains. For the oil easily ran down the whole body, from head to foot, under their entire armour, and fed upon their flesh like flame itself: its fat and unctuous nature rendering it soon heated, and slowly cooled. And as the men were cooped up in their head-pieces, and breast-plates, they could no way get free from this burning oil. They could only leap and roll about in their pains, as they fell down from the bridges they had laid. And as they thus were beaten back, and retired to their own party, who still pressed them forward, they were easily wounded by those that were behind them.

However, in this ill success of the Romans, their courage did not fail them: nor did the Jews want prudence to oppose them. For the Romans, although they saw their own men thrown down, and in a miserable condition; yet were they vehemently bent against those that poured the oil upon them. While every one reproached the man before him as a coward, and one that hindered him from exerting himself: and while the Jews made use of another stratagem to prevent their ascent, and pouring boiling fene-greek upon the boards, in order to make them slip and fall down. By which means neither could those that were coming up, nor those that were going down, stand on their feet. But some of them fell backward, upon the machines on which they ascended, and were trodden upon. Many of them fell down upon the bank they had raised; and when they had fallen upon it were slain by the Jews. For when the Romans could not keep their feet, the Jews being freed from fighting hand to hand, had leisure to throw their darts at them. So the general called off those soldiers in the evening that had suffered so sorely. Of whom the number of the slain was not a few: while that of the wounded was still greater. But of the people of Jotapata no more than six men were killed; although more that three hundred were carried off wounded. This fight happened upon the twentieth day of the month Desius, or Sivan.†

Hereupon Vespasian comforted his army upon occasion of what happened. And as he found them angry indeed, but rather wanting somewhat to do, than any further exhortations, he gave orders to raise the bank still higher; and to erect three towers, each fifty feet high: and that they should cover them with plates of iron, on every side; that they might be both firm by their weight, and not easily liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks; and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows; with the lighter engines for throwing stones, and darts also: and besides these he set upon them the stoutest men among the slingers, who not being to be seen by reason of the height they stood upon, and the battlement that protected them, might throw their weapons at those that were upon the wall, and were easily seen by them. Hereupon the Jews, not being easily able to escape those darts that were thrown down upon their heads; nor to avenge themselves on those whom they could not see; and perceiving that the height of the towers was so great, that a dart which they

* Necessity is an imperious commander. Its dictates should certainly be regulated and governed by equity; otherwise it may lead to evil and desperate actions. Goodness commonly by wise forecast supersedes its operations. B.

† A. D. 67.

threw with their hand could hardly reach it; and that the iron plates about them made it very hard to come at them by fire; they ran away from the walls, and fled hastily out of the city, and fell upon those that shot at them. And thus did the people of Jotapata resist the Romans; while a great number of them were every day killed, without their being able to retort the evil upon their enemies. Nor could they keep them out of the city without danger to themselves.

About this time Vespasian sent out Trajan against a city called Japha, that lay near to Jotapata, and that desired innovations, and was puffed up with the unexpected length of the opposition of Jotapata. This Trajan was the commander of the tenth legion. And to him Vespasian committed a thousand horsemen, and two thousand footmen. When Trajan came to the city, he found it hard to be taken: for besides the natural strength of its situation, it was also secured by a double wall. But when he saw the people of this city coming out of it, and ready to fight him, he joined battle with them; and after a short resistance which they made, he pursued after them. And as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them so closely, that they fell in together with them. But when the Jews were endeavouring to get again within their second wall, their own fellow-citizens shut them out: as being afraid that the Romans would force themselves in with them. It was certainly God, therefore, who brought the Romans to punish the Galileans; and then expose the people of the city every one of them manifestly to be destroyed by their cruel enemies. For they fell upon the gates in great crowds, earnestly calling to those that kept them, and that by their names also; yet had they their throats cut in the very midst of their supplications. For the enemy shut the gates of the first wall; and their own citizens shut the gates of the second. So they were enclosed between two walls, and were slain in great numbers together: many of them were run through by swords of their own men; and many by their own swords: besides an immense number that were slain by the Romans. Nor had they courage to revenge themselves. For there was added to the consternation they were in from the enemy, their being betrayed by their own friends, which quite broke their spirits. And at last they died, execrating not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all destroyed; being in number twelve thousand. So Trajan gathered that the city was empty of people that could fight; and although there should a few of them be therein, he supposed that they would be too timorous to venture on any opposition. So he reserved the taking of the city to the general. Accordingly he sent messengers to Vespasian, and desired him to send his son Titus, to finish the victory he had gained. Vespasian hereupon imagining there might be some pains still necessary, sent his son with an army of five hundred horsemen, and a thousand footmen. So he came quickly to the city, and put his army in order, and set Trajan over the left wing, while he had the right himself, and led them to the siege. And when the soldiers brought the ladders to be laid against the wall on every side, the Galileans opposed them from above for a while; but soon afterward they left the walls. Then did Titus's men leap into the city, and seized upon it presently. But when those that were in it were gotten together, a fierce battle ensued between them. For the men of power fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets; and the women threw whatsoever came next to hand at them, and sustained a fight with them for six hours. But when the fighting men were exhausted, the rest of the multitude had their throats cut, partly in the open air, and partly in their own houses, both young and old together. So there were no males now remaining, besides infants; which, with the women, were carried as slaves into captivity. So that the number of the slain both now in the city, and at the former fight, was fifteen thousand: and the captives were two thousand one hundred and thirty. This calamity befell the Galileans on the twenty-fifth of the month Desius, or Sivan.

Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortunes at this time. For they assembled themselves together upon the mountain called Gerizzim, which is with them a holy mountain, and there they remained. This collection of theirs, as well as the courageous minds they shewed, could not but threaten somewhat of war. Nor were they rendered wiser by the miseries that had come upon their neighbouring cities. They also, notwithstanding the great success the Romans had, marched on in an unreasonable manner; depending on their own weakness; and were disposed for any tumult upon its first appearance. Vespasian, therefore, thought it best to prevent their motions, and to cut off the foundation of their attempts. For although all Samaria had ever garrisons settled among them, yet did the number of those that were come to mount Gerizzim, and their conspiracy together, give ground for suspicion of a revolt. He therefore sent thither Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen: who did not think it safe to go up the mountain and give them battle: because many of the enemy were on the higher part of the ground. So he encompassed all the lower part of the mountain with his army, and watched them all that day. Now it happened that the Samaritans, who were now destitute of water, were inflamed with a violent heat, (for it was summer time, and the multitude had not provided themselves with necessaries,) insomuch that some of them died that very day with heat: while others of them preferred slavery before such a death, and fled to the Romans. By whom Cerealis understood, that those who still staid there were very much dispirited by their misfortunes. So he went up the mountain; and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he, in the first place, exhorted them to take the security of his right hand, and come to terms with him, and thereby save themselves: and assured them that, if they would lay down their arms, he would secure them from any injury. But when he could not prevail with them, he attacked and slew them all; being eleven thousand and six hundred. This was done on the twenty-seventh day of the month Desius, or Sivan.* And these were the calamities that befell the Samaritans at this time.

But as the people of Jotapata still held out manfully, and bore up under their miseries beyond all that could be hoped

* A. D. 67.

for; on the *forty-seventh day of the siege, the banks cast up by the Romans were become higher than the wall. On which day a certain deserter went to Vespasian, and told him, how few were left in the city, and how weak they were: and that they had been so worn out with perpetual watching, and as perpetual fighting, that they could not now oppose any force that came against them: and that they might be taken by stratagem, if any one would attack them. For at about the last watch of the night, when they thought they might have some rest from the hardships they were under; and when a morning sleep used to come upon them, as they were thoroughly weary, he said, the watch used to fall asleep. Accordingly his advice was, that they should make their attack at that hour. But Vespasian had a suspicion about this deserter; as knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how much they despised any punishments that could be inflicted on them. He also knew that one of the people of Jotapata had undergone all sorts of torments; and though they made him pass through a fiery trial of his enemies in his examination, yet would he inform them nothing of the affairs within the city: and as he was crucified smiled at them. However, the probability there was in the relation itself, did partly confirm the truth of what the deserter told them: and they thought he might probably speak truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no great sufferers if the report were false. So he commanded them to keep the man in custody: and prepared the army for taking the city.

According to this resolution they marched without noise, at the hour that had been told them, to the wall. And it was Titus himself that first got upon it, with one of his tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, and a few of the fifteenth legion along with him. So they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After these came Cerealis the tribune, and Placidus, and led on those that were under them. Now when the citadel was taken, and the enemy were in the very midst of the city; and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city known by those that held it. For a great many of them were fast asleep: and a great mist, which then by chance fell upon the city, hindered those that got up from distinctly seeing the case they were in, till the whole Roman army was gotten in, and they were raised up only to find the miseries they were under: and as they were slaying they perceived the city was taken. And for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they neither spared nor pitied any; but drove the people down the precipice from the citadel, and slew them as they drove them down. At which time the difficulties of the place hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves. For as they were distressed in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipice, they were overpowered with the crowd of those that came fighting them down from the citadel. This provoked a great many, even of those chosen men that were about Josephus, to kill themselves with their own hands. For when they saw that they could kill none of the Romans, they resolved to prevent being killed by the Romans; and got together in great numbers in the utmost parts of the city, and killed themselves.

However, such of the watch as at the first perceived they were taken, and ran away as fast as they could, went up into one of the towers on the north side of the city, and for a while defended themselves there. But as they were encompassed with a multitude of enemies, they tried to use their right hands when it was too late; and at length they cheerfully offered their necks to be cut off by those that stood over them. And the Romans might have boasted, that the conclusion of that siege was without blood, on their side, if there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery. For there was one of those that were fled into the caverns, which were a great number, who desired that this Antonius would give him his hand for his security, and would assure him that he would preserve him, and give him his assistance in getting up out of the cavern. Accordingly he incautiously reached him his right hand; when the other man prevented him, and stabbed him under his loins, with a spear, and killed him immediately.

On this day it was that the Romans slew all the multitude that appeared openly. But on the following days they searched the hiding places, and fell upon those that were under ground, and in the caverns. And went thus through every age, excepting the infants, and the women; and of these there were gathered together as captives twelve hundred. And as for those that were slain at the taking of the city, and in the former fights, they were numbered to be forty thousand. So Vespasian gave order that the city should be entirely demolished, and all the fortifications burnt down. And thus was Jotapata taken, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the first day of the month Panemus, or Tamuz.†

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE DISCOVERY OF JOSEPHUS BY A WOMAN; HIS SURRENDER OF HIMSELF TO THE ROMANS, AND HIS SUBSEQUENT TREATMENT BY VESPASIAN.

NOW the Romans searched for Josephus, both out of the hatred they bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him taken: for he reckoned that if he were once taken, the greatest part of the war would be over. They then searched among the dead, and looked into the most concealed recesses of the city. But as the city was first taken, he was assisted by a certain supernatural Providence: for he withdrew himself from the enemy, when

* Monsieur Toinard's conjecture, here mentioned by Dr. Hudson, is too strong to be opposed; that these odd seven days should be blotted out, both here and chap. 8, and the true number be esteemed only forty days. There being no more from the 21st of Artemisius, when Josephus entered the city before the siege began, till the first of Panemus, when the city was taken. This is said only upon supposition that the 21st of Artemisius, and the first of Panemus were the true days of the beginning and ending of this siege. Of the former of which numbers yet, at least, a doubt may sooner be made, than of this number 47. My reason is, that such number 21, is but once set down, whereas the other 47, is repeated again, chap. 8, without any variation. I therefore rather choose to suppose that Josephus entered Jotapata on the 14th of Artemisius, which will afford us 47 days for the duration of this siege; than to say he entered on the 21st, that the siege might be supposed to have lasted 40 days only.

† A. D. 67.

he was in the midst of them: and leaped into a certain deep pit, whereto adjoined a large den, which could not be seen by those that were above ground. And here he met with forty persons of eminence, that had concealed themselves; and with provisions sufficient to satisfy them for several days. So in the day time he hid himself from the enemy, who had seized upon all places: and in the night he got up out of the den, and looked about for some way of escaping; and took exact notice of the watch. But as all places were so strictly guarded on his account, that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the den. Thus he concealed himself two days. But on the third day, when they had taken a woman who had been with them, he was discovered. Whereupon Vespasian sent two tribunes, Paulinus, and Gallicanus; and ordered them to give Josephus their right hands, as a security for his life, and to exhort him to come up.

So they came and invited the man to come up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved. But they did not prevail with him. For he gathered suspicions from the probability there was that one who had done so many things against the Romans must suffer for it; though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. However, he was afraid that he was invited to come up in order to be punished; until Vespasian sent, besides these, a third tribune, named Nicanor, to him: he was one that was well known to Josephus, and had been his familiar acquaintance in old time. When he was come, he enlarged upon the natural mildness of the Romans towards those they had once conquered; and told him, that he had behaved himself so valiantly, that the commanders rather admired than hated him: that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him, not in order to punish him, for that he could do, though he should not come voluntarily: but that he was determined to preserve a man of his courage. He moreover added, that Vespasian, had he been resolved to impose upon him, would not have sent to him a friend of his own, nor put the fairest colour upon the vilest action, by pretending friendship, and meaning perfidiousness. Nor would he himself have acquiesced, or come to him, had it been to deceive him.

Now as Josephus began to hesitate with himself about Nicanor's proposal, the soldiery were so angry, that they ran hastily to set fire to the den. But the tribune would not permit them so to do: as being very desirous to take the man alive. And now, as Nicanor urged Josephus to comply, and he understood how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he called to mind the *dreams which he had dreamed in the night time: whereby God signified to him beforehand, both the future calamities of the Jews, and the events that concerned the Roman emperors. Now Josephus was able to give shrewd conjectures about the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by God. Moreover, he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books; as being a priest himself, and of the posterity of priests. And just then was he in an ecstasy; and setting before him the tremendous images of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said, "Since it pleaseth thee, who hast created the Jewish nation, to depress the same; and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans; and since thou hast made choice of this soul of mine to foretell what is to come to pass hereafter; I willingly give them my hand, and am content to live. And I protest openly, that I do not go over to the Romans, as a deserter from the Jews, but as a minister from thee."

When he had said this, he complied with Nicanor's invitation. But when those Jews who had fled with him understood that he yielded to those that invited him to come up, they came about him in a body, and cried out, "Nay, indeed, now may the laws of our forefathers, which God ordained himself, well groan to purpose: that God, we mean, who hath created the souls of the Jews of such a temper, that they despise death. O Josephus! art thou still fond of life? and canst thou bear to see the light in a state of slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself! How many hast thou persuaded to lose their lives for liberty! Thou hast therefore had a false reputation for manhood; and a like false reputation for wisdom, if thou canst hope for preservation from those against whom thou hast fought so zealously; and art however willing to be preserved by them, if they be in earnest. But although the good fortune of the Romans hath made thee forget thyself, we ought to take care that the glory of our forefathers may not be tarnished. We will lend thee our right hand, and a sword. And if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, thou wilt die as a traitor to them." As soon as they said this, they began to thrust their swords at him, and threatened they would kill him, if he thought of yielding himself to the Romans.

Upon this Josephus was afraid of their attacking him; and yet thought he should be a betrayer of the commands of God, if he died before they were delivered. So he began to talk like a philosopher to them, in their distress; and said to them: "O my friends, why are we so earnest to kill ourselves? And why do we set our soul and body, which are such dear companions, at such variance? Can any one pretend that I am not the man I was formerly? Nay the Romans are sensible how that matter stands well enough. It is a brave thing to die in war: but so that it be according to the law of war, by the hand of conquerors. If, therefore, I avoid death from the sword of the Romans, I am truly worthy to be killed by my own sword, and my own hand. But if they admit of mercy, and would spare their enemy, how much more ought we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to spare ourselves? For it is certainly a foolish thing to do that to ourselves, which we quarrel with them for doing to us. I confess freely, that it is a brave thing to die for liberty. But still so, that it be in war, and done by those who take that liberty from us. But in the present case, our enemies neither meet us in battle, nor do they kill us. Now he is equally a coward who will not die, when

* Of these divine afflatus's, or prophetic dreams, by which Josephus foretold, among other things, the coming of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman empire in the days of Nero, and before either Galba, Otho, or Vitellius, were thought of as successors to Nero; and all this attested to by Suetonius and Dio, the Roman historians. See Tacitus, Histor. I. 10; II. 1; IV. 81, and Sueton. in Vesp. § 4, 5, 7, and Dio LIX. page 745. See the like prophetic dream in Josephus's account of his own Life, and here presently.

he is obliged to die: and he who will die, when he is not obliged so to do. What are we afraid of when we will not go up to the Romans? Is it death? If so, what we are afraid of when we but suspect our enemies will inflict it on us, shall we inflict it on ourselves for certain? But it may be said, we must be slaves. And are we then in a clear state of liberty at present? It may also be said, that it is a manly act for one to kill himself. No, certainly; but a most unmanly one. As I should esteem that pilot to be an arrant coward, who, out of fear of a storm, should sink his ship of his own accord. Now self-murder is a crime most remote from the common nature of all animals; and an instance of impiety against God our creator. Nor indeed is there any animal that dies by its own contrivance, or by its own means. For the desire of life is a law engraven in them all. On which account we deem those that openly take it away from us to be our enemies: and those that do it by treachery are punished for so doing. And do not you think that God is very angry, when a man does injury to what he hath bestowed on him? For from him it is that we have received our being: and we ought to leave it to his disposal to take that being away from us. The bodies of all men are indeed mortal, and are created out of corruptible matter. But the soul is ever immortal; and is a portion of the divinity that inhabits in our bodies. Besides, if any one destroy or abuse a depositum he hath received from a mere man, he is esteemed a wicked and perfidious person. But then if any one cast out of his body this divine depositum, can we imagine that he who is thereby affronted does not know of it? Moreover, our law justly ordains that slaves that run away from their masters shall be punished, though the masters they run away from may have been wicked masters to them. And shall we endeavour to run away from God, who is the best of all masters, and not think ourselves guilty of impiety? Do not you know that those who depart out of this life according to the law of nature, and pay that debt which was received from God, when he that lent it us is pleased to require it back again, enjoy eternal fame; that their houses and their property are sure; that these souls are pure, and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in heaven. From whence, in the revolutions of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies. While the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves, are received by the darkest place in Hades: and while God, who is our father, punishes those that offend against either of them in their posterity. For which reason God hates such doings: and the crime is punished by our most wise legislator. Accordingly our *laws determine, that the bodies of such as kill themselves should be exposed till the sun be set, without burial: although at the same time it be allowed lawful to bury our enemies sooner. The laws of other nations also enjoin such men's hands to be cut off, when they are dead, which had been made use of in destroying themselves when alive: while they reckoned, that as the body is alien from the soul, so is the hand alien from the body. It is therefore, my friends, a right thing to reason justly, and not add to the calamities which men bring upon us, impiety towards our Creator. If we have a mind to preserve ourselves, let us do it. For to be preserved by those our enemies, to whom we have given so many demonstrations of our courage is no way inglorious. But if we have a mind to die, it is good to die by the hand of those that have conquered us. For my part I will not run over to our enemies' quarters, in order to be a traitor to myself. For certainly I should then be much more foolish than those that deserted to the enemy; since they did it in order to save themselves; and I should do it for my own destruction. However, I heartily wish the Romans may prove treacherous in this matter. For if, after their offer of their right hand for security, I be slain by them, I shall die cheerfully, and carry away with me the sense of their perfidiousness, as a consolation greater than victory itself."

These and many similar motives did Josephus use to these men, to prevent them murdering themselves. But desperation had shut their ears, as having long ago devoted themselves to die; and they were irritated at Josephus. They accordingly ran upon him with their swords in their hands; one from one quarter, and another from another, and called him a coward: and every one of them appeared openly, as if he were ready to smite him. But he calling to one of them by name; and looking like a general to another; and taking a third by the hand; and making a fourth ashamed of himself by praying him to forbear; and being in this condition distracted with various passions, (as he well might, in the great distress he was then in,) he kept off every one of their swords: and was forced to do like such wild beasts as are encompassed about on every side, who always turn themselves against those that last touched them. Nay, some of their right hands were debilitated by the reverence they bare to their general, in these his fatal calamities, and their swords dropped out of their hands; and not a few of them there were who, when they aimed to smite him with their swords, they were not thoroughly either willing, or able, to do it.

However, in this extreme distress, he was not destitue of his usual sagacity: but trusting himself to the providence of God, he put his life into hazard, in the following manner: "Since," said he, "it is resolved among you that you will die, come on, let us commit our mutual deaths to determination by lot. He whom the lot falls on first, let him be killed by him that hath the second lot: and thus fortune shall make its progress through us all. Nor shall any of us perish by his own right hand. For it would be unfair if, when the rest are gone, somebody should repent, and save himself." This proposal appeared to them to be very just: and when he had prevailed with them to determine this matter by lots, he drew one of the lots for himself also. He who had the first lot laid his neck bare to him that had the next; as supposing that the general would die among them immediately. For they thought death, if Josephus might but die with them, was sweeter than life. Yet was he with another left to the last: whether we must say it happened so by chance, or whether by the providence of God. And as he was very desirous neither to be condemned by the lot, nor, if he had been left to the last, to imbrue his right hand in the blood of his countryman, he persuaded him to trust his fidelity to him, and to live as well as himself.

* Where this law of Moses is to be found I do not know.

Thus Josephus escaped in the war with the Romans, and in this his own war with his friends, and was led by Nicanor to Vespasian. But now all the Romans ran together to see him; and as the multitude pressed one upon another about their general, there was a tumult of a various kind. While some rejoiced that Josephus was taken; some threatened him; and some crowded to see him very near: but those that were more remote cried out to have this their enemy put to death: while those that were near called to mind the actions he had done, and a deep concern appeared at the change of his fortune. Nor were there any of the Roman commanders, how much soever they had been enraged at him before, but relented when they came to the sight of him. Above all the rest Titus's valour, and Josephus's patience under his afflictions, made him pity him: as did also the commiseration of his age, when he recalled to mind, that but a little while ago he was fighting, but lay now in the hands of his enemies: which made him consider the power of fortune; and how quick is the turn of affairs in war; and how no state of men is sure. For which reason he then made a great many more to be of the same pitiful temper with himself, and induced them to commiserate Josephus. He was also of great weight in persuading his father to preserve him. However, Vespasian gave strict orders that he should be kept with great caution, as though he would, in a little time, send him to Nero.

When Josephus heard him give those orders, he said, that he had somewhat in his mind that he would willingly say to him alone. When, therefore, they were all ordered to withdraw, excepting Titus, and two of their friends, he said, "Thou, O Vespasian, thinkest no more than that thou hast taken Josephus himself captive. But I come to thee as a messenger of great tidings. For had not I been sent by God to thee, I knew what was the *law of the Jews in this case; and how it becomes generals to die. Dost thou send me to Nero? For what purpose? Are Nero's successors till they come to thee still alive? Thou, O Vespasian, art Cæsar, and emperor; thou, and this thy son. Bind me now still faster, and keep me for thyself. For thou, O Cæsar, art not only lord over me, but over the land, and the sea, and all mankind. And certainly I deserve to be kept in closer custody than I now am in, in order to be punished, if I rashly affirm any thing of God." When he had said this, Vespasian did not immediately believe him; but supposed that Josephus said this, as a cunning trick, in order to his own preservation. But in a little time he was convinced, and believed what he said himself to be true. God himself erecting his expectations, so as to think of obtaining the empire; and by other signs foreshewing his advancement. He also found Josephus to have spoken truth on other occasions. For one of those friends that were present at that secret conference, said to Josephus, "I cannot but wonder how thou couldest not foretell to the peole of Jotapata, that they should be taken: nor couldest foretell this captivity which hath happened to thyself; unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage that is arisen against thyself." Josephus replied, "I did foretell to the people of Jotapata that they would be taken on the forty-seventh day; and that I should be caught alive by the Romans." Now when Vespasian had inquired of the captives privately about these predictions, he found them to be true; and then he began to believe those that concerned himself. Yet did he not set Josephus at liberty from his bands; but bestowed on him suits of clothes, and other precious gifts. He treated him also in a very obliging manner, and continued so to do; Titus still joining his interest in the honours that were done him.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE REDUCTION OF JOPPA AND TIBERIAS.

NOW Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth day of the month Panemus, or Tamuz;† and from thence he came to Cæsarea, which lay by the sea-side. This was a very great city of Judea, and for the most part inhabited by the Greeks. The citizens here received both the Roman army, and its general, with all sorts of acclamations and rejoicings; and this partly out of the good will they bore to the Romans, but principally out of the hatred they bore to those that were conquered by them. On which account they came clamouring against Josephus in crowds; and desired he might be put to death. But Vespasian passed over this petition concerning him, as offered by the injudicious multitude, with a bare silence. Two of the legions also he placed at Cæsarea, that they might there take their winter quarters; as perceiving the city very fit for such a purpose. But he placed the tenth and the fifth at Scythopolis, that he might not distress Cæsarea with the entire army. This place was warm, even in winter; as it was suffocating hot in the summer time, by reason of its situation in a plain, and near to the sea of Galilee.

In the mean time there were gathered together as well such as had seditiously got out from among their enemies, as those that had escaped out of the demolished cities, which were in all a great number; and repaired Joppa, which had been left desolate by Cestius, that it might serve them for a place of refuge. And because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to go off to sea. They also built a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates upon the seas near to Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt; and made those seas navigable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both footmen and horsemen to Joppa; who entered the city, which was unguarded, in the night time. However, those that were in it perceived that they should be attacked, and were afraid of it. Yet did they not endeavour to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night, out of the reach of their darts.

* I do not know where to find the law of Moses here mentioned by Josephus, and afterwards by Eleazar, VII. 8, and almost implied in I. 13, by Josephus's commendation of Phasaelis for doing so. I mean whereby Jewish generals and people were obliged to kill themselves, rather than go into slavery under heathens. I doubt that would have been no better than self-murder. And I believe it was rather some vain doctrine, or interpretation of the rigid Pharisees, or Essenes, or Herodians, than a just consequence from any law of God delivered by Moses.

† A. D. 67.

Now Joppa is not naturally a haven, for it ends in a rough shore; where all the rest of it is straight, but the two ends bend toward each other; where there are deep precipices, and great stones that jet out into the sea; and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound have left their vestiges, which attest to the antiquity of that fable. But the north wind opposes and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks, which receive them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the country they had deserted. Now as these people of Joppa were floating about in this sea, in the morning, there fell a violent wind upon them. It is called by those that sail there the black north wind: and there dashed their ships one against another, and dashed some of them against the rocks, and carried many of them by force, whilst they strove against the opposite waves, into the main sea: for the shore was so rocky, and had so many of the enemy upon it, that they were afraid to come to land. Nay the waves rose so very high, that they drowned them. Nor was there any place whither they could fly, nor any way to save themselves: while they were thrust out of the sea, by the violence of the wind, if they staid where they were; and out of the city, by the violence of the Romans. And much lamentation there was when the ships were dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces. And some of the multitude that were in them were covered with the waves, and so perished: and a great many were embarrassed with shipwrecks. But some of them thought that to die by their own swords was a lighter death than by the sea; and so they killed themselves, before they were drowned. Although the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt parts of the rocks. Insomuch that the sea was bloody a long way; and the maritime parts were full of dead bodies. For the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them. And the number of the bodies that were thus thrown out of the sea was four thousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city, without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

Thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time. But Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, erected a camp there, where the citatel of Joppa had been: and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen: that these last might stay there, and guard the camp; and the horsemen might spoil the country that lay round it, and might destroy the neighbouring villages, and smaller cities. So these troops overran the country, as they were ordered to do; and every day cut to pieces, and laid desolate the whole region.

Now, when the fate of Jotapata was related at Jerusalem, a great many at the first disbelieved it; on account of the vastness of the calamity; and because they had no eye-witness to attest to the truth of what was related about it. For no one person was saved to be a messenger of that news; but a report was spread abroad at random, that the city was taken: as such fame usually spreads bad news about. However, the truth was known by degrees, from the places near Jotapata, and appeared to all to be too true. Yet there were fictitious stories added to what was really done. For it was reported that Josephus was slain at the taking of the city: which piece of news filled Jerusalem full of sorrow. In every house also, and among all to whom any of the slain were allied, there was a lamentation for them. But the mourning for the commander was a public one. And some mourned for those that had lived with them; others for their kindred; others for their friends; and others for their brethren: but all mourned for Josephus. Insomuch, that the lamentation did not cease in the city before the *thirtieth day. And a great many hired †mourners, with their pipes, who should begin the melancholy ditties for them.

But as the truth came out in time, it appeared how the affairs of Jotapata really stood. Yet was it found that the death of Josephus was a fiction. And when they understood that he was alive, and was among the Romans, and that the commanders treated him at another rate than they treated captives, they were as vehemently angry at him now, as they had shewed their good will before, when he appeared to have been dead. He was also abused by some as having been a coward; and by others as a deserter. And the city was full of indignation at him, and of reproaches cast upon him. Their rage was also aggravated by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success. And what usually becomes an occasion of caution to wise men, I mean affliction, became a spur to them to venture on farther calamities: and the end of one misery became still the beginning of another. They, therefore, resolved to fall on the Romans the more vehemently; as resolving to be revenged on him in revenging themselves on the Romans. And this was the state of Jerusalem as to the troubles which now came upon it.

But Vespasian, in order to see the kingdom of Agrippa, while the king himself persuaded him so to do: (partly in order to his treating the general and his army in the best and most splendid manner his private affairs would enable him to do; and partly that he might, by their means, correct such things as were amiss in his government:) he removed from that Cæsarea which was by the sea-side, and went to that which is called ‡Cæsarea Philippi. And there he refreshed his army for twenty days; and was himself feasted by king Agrippa. Where he also returned public thanks to God for the good success he had had in his undertakings.§ But as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was fond of innovations, and that Taricheæ had revolted; both which cities were parts of the kingdom of Agrippa: and was satisfied within himself that the Jews were every where perverted from their obedience to their governors; he thought it seasonable to make an expedition against these cities; and that for the sake of Agrippa; and in order to

* See Deut. xxxiv. 8.

† These public mourners, hired upon the supposed death of Josephus, and the real death of many more, illustrate some passages in the Bible, which suppose the same custom: as Matt. xi. 17, where the reader may consult the notes of Grotius.

‡ Of this Cæsarea Philippi, (twice mentioned in our New Testament, Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27,) there are coins still extant: as Spanheim here informs us.

§ As all success results from the favour and blessing of God, thanksgiving for his mercies is a proper expression of gratitude; and this should be public, in proportion as the divine goodness towards us is seasonable and liberal. B.

bring his cities to reason. So he sent away his son Titus to the other Cæsarea, that he might bring the army that lay there to Scythopolis, which is the largest of *Decapolis, and in the neighbourhood of Tiberias: whither he came, and where he waited for his son. He then came with three legions, and pitched his camp thirty furlongs off Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen by the innovators. It is named Sennabris. He also sent Valerian, a decurion, with fifty horsemen, to speak peaceably to those that were in the city, and to exhort them to give him assurances of their fidelity. For he had heard that the people were desirous of peace; but were obliged by some of the seditious part to join with them, and so were forced to fight for them. When Valerian had marched up to the place, and was near the wall, he alighted off his horse, and made those that were with him do the same, that they might not be thought to come to skirmish with them. But before they could come to discourse one with another, the most potent men among the seditious made a sally upon them, armed. Their leader was one whose name was Jesus, the son of Saphat; the principal head of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, neither thinking it safe to fight contrary to the commands of the general, though he were secure of a victory; and knowing that it was a very hazardous undertaking for a few to fight with many; for those that were unprovided, to fight those that were ready; and being on other accounts surprised at this unexpected onset of the Jews, he ran away on foot: as did five of the rest in like manner, and left their horses behind them. Which horses Jesus led away into the city; and rejoiced, as if they had taken them in battle, and not by treachery.

Now the seniors of the people, and such as were of principal authority among them, fearing what would be the issue of this matter, fled to the camp of the Romans. They then took their king along with them, and fell down before Vespasian, to supplicate his favour; and besought him not to overlook them, nor to impute the madness of a few to the whole city; to spare a people that had been ever civil and obliging to the Romans: but to bring the authors of this revolt to due punishment; who had hitherto so watched them, that though they were zealous to give them the security of their right hands of a long time, yet could they not accomplish the same. With these supplications the general complied: although he were very angry at the whole city about the carrying off his horses: and this because he saw that Agrippa was under a great concern for them. So when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands, by way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias; so they ran away to Taricheæ. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan before, with some horsemen to the citadel, to make trial of the multitude, whether they were all disposed for peace. And as soon as he knew that the people were of the same mind with the petitioners, he took his army, and went to the city. Upon which the citizens opened to him their gates, and met him with acclamations of joy; and called him their saviour and benefactor. But as the army was a great while in getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance. However he charged them to abstain from rapine and injustice in order to gratify the king. And on his account spared the rest of the wall; while the king undertook for them that they should continue faithful to the Romans for the time to come. And thus did he restore this city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by the sedition.

* See Matt. iv. 23, and Mark v. 25.

CHAP. X.

THE REDUCTION OF TARICHEÆ.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE RIVER JORDAN, AND OF THE COUNTRY OF GENNESARETH.

NOW Vespasian pitched his camp between this city and Taricheæ: but fortified his camp more strongly, as suspecting that he should be forced to stay there, and have a long war. For all the innovators had assembled together at Taricheæ: as relying upon the strength of the city, and on the lake that lay by it; which is called by the people of the country the lake of Gennesareth. The city itself is situate like Tiberias, at the bottom of a mountain: and on those sides which are not washed by the sea had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias. For the wall of Tiberias had been built at the beginning of the Jews' revolt, when he had great plenty of money, and great power. But Taricheæ partook only of the remains of that liberality. Yet had they a great number of ships gotten ready upon the lake; that in case they were beaten at land, they might retire to them; and they were so fitted up that they might undertake a sea fight also. But as the Romans were building a wall about their camp, Jesus and his party were neither affrighted at their number, nor at the good order they were in, but made a sally upon them; and at the very first onset the builders of the wall were dispersed, and these pulled what little they had built to pieces. But as soon as they saw the armed men getting together, and before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But then the Romans pursued them, and drove them into their ships, where they launched out as far as might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans, with what they threw at them, and then cast anchor, and brought their ships close, as in a line of battle, and thence fought the enemy from the sea, who were themselves at land. But Vespasian hearing that a great multitude of them were gotten together in the plain that was before the city, he thereupon sent his son, with six hundred chosen horsemen, to disperse them.

But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him, that he should want more forces. But as he saw a great many of the horsemen eager to fight before any succours could come to them; and that yet some of them were privately under a sort of consternation at the multitude of the Jews; he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and said to them, "My brave Romans! it is right for me to put you in mind of what nation you are, in the beginning of my speech; that so you may not be ignorant who you are, and who they are against whom we are going to fight. For as to us Romans, no part of the habitable earth hath been able to

escape our hands hitherto. But as for the Jews, that I may speak of them too, though they have been already beaten, yet do they not give up the cause. And a sad thing it would be for us to grow weary under our good success, when they bear up under their misfortunes. As to the alacrity which you shew publicly, I see it, and rejoice at it. Yet am I afraid lest the multitude of the enemy should bring a concealed terror upon some of you. Let such a one consider again, who we are that are to fight? And who those are against whom we are to fight? Now these Jews, though they be very bold, and great despisers of death, are but a disorderly body, and unskilful in war, and may rather be called a rabble than an army: while I need say nothing of our skill, and our good order. For this is the reason why we Romans alone are exercised for war in time of peace, that we may not think of number for number, when we come to fight with our enemies. For what advantage should we reap by our continual sort of warfare, if we must still be equal in number to such as have not been used to war? Consider farther, that you are to have a conflict with men in effect unarmed, while you are well armed; with footmen, while you are horsemen; with those that have no good general, while you have one. And as these advantages make you in effect manifold more than you are, so do their disadvantages mightily diminish their number. Now it is not the multitude of men, though they be soldiers, that manage wars with success: but it is their bravery that does it, though they be but a few. For a few are easily set in battle array, and can easily assist one another; while over numerous armies are more hurt by themselves, than by their enemies. Boldness and rashness, the effects of madness, conduct the Jews. Those passions indeed make a great figure when they succeed; but are quite extinguished upon the least ill success. But we are led on by courage, obedience, and fortitude: which shew themselves indeed in our good fortune, but still do not for ever desert us in our ill fortune. Nay, indeed, your fighting is to be on greater motives than those of the Jews. For although they run the hazard of war for liberty, and for their country; yet what can be a greater motive to us than glory? and that it may never be said, that after we have got dominion of the habitable earth, the Jews are able to confront us. We must also reflect upon this, that there is no fear of our suffering any incurable disaster in the present case: for those that are ready to assist us are many, and at hand also. Yet is it in our power to seize upon this victory ourselves: and I think we ought to prevent the coming of those my father is sending to us for our assistance; that our success may be peculiar to ourselves, and of greater reputation to us. And I cannot but think this an opportunity wherein my father, myself, and each of you, shall be all put to the trial: whether he be worthy of his former glorious performances: whether I be his son in reality: and whether you be really my soldiers: for it is usual for my father to conquer. And for myself I should not bear the thoughts of returning to him if I were once taken by the enemy. And how will you be able to avoid being ashamed, if you do not shew equal courage with your commander, when he goes before you into danger? For you know very well, that I shall go into the danger first, and make the first attack upon the enemy. Do not you therefore desert me; but persuade yourselves that God will be assisting to my onset. Know this also before we begin, that we shall now have better success, than we should have, if we were to fight at a distance."

As Titus was saying this, an extraordinary fury fell upon the men. And as Trajan was already come before the fight began, with four hundred horsemen, they were uneasy at it; because the reputation of the victory would be diminished by being common to so many. Vespasian had also sent both Antonius and Silo, with two thousand archers; and had given it them in charge, to seize upon the mountain that was over against the city, and repel those that were upon the wall. Which archers did as they were commanded, and prevented those that attempted to assist them that way. And now Titus made his own horse march first against the enemy; as did the others march with a great noise after him; and extended themselves upon the plain as wide as the enemy which confronted them: by which means they appeared much more numerous than they really were. Now the Jews, although they were surprised at their onset and good order, made resistance against their attacks for a little while; but when they were pricked with their long poles, and overborne by the violent noise of the horsemen, they came to be trampled under their feet. Many also of them were slain on every side; which made them disperse themselves, and run to the city, as fast as every one of them were able. So Titus pressed upon the hindmost, and slew them: and of the rest some he fell upon as they stood on heaps; and some he prevented, and met them in the mouth, and run them through. Many also he leaped upon as they fell upon one another, and trod them down, and cut off all the retreat they had to the wall, and turned them back into the plain, till at last they forced a passage by their multitude, and got away, and ran into the city.

But now there fell out a terrible sedition among them within the city. For the inhabitants themselves, who had possessions there, and to whom the city belonged, were not disposed to fight from the very beginning. And now the less so because they had been beaten. But the foreigners, who were very numerous, would force them to fight so much the more. Insomuch that there was a clamour and a tumult among them: as all mutually angry one at another. And when Titus heard this tumult, for he was not far from the wall, he cried out, "Fellow-soldiers, now is the time. And why do we make any delay? when God is giving up the Jews to us. Those that have escaped our hands are in an uproar against one another. We have the city if we make haste. But besides haste, we must undergo some labour, and use some courage. For no great things are to be accomplished without danger. Accordingly, we must not only prevent their uniting again, which necessity will soon compel them to do; but we must also prevent the coming of our own men to our assistance: that as few as we are we may conquer so great a multitude, and may ourselves alone take the city."

As soon as Titus had said this, he leaped upon his horse, and rode apace down to the lake: by which he marched, and entered into the city the first of them all: as did the others soon after him. Hereupon those that were upon the walls were seized with a terror, at the boldness of the at-

tempt. Nor durst any one venture to fight with him, or to hinder him. So they left guarding the city; and some of those that were about *Jesus fled over the country: while others of them ran down to the lake, and met the enemy in the teeth. And some were slain as they were getting up into the ships; but others of them as they attempted to overtake those that were already gone aboard. There was also a great slaughter made in the city, while those foreigners, that had not fled away already, made opposition: but the natural inhabitants were killed without fighting. For in hopes of Titus's giving them his right hand for their security,† and out of a consciousness that they had not given any consent to the war, they avoided fighting, till Titus had slain the authors of this revolt; and then put a stop to any farther slaughters, out of commiseration of these inhabitants of the place. But for those that had fled to the lake, upon seeing the city taken, they sailed as far as possibly they could from the enemy.

Hereupon Titus sent one of his horsemen to his father, and let him know the good news of what he had done. At which, as was natural, he was very joyful: both on account of the courage, and glorious actions, of his son. For he thought that now the greatest part of the war was over. He then came thither himself, and set men to guard the city; and gave them command to take care that nobody got privately out of it, but to kill such as attempted so to do. And on the next day he went down to the lake, and commanded that vessels should be fitted up, in order to pursue those that had escaped in the ships. These vessels were quickly gotten ready accordingly: because there was great plenty of materials, and a competent number of artificers.

Now this lake of Gennesareth is so called from the country adjoining to it. Its breadth is forty furlongs; and its length an hundred and forty. Its waters are sweet, and very agreeable for drinking: they are finer than the thick waters of other fens. It is also temperate when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water; and yet always cooler than one would expect in so diffuse a place as this is. Now when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that snow which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both to the taste and the sight from those elsewhere. It is divided into two parts by the river Jordan. Now Panium is thought to be the fountain of Jordan; but, in reality, it is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called Phiala. This place lies as you go up to Trachonitis; and is a hundred and twenty furlongs from Cæsarea; and is not far out of the road on the right hand. And indeed it hath its name of Phiala (vial or bowl) very justly, from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel. Its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking, or running over. And as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis. For he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and it was found at Panium, where the ancients thought the fountain head of the river was, whither it had been therefore carried by the waters. As for Panium itself, its natural beauty had been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and adorned at his expense. Now Jordan's visible stream arises from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the lake Semechonitis. And when it hath run another hundred and twenty furlongs, it first passes by the city Julias, and then passes through the middle of the lake Gennesareth. After which it runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the lake Asphaltites.

The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of Gennesareth. Its nature is wonderful, as well as its beauty. Its soil is so fruitful, that all sorts of trees can grow upon it; and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there. For the temper of the air is so well mixed, that it agrees very well with those several sorts: particularly the walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty. There are palm-trees also, which grow best in hot air. Fig-trees also and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of nature; for it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together. It is a happy contention of the seasons: as if every one of them laid claim to this country. For it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruit, beyond men's expectation; but preserves them also a great while. It supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes‡ and figs, continually, during ten months of the year: and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe together through the whole year. For besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain. The people of the country call it Capharnaum. Some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the coracin fish as well as that lake does which is near to Alexandria. The length of this country extends along the banks of this lake, that bears the same name, for thirty furlongs; and its breadth twenty. And this is the nature of that place.

But now, when the vessels were gotten ready, Vespasian put on shipboard as many of his forces as he thought sufficient to conquer those that were upon the lake, and set sail after them. Now these which were driven into the lake could neither fly to the land, where all was in the enemies' hand, and in war against them; nor could they fight upon the level by sea. For their ships were small, and fitted only for piracy; they were too weak to fight with Vespasian's vessels: and the mariners that were in them were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans; who attacked them in great numbers. However, as they sailed round about the vessels, and sometimes as they came near them,

* See Chap. 9.

† This was designed as a pledge of his good will and lenity towards them. Giving of the hand was a common method among the Easterns, to signify their intention of favour. B.

‡ It may be worth our while to observe here, that near this lake of Gennesareth grapes and figs hang on the trees ten months of the year. We may observe also, that in Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechis. xviii. § 8, which was delivered not long before Easter, there were no fresh leaves of fig-trees, nor bunches of grapes, in Judea. So that when St. Mark says, xi. 13, that our Saviour, soon after the same time of the year, came and found leaves on a fig-tree near Jerusalem, but no figs, because the time of new figs ripening was not yet; he says very true. Nor were they, therefore, other than old leaves which our Saviour saw, and old figs, which he expected; and which, even with us, commonly hang on the trees all the winter long.

they threw stones at the Romans, when they were a good way off, or came closer and fought them. Yet did they receive the greatest harm themselves in both cases. As for the stones they threw at the Romans, they only made a sound one after another: for they threw them against such as were in their armour. While the Roman darts could reach the Jews themselves. And when they ventured to come near the Romans, they became sufferers, before they could do any harm to the other, and were drowned, they and their ships together. As for those that endeavoured to come to an actual fight, the Romans ran many of them through with their long poles. Sometimes the Romans leaped into their ships with swords in their hands, and slew them. But when some of them met the vessels, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships, and themselves who were taken in them. And for such as were drowning in the sea, if they raised their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts, or caught by the vessels. But if, in the desperate case they were in, they attempted to swim to their enemies, the Romans cut off their heads or their hands. And indeed they were destroyed after various manners, every where; till the rest, being put to flight, were forced to get upon the land, while the vessels encompassed them about on the sea. But as many of these were repulsed when they were getting ashore, they were killed by the darts upon the lake: and the Romans leaped out of their vessels, and destroyed a great many more upon the land. One might then see the lake all bloody, and full of dead bodies: for not one of them escaped. And a terrible smell, and a very sad sight, there was on the following days over that country. For as for the shores they were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies all swelled; and as the corpses were inflamed by the sun, and putrefied, they corrupted the air. Insomuch that the misery was not only the object of commiseration to the Jews, but to those that hated them, and had been the authors of that misery. This was the result of the sea fight. The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand five hundred.

After this fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Taricheæ, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants. For those foreigners appeared to have begun the war. So he deliberated with the other commanders, whether he ought to save those old inhabitants or not? And when those commanders alleged, that the dismission of them would be to his own disadvantage, because when they were once set at liberty, they would not be at rest, since they would be people destitute of proper habitations, and would be able to compel such as they fled to, to fight against the Romans; Vespasian acknowledged, that they did not deserve to be saved; and that if they had leave given them to retire, they would make use of it against those that gave them that leave. But still he considered with himself,* after what manner they should be slain. For if he had them slain there, he suspected the people of the country would thereby become his enemies. For it was not probable they would bear that so many that had been supplicants to him should be killed; and to offer violence to them, after he had given them assurances of their lives, was repugnant to his own feelings. However his friends were too hard for him; and pretended that nothing against Jews could be any impiety; and that he ought to prefer what was profitable before what was fit to be done, where both could not be made consistent. So he gave them an ambiguous liberty, to do as they advised; and permitted the prisoners to go along no other road than that which led to Tiberias. So they readily believed what they desired to be true, and went along securely, with their effects, the way which was allowed them; while the Romans seized upon all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it; and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium; and commanded them to kill the old men, together with the others that were useless, which were in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero, to dig through the isthmus; and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred: besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa. For as to those who belonged to his kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with them. However the king sold these also for slaves. But for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites, and Gaulanites, and of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greatest part of them were seditious persons, and fugitives: who were of such shameful characters, that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month Gorpicus, or Elul.†

* This is the most cruel and barbarous action that Vespasian ever did in this whole war: as he did it with great reluctance also. It was done both after public assurance given of sparing the prisoners' lives; and when all knew and confessed that these prisoners were no way guilty of any sedition against the Romans. Nor indeed did Titus now give his consent, so far as appears: nor ever act of himself so barbarously. Nay, soon after this, Titus grew quite weary of shedding blood, and of punishing the innocent with the guilty; and gave the people of Gischala leave to keep the Jewish sabbath, IV. 2, in the midst of their siege. Nor was Vespasian disposed to do what he did, till his officers persuaded him; and that from two principal topics: viz. that nothing could be unjust that was done against Jews: and that when both cannot be consistent, advantage must prevail over justice.

† A. D. 67.

BOOK IV.

Containing an Interval of about One Year.

FROM THE SIEGE OF GAMALA, TO THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM.

CHAP. I.

THE SIEGE AND TAKING OF GAMALA.

NOW all those Galileans who, after the taking of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, did, upon the conquest of Taricheæ, deliver themselves up to them again. And the Romans, received all the fortresses, and the cities; excepting Gischala, and those that had seized upon mount Tabor. Gamala also, which is a city over against Taricheæ, but on the other side of the lake, conspired with them. This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Sogana, and Seleucia. And these were both parts of Gaulanitis. For Sogana was a part of that called the upper Gaulanitis; as was Gamala of the lower. While Seleucia was situate at the lake Semechonitis, which lake is thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length. Its marshes reach as far as the place Daphne: which in other respects is a delicious place; and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called little Jordan, under the temple of the *golden calf, where it is sent into great Jordan. Now Agrippa had united Sogana and Seleucia by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans. Yet did not Gamala accede to them; but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Jotapata. For it was situate upon a rough ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of neck in the middle. Where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and declines as much downward before, as behind. Insomuch that it is like a †camel in figure: from whence it is so named, although the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately. Both on the side and the face of these are abrupt parts, divided from the rest, and ending in deep vallies. Yet are the parts behind, where they are joined to the mountain, somewhat easier of ascent than the other. But then the people belonging to the place have cut an oblique ditch there, and made that hard to be ascended also. On its acclivity, which is straight, houses are built, and those very thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so strangely, that it looks as if it would fall down upon itself; so sharp is it at the top. It is exposed to the south: and its southern mount, which reaches to an immense height, was in the nature of a citadel to the city: and above that was a precipice, not walled about, but extending itself to an immense depth. There was also a spring of water within the wall, at the utmost limits of the city.

As this city was naturally hard to be taken, so had Josephus, by building a wall about it, made it still stronger; as also by ditches and mines under-ground. The people that were in it were made more bold by the nature of the place, than the people of Jotapata had been: but it had much fewer fighting men in it. And they had such a confidence in the situation of the place, that they thought the enemy could not be too many for them. For the city had been filled with those that had fled to it for safety, on account of its strength. On which account they had been able to resist those whom Agrippa sent to besiege it, for seven months together.

But Vespasian removed from Emmaus, where he had last pitched his camp, before the city Tiberias: (now Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered a warm bath; for therein is a spring of warm water, useful for healing:) and came to Gamala. Yet was its situation such that he was not able to encompass it all round with soldiers to watch it. But where the places were practicable, he set men to watch it, and seized upon that mountain which was over it. And as the legions, according to their usual custom, were fortifying their camp upon that mountain, he began to cast up banks at the bottom, at the part towards the east, where the highest tower of the whole city was, and where the fifteenth legion pitched their camp; while the fifth legion did duty over against the midst of the city, and whilst the tenth legion filled up the ditches and the vallies. Now at this time it was, that as king Agrippa was come nigh the walls, and was endeavouring to speak to those that were on the walls, about a surrender, he was hit with a

* Here we have the exact situation of one of Jeroboam's golden calves, at the exit of little Jordan, into great Jordan, near a place called Daphne, but of old Dan. See the note on Antiq. VIII. 3. 2. But Reland suspects, that even here we should read Dan, instead of Daphne. There being no where else any mention of a place called Daphne hereabouts.

† Gamal is Hebrew for a camel.

stone on his right elbow, by one of the slingers. He was then immediately surrounded by his own men. But the Romans were excited to set about the siege, by their indignation on the king's account, and by their fear on their own account; as concluding that those men would omit no kinds of barbarity against foreigners and enemies: who were so enraged against one of their own nation, and one that advised them to nothing but what was for their own advantage.

Now when the banks were finished, which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude of hands, and by their being accustomed to such work, they brought the machines. But Chares and Joseph, who were the most potent men of the city, set their armed men in order, though already in a fright, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of other necessaries. However, their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the wall. And for a while, indeed, they drove away those that were bringing the machines. But when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city. Then did the Romans bring battering rams to three several places, and made the wall shake and fall. They then poured in over the parts of the wall that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of trumpets, and noise of armour, and with a shout of the soldiers, and brake in by force upon those that were in the city. But these men fell upon the Romans for some time, at their first entrance, and prevented their going any farther; and with great courage beat them back. And the Romans were so overpowed by the greater multitude of the people, who beat them on every side, that they were obliged to run into the upper parts of the city. Whereupon the people turned about, and fell upon their enemies, who had attacked them, and thrust them down to the lower parts: and, as they were distressed by the narrowness and difficulty of the place, slew them. And as these Romans could neither beat those back that were above them, nor escape the force of their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to flee into their enemies' houses, which were low. But these houses, being thus full of soldiers, whose weight they could not bear, fell down suddenly. And when one house fell, it shook down a great many of those that were under it: as did those do to such as were under them. By this means a vast number of the Romans perished. For they were so terribly distressed, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they were compelled to leap upon the tops of them. So that a great many were crushed to powder by these ruins, and a great many of those that got from them lost some of their limbs. But still a greater number were suffocated by the dust that arose from these ruins. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God: and without regarding what damage they suffered themselves, they pressed forward, and thrust the enemy upon the tops of their houses; and when they stumbled in the sharp and narrow streets, and were perpetually falling down, they threw their stones or darts at them, and slew them. Now the very ruins afforded them stones enough. And for iron weapons the dead men of the enemy's side afforded them what they wanted. For drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them, to despatch such as were only half dead. Nay, there were a great number who, upon their falling down from the tops of the houses, stabbed themselves, and died after that manner. Nor, indeed, was it easy for those that were beaten back to flee away. For they were so unacquainted with the ways, and the dust was so thick, that they wandered about without knowing one another, and fell down dead among the crowd.

Those, therefore, that were able to find the ways out of the city, retired. But now Vespasian always stayed among those that were hard set, for he was deeply affected with seeing the ruins of the city falling upon his army, and forgot to take care of his own preservation. He went up gradually towards the highest parts of the city before he was aware, and was left in the midst of dangers: having only a very few with him. For even his son Titus was not with him at that time, having been sent into Syria, to *Mucianus. However, he thought it not safe to flee: nor did he esteem it a fit thing for him to do. But calling to mind the actions he had done from his youth, and recollecting his courage; as if he had been excited by a divine fury he covered himself and those that were with him with their shields, and formed a testudo over both their bodies, and their armour; and bore up against the attacks of the enemy, who came running down from the top of the city: and without shewing any dread at the multitude of the men, or of their darts, he endured all, until the enemy took notice of that divine courage that was in him, and remitted of their attacks. And when they pressed less zealously upon him, he retired; though without turning his back to them, till he was gotten out of the walls of the city. Now a great number of the Romans fell in this battle: among whom was Ebutius, the decurion; a man who appeared not only in this engagement, wherein he fell, but every where, and in former engagements, to be of the truest courage: and one that had done very great mischief to the Jews. But there was a centurion, whose name was Gallus, who during this disorder, being encompassed about, he and ten other soldiers, privately crept into the house of a certain person; where he heard them talking at supper, what the people intended to do against the Romans, or about themselves. (For both the man himself, and those with him, were Syrians.) So he got up in the night time, and cut all their throats, and escaped, together with his soldiers, to the Romans.

Now Vespasian comforted his army, which was much dejected by reflecting on their ill success; and because they had never before fallen into such a calamity: and besides this, because they were greatly ashamed that they had left their general alone in great dangers. As to what concerned himself, he avoided to say any thing, that he might by no means seem to complain of it. But he said, "We ought to bear manfully what usually falls out in war; and this by considering what the nature of war is; and how it can never be that we must conquer without bloodshed on our own side. For there stands about us that fortune, which is

* Tacitus very often mentions this Mucianus, as president of Syria, and a great friend of Vespasian's, Hist. I. pages 355, 397, 428, &c. 445, 466, 472, &c. 487, 505, 522, 527. And Spanheim assures us, that there are coins of his extant at this day. He is elsewhere spoken of by Josephus several times, under the same capacities, IV. 9, 10, and 11. Antiquities, XII. 3.

of its own nature mutable. You have killed many ten thousands of the Jews; and, on the other hand, you have now paid your small share of reckoning to fate. And as it is the part of weak people to be too much puffed up with good success; so it is the part of cowards to be too much affrighted at that which is ill. For the change from one to the other is sudden on both sides. And he is the best warrior, who is of a sober mind under misfortunes; that he may continue in that temper, and cheerfully recover what had been lost formerly. And as for what has now happened it was neither owing to our effeminacy, nor to the valour of the Jews; but the difficulty of the place was the occasion of their advantage, and of our disappointment. Upon reflecting on which matter one might blame your zeal as quite ungovernable. For when the enemy had retired to their highest fastnesses, you ought to have restrained yourselves; and not, by presenting yourselves at the top of the city, to be exposed to dangers. But upon your having obtained the lower parts of the city, you ought to have provoked those that had retired thither to a safe and settled battle: whereas in rushing so hastily upon victory, you took no care of your safety. But this incautiousness in war, and this madness of zeal, is not a Roman maxim: while we perform all that we attempt by skill and good order. That procedure is the part of barbarians, and is what the Jews chiefly support themselves by. We ought, therefore, to return to our own virtue; and to be rather angry, than any longer dejected, at this unlucky misfortune. And let every one seek for his own consolation from his own hand. For by this means he will avenge those that have been destroyed, and punish those that have killed them. For myself, I will endeavour, as I have now done, to go first before you against your enemies, in every engagement, and to be the last that retires from it."

So Vespasian encouraged his army by this speech. But for the people of Gamala, it happened that they took courage for a little while, upon such great and unaccountable success as they had had. But when they considered with themselves, that they had now no hopes of any terms of accommodation: and reflecting that they could not get away; and that their provisions began already to be short, they were exceedingly cast down, and their courage failed them. Yet did they not neglect what might be for their preservation, so far as they were able: but the most courageous among them guarded those parts of the wall that were beaten down: while the more infirm did the same to the rest of the wall that still remained round their city. And as the Romans raised their banks, and attempted to get into the city a second time, a great many of them fled out of the city through impracticable vallies, where no guards were placed: as also through subterraneous caverns. While those that were afraid of being caught, and for that reason staid in the city, perished for want of food. For what food they had was brought together from all quarters, and reserved for the fighting men.

And these were the hard circumstances the people of Gamala were in. But now Vespasian went about another work during this siege; and that was to subdue those that had seized upon mount Tabor: a place that lies in the middle between the great plain and Scythopolis; whose top is elevated as high as *thirty furlongs, and is hardly to be ascended on its north side. Its top is a plain of twenty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall. Now Josephus erected this wall in forty days' time; and furnished it with other materials, and with water from below. For the inhabitants only made use of rain water. As, therefore, there was a great multitude of people gotten together upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus, with six hundred horsemen, thither. Now as it was impossible for him to ascend the mountain, he invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security; and of his intercession for them. Accordingly they came down, but with a treacherous design: as well as he had the like treacherous design upon them on the other side. For Placidus spoke mildly to them; as aiming to take them, when he got them into the plain. They also came down, as complying with his proposals: but it was in order to fall upon him when he was not aware of it. However, Placidus's stratagem was too hard for theirs. For when the Jews began to fight, he pretended to run away: and when they were in pursuit of the Romans, he enticed them a great way along the plain, and then made his horsemen turn back. Whereupon he slew a great number of them, and cut off the retreat of the rest of the multitude, and hindered their return. So they left Tabor and fled to Jerusalem. While the people of the country came to terms with him. For their water failed them, and so they delivered up the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

But of the people of Gamala, those that were of the bolder sort fled away, and hid themselves: while the more infirm perished by famine. But the men of war sustained the siege till the two and twentieth day of the month Hyperbereteus, or Tisri. When three soldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the morning watch, got under a high tower that was near them, and undermined it, without making any noise. Now when they either came to it, which was in the night time, nor when they were under it, did those that guarded it perceive them. These soldiers then upon their coming avoided making a noise. And when they had rolled away five of its strongest stones, they went away hastily: whereupon the tower fell down of a sudden, with a very great noise, and its guard fell headlong with it. So that those that kept guard at other places were under such disturbance that they ran away. The Romans also slew many

* These numbers in Josephus of 30 furlongs' ascent to the top of mount Tabor, whether we estimate it by winding and gradual, or by the perpendicular altitude; and of 26 furlongs' circumference upon the top: as also the 15 furlongs for this ascent in Polybius: with Germinius's perpendicular altitude of almost 14 furlongs, here noted by Dr. Hudson, do none of them agree with the authentic testimony of Mr. Maundrell, an eye witness, page 112, who says, he was not an hour in getting up to the top of this mount Tabor: and that the area of the top is an oval of about two furlongs in length, and one in breadth. So I rather suppose Josephus wrote three furlongs for the ascent or altitude, instead of thirty; and six furlongs for the circumference at the top, instead of 26. Since a mountain of only three furlongs perpendicular altitude may easily require an hour's ascent: and the circumference of an oval of the foregoing quantity is near six furlongs. Nor certainly could such a vast circumference as twenty-six furlongs, or 3¼ miles, at that height, be encompassed with a wall, including a trench and other fortifications, perhaps those still remaining, ibid. in the small in terval of 40 days, as Josephus here says they were by himself.

of those that ventured to oppose them: among whom was Joseph, who was slain by a dart, as he was running away over that part of the wall that was broken down. But as those that were in the city were greatly affrighted at the noise, they ran hither and thither; and a great consternation fell upon them, as though all the enemy had fallen in at once upon them. Then it was that Chares, who was ill, and under the physician's hands, gave up the ghost. The fear he was in greatly contributing to make his distemper fatal to him. But the Romans so well remembered their former ill success, that they did not enter the city till the three and twentieth day of the aforementioned month.

At that time Titus, who was now returned, out of the indignation he had at the destructions the Romans had undergone while he was absent, took two hundred chosen horsemen, and some footmen with them, and entered, without noise, into the city. Now as the watch perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and betook themselves to their arms. And as his entrance was presently known to those that were in the city, some of them caught hold of their children, and their wives, and drew them after them, and fled away to the citadel, with lamentations and cries: while others went to meet Titus, and were killed perpetually. But so many of them as were hindered from running up to the citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, fell among the Roman guards: while the groans of those that were killed were prodigious every where; and blood ran down over all the lower parts of the city, from the upper. But then Vespasian himself came to his assistance against those that had fled to the citadel; and brought his whole army with him. Now this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices. Whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to others, by their darts, and the large stones which they rolled down upon them.* While they were themselves so high, that the enemies' darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a divine storm against them, as was instrumental to their destruction. This carried the Roman darts upon them; and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them. Nor could the Jews indeed stand upon their precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon. Nor could they see those that were ascending up to them. So the Romans got up, and surrounded them: and some they slew, before they could defend themselves; and others as they were delivering up themselves. And the remembrance of those that were slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now. A great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children, their wives, and themselves also, down the precipices, into the valley beneath: which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth. But it happened that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant, as was the madness of those that were now taken: for the Romans slew but four thousand; whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand. Nor did any one escape; except two women, who were the daughters of Philip; and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called Jacimus; who had been general of king Agrippa's army. And these did, therefore, escape, because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans, when the city was taken. For otherwise they spared not so much as the infants; many of whom were flung down by them from the citadel.

And thus was Gamala taken, on the three and twentieth day of the month Hyperbereteus, or Tisri: whereas the city had first revolted on the four and twentieth day of the month Gorpicus, or Elul.

CHAP. II.

THE SURRENDER OF GISCHALA; WHILE JOHN FLEES AWAY FROM IT TO JERUSALEM.

NOW no place of Galilee remained to be taken, but the small city of Gischala: whose multitude yet were desirous of peace. For they were generally husbandmen; and always applied themselves to cultivate the fruits of the earth. However, there were a great number that belonged to a band of robbers, that were already corrupted, and had crept in among them: and some of the governing part of the citizens were sick of the same distemper. It was John, the son of a certain man whose name was Levi, who drew them into this rebellion, and encouraged them in it. He was a cunning knave, and of a temper that could put on various shapes: very rash in expecting great things; and very sagacious in bringing about what he hoped for. It was known to every body that he was fond of war, in order to thrust himself into authority. And the seditious part of the people of Gischala were under his management. By whose means the populace, who seemed ready to send ambassadors, in order to a surrender, waited for the coming of the Romans in battle array. Vespasian sent against them Titus, with a thousand horsemen; but withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis; while he returned to Cæsarea, with the two other legions; that he might allow them to refresh themselves after their long and hard campaign: thinking withal that the plenty which was in those cities would improve their bodies and their spirits, against the difficulties they were to go through afterwards. For he saw there would be occasion for great pains about Jerusalem, which was not yet taken, because it was the royal city, and the principal city of the whole nation; and because those that had run away from the war in other places, got all together thither. It was also naturally strong; and the walls that were built around it made him not a little concerned about it. Moreover, he esteemed the men that were in it to be so courageous, that even without the consideration of the walls, it would be hard to subdue them. For which reason he took care of, and exercised his soldiers beforehand for, the work, as they do wrestlers, before they begin their undertaking.

* This very destructive mode of repelling an attacking foe was practised when circumstances were favourable to it. Hence it was usual for the soldiers to protect themselves under large and broad shields so closely brought into contact with each other as to screen them from danger, and enable them to prosecute the assault. A representation of this military stratagem may be seen in Potter's Archælogia Græca, Vol. I. B.

Now Titus, as he rode up to Gischala, found it would be easy for him to take the city upon the first onset. But knew withal, that if he took it by force, the multitude would be destroyed by the soldiers without mercy. (Now he was already satiated with the shedding of blood; and pitied the major part, who would then perish, without distinction, together with the guilty.) So he was rather desirous the city might be surrendered up to him upon terms. Accordingly, when he saw the wall full of those men that were of the corrupted party, he said to them, that he could not but wonder what it was they depended on; when they alone staid to fight the Romans, after every other city was taken by them. Especially when they had seen cities, much better fortified than theirs, overthrown by a single attack upon them. While as many as had entrusted themselves to the security of the Romans' right hands, which he now offered to them, without regarding their former insolence, enjoyed their own possessions in safety. For that while they had hopes of recovering their liberty, they might be pardoned. But that their continuance still in their opposition, when they saw that to be impossible, was inexcusable. For that, if they would not comply with such humane offers, and right hands for security, they should have experience of such a war as would spare nobody; and should soon be made sensible, that their wall would be but a trifle, when battered by the Roman machines. In depending on which they would demonstrate themselves to be the only Galileans, that were no better than arrogant slaves and captives.

Now none of the populace durst not only make a reply, but durst not so much as get upon the wall. For it was all taken up by the robbers: who were also the guard at the gates, in order to prevent any of the rest from going out, in order to propose terms of submission; and from receiving any of the horsemen into the city. But John returned Titus this answer: "That for himself he was content to hearken to his proposals; and that he would either persuade or force those that refused them. Yet he said, that Titus ought to have such regard to the Jewish law, as to grant them leave to celebrate that day, which was the seventh day of the week: on which it was unlawful not only to remove their arms, but even to treat of peace also. And that even the Romans were not ignorant, how the period of the seventh day was among them a cessation from all labours: and that he who should compel them to transgress the law respecting that day, would be equally guilty with those who were compelled to transgress it. And that this delay could be of no disadvantage to him. For why should any body think of doing any thing in the night, unless it were to flee away? which he might prevent by placing his camp round about them. And that they should think it a great point gained, if they might not be obliged to transgress the laws of their country. And that it would be a right thing for him, who designed to grant them peace, without their expectation of such a favour, to preserve the laws of those they saved inviolable." Thus did this man put a trick upon Titus: not so much out of regard to the seventh day, as to his own preservation. For he was afraid lest he should be quite deserted, if the city should be taken; and had his hopes of life in that night, and in his flight therein. Now this was the work of God; who, therefore, preserved this John, that he might bring on the destruction of Jerusalem. As also it was his work that Titus was prevailed with by this pretence for a delay; and that he pitched his camp farther off the city, at Cydessa. This Cydessa was a strong Mediterranean village of the Tyrians; which always hated, and made war against, the Jews. It had also a great number of inhabitants, and was well fortified: which made it a proper place for such as were enemies to the Jewish nation.

Now in the night time,* when John saw that there was no Roman guard about the city, he seized the opportunity directly: and taking with him not only the armed men that were about him, but a considerable number of those that had little to do, together with their families, he fled to Jerusalem. And, indeed, though the man was making haste to get away, and was tormented with fears of being a captive, or of losing his life, yet did he prevail with himself to take out of the city along with him a multitude of women and children, as far as twenty furlongs: but there he left them, as he proceeded farther upon his journey: where those that were left behind made sad lamentations. For the farther every one of them was come from his own people, the nearer they thought themselves to be to their enemies. They also affrighted themselves with this thought, that those who would carry them into captivity were just at hand; and still turned themselves back at the mere noise they made themselves in their hasty flight: as if those from whom they fled were just upon them. Many also missed their ways: and the earnestness of such as aimed to outgo the rest, threw down many of them. And, indeed, there was a miserable destruction made of the women and children. While some of them took the courage to call their husbands and kinsmen back; and to beseech them, with the bitterest lamentations, to stay for them. But John's exhortation, who cried out to them to save themselves, and flee away, prevailed. He said also, that if the Romans should seize upon those whom they left behind, they would be revenged on them for it. So this multitude that ran thus away was dispersed abroad; according as each of them was able to run, one faster or slower than another.

Now on the next day Titus came to the wall, to make the agreement. Whereupon the people opened their gates, and came out to meet him, with their children and wives; and made acclamations of joy to him, as to one that had been their benefactor, and had delivered the city out of custody. They also informed him of John's flight: and besought him to spare them, and to come in, and bring the rest of those that were for innovations to punishment. But Titus, not so much regarding the supplications of the people, sent part of his horsemen to pursue after John. But they could not overtake him, for he was gotten to Jerusalem before: they also slew six thousand of the women and children who went out with him: but returned back and brought with them almost three thousand. However, Titus

* As darkness is so favourable to those who resort to artifice when violence will not prevail, the utmost vigilance should be used to prevent any advantage being taken of it. The want of this care has often proved fatal. B.

was greatly displeased that he had not been able to bring this John, who had deluded him, to punishment. Yet he had captives enough, as well as the corrupted part of the city, to satisfy his anger, when it missed of John. So he entered the city in the midst of acclamations of joy. And when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall, as of a city taken in war, he repressed those that had disturbed the city rather by threatenings, than by executions. For he thought that many would accuse innocent persons, out of their own private animosities and quarrels, if he should attempt to distinguish those that were worthy of punishment from the rest: and that it was better to let a guilty person alone under his fears, than to destroy with him any one that did not deserve it. For that probably such a one might be taught prudence, by the fear of the punishment he had deserved; and have a shame upon him for his former offences, when he had been forgiven. But that the punishment of such as had been once put to death could never be retrieved. However, he placed a garrison in the city, for its security. By which means he should restrain those that were for innovations; and should leave those that were peaceably disposed in greater security. And thus was all Galilee taken; but this not till after it had cost the Romans much pains before it could be taken by them.

CHAP. III.

CONCERNING JOHN OF GISCHALA; THE ZEALOTS, AND THE HIGH-PRIEST ANANUS: ALSO OF THE SEDITIONS RAISED BY THE JEWS IN JERUSALEM.

UPON John's entry into Jerusalem, the whole body of the people were in an uproar: and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives that were come to them; and inquired what miseries had happened abroad: when their breath was so short, and hot, and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in. Yet did they talk big under their misfortunes, and pretended to say, that they had not fled away from the Romans, but came thither in order to fight them with less hazard. For that it would be an unreasonable and a fruitless thing to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala, and such weak cities: whereas they ought to lay up their weapons, and their zeal, and reserve them for their metropolis. But when they related to them the taking Gischala, and their decent departue, as they pretended, from that place, many of the people understood it to be no better than a flight. And especially when the people were told of those that were made captives, they were in great confusion, and guessed those things to be plain indications that they should be taken also. But for John, he was very little concerned for those whom he had left behind, but went about among the people, and persuaded them to go to war, by the hopes he gave them. He affirmed that the affairs of the Romans were in a weak condition; and extolled his own power. He also jested upon the ignorance of the unskilful; as if those Romans, although they should take to themselves wings, could never fly over the walls of Jerusalem, who found such great difficulties in taking the villages of Galilee, and had broken their engines of war against their walls.

These harangues of John corrupted a great part of the young men, and puffed them up for the war. But as to the more prudent part, and those in years, there was not a man of them but foresaw what was coming, and made lamentation on that account, as if the city were already undone. And in this confusion were the people. But then it must be observed, that the multitude that came out of the country, were at discord before the Jerusalem sedition began. For Titus went from Gischala to Cæsarea, and Vespasian from Cæsarea to Jamnia, and Azotus, and took them both: and when he had put garrisons into them, he came back with a great number of the people, who were come over to him, upon his giving them his right hand for their preservation. There were besides disorders and civil wars in every city; and all those that were at quiet from the Romans turned their hands one against another. There was also a bitter contest between those that were fond of war, and those that were desirous of peace. At the first this quarrelsome temper caught hold of private families, who would not agree among themselves. After which those people that were the dearest to one another, brake through all restraints with regard to each other; and every one associated with those of his own opinion, and began already to stand in opposition one to another. So that seditions arose every where; while those that were for innovations, and were desirous of war, by their youth and boldness were too hard for the aged and the prudent men. And in the first place all the people betook themselves to rapine: after which they got togeter in bodies, in order to rob the people of the country. Insomuch that for barbarity and iniquity, those of the same nation did no way differ from the Romans. Nay, it seemed to be a much lighter thing to be ruined by the Romans, than by themselves.

Now the Roman garrisons, which guarded the cities, partly out of their uneasiness to take such trouble upon them; and partly out of the hatred they bare to the Jewish nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable. Till the captains of these troops of robbers, being satiated with rapine in the country, got all together, from all parts, and became a band of wickedness, and all together crept into Jerusalem, which was now become a city without a governor; and, as the ancient custom was, received without distinction all that belonged to their nation. And these they then received, because all men supposed that those who came so fast into the city, came out of kindness, and for their assistance. Although these very men, besides the seditions they raised, were otherwise the direct cause of the city's destruction also. For as they were an unprofitable and a useless multitude, they spent those provisions beforehand which might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men. Moreover, besides the bringing on of the war, they were the occasions of sedition and famine therein.

There were besides these, other robbers that came out of the country, and came into the city, and joining to them those that were worse that themselves, omitted no kind of barbarity. For they did not measure their courage by their rapines and plunderings only, but proceeded as far as murdering men: and this not in the night time, or privately, or

with regard to ordinary men: but did it openly, in the day time; and began with the most eminent persons in the city. For the first man they meddled with was *Antipas, one of royal lineage, and the most potent man in the whole city; insomuch that the public treasures were committed to his care. Him they took and confined: as they did in the next place to Levias, a person of great note, with Sophas the son of Raguel; both of whom were of royal lineage also. And besides these they did the same to the principal men of the country. This caused a terrible consternation among the people; and every one contented himself with taking care of his own safety, as they would do if the city had been taken in war.

But these were not satisfied with the bonds into which they had put the aforementioned persons. Nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long: since they were men very powerful, and had numerous families that were able to avenge them. Nay, they thought the very people would perhaps be so moved at these unjust proceedings, as to rise in a body against them. It was, therefore, resolved to have them slain. Accordingly they sent one John, who was the most sanguinary of them all, to do that execution. This man was also called the son of †Dorcas, in the language of our country. Ten more men went along with him into the prison, with their swords drawn; and so they cut the throats of those that were in custody there. The grand pretence these men made for so flagrant an enormity was, that these men had had conferences with the Romans, for a surrender of Jerusalem to them: and so they said they had slain only such as were traitors to their common liberty. Upon the whole, they grew the more insolent upon this bold prank of theirs, as though they had been the benefactors and saviours of the city.

Now the people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, and these robbers to that degree of madness, that these last took upon them to appoint ‡high-priests. So when they had disannulled the succession, according to those families out of which the high-priests used to be made, they ordained certain unknown and ignoble persons for that office: that they might have their assistance in their wicked undertakings. For such as obtained this highest of all honours, without any desert, were forced to comply with those that bestowed it on them. They also set the principal men at variance one with another, by several sorts of contrivances and tricks: and gained the opportunity of doing what they pleased, by the mutual quarrels of those who might have obstructed their measures. Till at length, when they were satiated with the unjust actions they had done towards men, they transferred their contumelious behaviour to God himself, and came into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

Now the multitude were going to rise against them already. For Ananus, the most ancient of the high-priests, persuaded them to it. He was a very prudent man, and had perhaps saved the city if he could but have escaped the hands of those that plotted against him. Those men made the temple of God a strong hold for them, and a place whither they might resort, in order to avoid the troubles they feared from the people: the sanctuary was now become a refuge, and a scene of tyranny. They also mixed jesting among the miseries they introduced, which was more intolerable than what they did: for in order to try what surprise the people would be under, and how far their own power extended, they undertook to dispose of the high-priesthood by casting lots for it: whereas, as we have said already, it was to descend by succession in a family. The pretence they made for this strange attempt was an ancient practice, while they said that §of old it was determined by lot. But in truth it was no better than a dissolution of an undeniable law, and a cunning contrivance to seize upon the government, derived from those that presumed to appoint governors as they themselves pleased.

Hereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is called ‖Eniachim, and cast lots which of it should be the high-priest. By fortune the lot so fell as to demonstrate their iniquity after the plainest manner; for it fell upon one whose name was Phannias, the son of Samuel, of the village Aphtha. He was a man not only unworthy of the high-priesthood, but that did not well know what the high-priesthood was: such a mere rustic was he. Yet did they bring this man, without his own consent, out of the country, as if they were acting a play upon the stage, and adorned him with a counterfeit face. They also put upon him the sacred garments: and upon every occasion instructed him what he was to do. This horrid piece of wickedness was sport and pastime with them. But occasioned the other priests, who, at a distance, saw their law made a jest of, to shed tears; and sorely to lament the dissolution of such a sacred dignity.

Now the people could no longer bear the insolence of this procedure; but did all together run zealously, in order to overthrow that tyranny. And, indeed, they were Gorion the son of Josephus, and Symeon¶ the son of Gamaliel, who encouraged them, by going up and down when they

* See the name, Apoc. ii. 3.

† This name Dorcas in Greek, was Tabitha in Hebrew or Syriac, as Acts ix. 36. Accordingly some of the manuscripts set it down here Tabetha, or Tabeta. Nor can the context in Josephus be made out but by supposing the reading to have been this, the son of Tabitha: which in the language of our country denotes Dorcas, or a doe.

‡ Here we may discover the utter disgrace and ruin of the high-priesthood among the Jews. When undeserving, ignoble, and vile persons were advanced to the holy office by the seditious. Which sort of high-priests, as Josephus well remarks here, were thereupon obliged to comply with, and assist those that advanced them in, their impious practices. The names of these high-priests, or rather ridiculous and profane persons, were Jesus the son of Damneus; Jesus the son of Gamaliel; Matthias the son of Theophilus; and that prodigious ignoramus Phannias, the son of Samuel. All which we shall meet with in Josephus's future history of this war. Nor do we meet with any other so much as pretended high-priest after Phannias, till Jerusalem was taken and destroyed.

§ Numbers xvii.

‖ This tribe or course of the high-priests or priests here called Eniakim, seems to the learned Mr. Lowth, one well versed in Josephus, to be that 1 Chron xxiv. 12, the Course of Jakim: where some copies have the Course of Eliakim. And I think this to be by no means an improbable conjecture.

¶ This Symeon, the son of Gamaliel, is mentioned as the president of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and one that perished in the destruction of Jerusalem, by the Jewish Rabbins; as Reland observes on this place. He also tells us, that those Rabbins mention one Jesus, the son of Gamala, as once a high-priest: but this long before the destruction of Jerusalem. So that if he were the same person with this Jesus the son of Gamala, in Josephus, he must have lived to be very old, or they have been very bad chronologers.

were assembled together in crowds, and as they saw them alone, to bear no longer; but to inflict punishment upon these pests and plagues of their freedom: and to purge the temple of these base polluters. The best esteemed also of the high-priests, Jesus the son of Gamalas, and Ananus the son of Ananus, when they were at their assemblies, bitterly reproached the people for their sloth, and excited them against the zealots. For that was the name they went by; as if they were zealous in good undertakings; and were not rather zealous in the worst actions, and extravagant in them beyond the example of others.

Now, when the multitude were gotten together to an assembly, and every one was in indignation at these men's seizing upon the sanctuary; at their rapine and murders; but had not yet begun their attacks upon them: (the reason of which was, that they imagined it to be a difficult thing to suppress these zealots; as, indeed, the case was:) Ananus stood in the midst of them; and casting his eyes frequently at the temple, and having a flood of tears in his eyes, he said, "Certainly it had been good for me to die before I had seen the house of God full of so many abominations; or these sacred places, that ought not to be trodden upon at random, filled with the feet of these blood-shedding villains. Yet do I, who am clothed with the vestments of the high-priesthood, and am called by that most venerable name of high-priest, still live, and am but too fond of living; and cannot endure to undergo a death, which would be the glory of my old age. And if I were the only person concerned, and as it were in a desert, I would give up my life, and that alone for God's sake. For to what purpose is it to live among a people insensible of their calamities, and where there is no notion remaining of any remedy for the miseries that are upon them? For when you are seized upon you bear it: and when you are beaten you are silent; and when people are murdered nobody dares so much as to send out a groan openly. O bitter tyranny that we are under! But why do I complain of the tyrants? Was it not you, and your sufferance of them, that have nourished them? Was it not you that overlooked those that first of all got together, for there were then but a few; and by your silence made them grow to be many? And by conniving at them when they took arms, in effect armed them against yourselves? You ought to have then prevented their first attempts, when they began reproaching your relations. But by neglecting that care in time, you have encouraged these wretches to plunder men. When houses were pillaged, nobody said a word: which was the occasion why they carried off the owners of those houses; and when they were drawn through the midst of the city nobody came to their assistance. They then proceeded to put those whom you had betrayed into their hands into bonds. I do not say how many, and of what characters those men were whom they thus served: but certainly they were such as were accused by none, and condemned by none. And since nobody succoured them when they were put into bonds, the consequence was, that you saw the same persons slain. We have seen this also; so that still the best of the herd of brute animals, as it were, have been led to be sacrificed, when yet nobody said one word, or moved his right hand for their preservation. Will you bear, therefore? Will you bear to see your sanctuary trampled on? And will you lay steps for these profane wretches, upon which they may mount to higher degrees of insolence? Will not you pluck them down from their exaltation? For even by this time they had proceeded to higher enormities, if they had not been able to overthrow any thing greater than the sanctuary. They have seized upon the strongest place of the whole city; you may call it the temple if you please; though it be like a citadel or fortress. Now while you have tyranny in so great a degree walled in, and see your enemies over your heads, to what purpose is it to take counsel? And what have you to support your minds withal? Perhaps you wait for the Romans, that they may protect our holy places. Are our matters then brought to that pass? And are we come to that degree of misery, that our enemies themselves are expected to pity us? O wretched creatures! Will not you rise up, and turn upon those that strike you? Which you may observe in wild beasts themselves, that they will avenge themselves on those that strike them. Will not you call to mind every one of you the calamities you yourselves have suffered? Nor lay before your eyes what afflictions you yourselves have undergone? And will not such things incite your souls to revenge? Is, therefore, that most honourable and most natural of our passions, utterly lost, I mean, the desire of liberty? Truly we are in love with slavery, and in love with those that lord it over us: as if we had received that principle of subjection from our ancestors. Yet did they undergo many and great wars for the sake of liberty. Nor were they so far overcome by the power of the Egyptians, or the Medes, but that still they did what they thought fit, notwithstanding their commands to the contrary. And what occasion is there now for a war with the Romans? (I meddle not with determining whether it be an advantageous and profitable war or not:) What pretence is there for it? Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Besides, shall we not bear the lords of the habitable earth to be lords over us, and yet bear tyrants of our own country? Although I must say that submission to foreigners may be borne, because fortune hath already doomed us to it: while submission to wicked people of our own nation is too unmanly, and brought upon us by our own consent. However, since I have had occasion to mention the Romans, I will not conceal a thing that, as I am speaking, comes into my mind, and affects me considerably. It is this, that though we should be taken by them, (God forbid the event should be so,) yet can we undergo nothing that will be worse than what these men have already brought upon us. How then can we avoid shedding tears, when we see the Roman donations in our temple, while we withal see those of our own nation taking our spoils, and plundering our glorious metropolis, and slaughtering our men: from which enormities those Romans themselves would have abstained. To see those Romans never going beyond the bounds allotted to profane persons; nor venturing to break in upon any of our sacred customs; nay, having a horror on their minds when they view at a distance those sacred walls: while some that have been born in this very country, and brought up in our customs, and called Jews, do walk about in the midst of the holy places, at the very time when their hands are still reeking with the slaughter of their own country-

men. Besides, can any one be afraid of a war abroad, and that with such as will have comparatively much greater moderation than our own people have? For truly, if we may adopt our words to the things they represent, it is probable one may hereafter find the Romans to be the supporters of our laws; and those within ourselves the subverters of them. And now I am persuaded that every one of you here come satisfied, before I speak, that these overthrowers of our liberties deserve to be destroyed; and that nobody can so much as devise a punishment, that they have not merited by what they have done; and that you are all provoked against them by their wretched actions, whence you have suffered so greatly. But perhaps many of you are affrighted at the multitude of these zealots, and at their audaciousness; as well as at the advantage they have over us in their being higher in place than we are. For these circumstances, as they have been occasioned by your negligence, so will they become still greater by being still longer neglected. For their multitude is every day augmented, by every ill man's running away to those that are like to themselves. And their audacity is, therefore, inflamed, because they meet with no obstruction to their designs. And for their higher place, they will make use of it for engines also, if we give them time to do so. But be assured of this, that if we go up to fight them, they will be made tamer by their own consciences: and what advantages they have in the height of their situation, they will lose by the opposition of their reason. Perhaps also God himself, who hath been affronted by them, will make what they throw at us return against themselves: and these impious wretches will be killed by their own darts. Let us but make our appearance before them, and they will come to nothing. However, it is a right thing, if there should be any danger in the attempt, to die before these holy gates; and to spend our very lives, if not for the sake of our wives and children, yet for God's sake, and for the sake of his sanctuary. I will assist you both with my counsel, and with my hand. Nor shall any sagacity of ours be wanting for your support, nor shall you see that I will be sparing of my body neither."

By these motives Ananus encouraged the multitude to go against the zealots; although he knew how difficult it would be to disperse them: because of their multitude, their youth, and the courage of their souls; but chiefly because of their consciousness of what they had done: since they would not yield: as not so much as hoping for pardon at the last for their enormities. However, Ananus resolved to undergo whatever sufferings might come upon him, rather than overlook things now they were in such great confusion. So the multitude cried out to him, to lead them on against those whom he had described in his exhortation: and every one was most readily disposed to run any hazard on that account.

Now while Ananus was choosing out his men, and putting those that were proper for his purpose in array for fighting, the zealots got information of his undertaking: (for there were some who went to them, and told them all that the people were doing:) and were irritated at it, and leaping out of the temple in crowds, and by parties, spared none whom they met with. Hereupon Ananus suddenly assembled the populace: who were more numerous, indeed, than the zealots, but inferior to them in arms, because they had not been regularly put into array for fighting. But the alacrity that every body shewed supplied all other defects on both sides. The citizens taking up so great a passion as was stronger than arms, and deriving a degree of courage from the temple, more forcible than any multitude whatsoever. And, indeed, these citizens thought it was not possible for them to dwell in the city, unless they could cut off the robbers that were in it. The zealots also thought, that unless they prevailed, there would be no punishment so bad, but it would be inflicted on them. So their conflicts were conducted by their passions: and at the first they only cast stones at each other in the city, and before the temple, and threw their javelins at a distance. But when either of them were too hard for the other, they made use of their swords: and great slaughter was made on both sides, and a great number were wounded. As for the dead bodies of the people, their relations carried them out to their own houses. But when any of the zealots were wounded, he went up into the temple, and defiled that sacred floor with his blood. Insomuch that one may say, it was their blood alone that polluted our sanctuary. Now in these conflicts the robbers always sallied out of the temple, and were too hard for their enemies. But the populace grew very angry, and became more and more numerous, and reproached those that gave back, and those behind would not afford room to those that were going off, but forced them on again: till at length they made their whole body to turn against their adversaries, and the robbers could no longer oppose them, but were forced gradually to retire into the temple; when *Ananus and his party fell into it at the same time together with them. This horribly affrighted the robbers, because it deprived them of the †first court. So they fled into the ‡inner court immediately, and shut the gates. Now Ananus did not think fit to make any attack against the holy gates; although the other threw their stones and darts at them from above. He also deemed it unlawful to introduce the multitude into that court, before they were purified. He, therefore, chose out of them all by lot, six thousand armed men; and placed them as guards in the cloisters. So there was a succession of such guards one after another: and every one was forced to attend in his course. Although many of the chief of the city were dismissed by those that then took on them the government, upon their hiring some of the poorer sort, and sending them to keep the guard in their stead.

Now it was John, who ran away from Gischala, that was the occasion of all these being destroyed. He was a man

* It is worth noting here that this Ananus, the best of the Jews at this time, and the high-priest, who was so very uneasy at the profanation of the Jewish courts of the temple by the zealots, did not, however, scruple the profanation of the court of the Gentiles: as in our Saviour's days it was very much profaned by the Jews, and made a market-place; nay, a den of thieves, without scruple: Matt. xxi. 12, 13; Mark xi. 15, 16, 17. Accordingly Josephus himself, when he speaks of the two inner courts, calls them both holy places: but, so far as I remember, never gives that character of the court of the Gentiles. See v. 9.

† The court of the Gentiles.

‡ The court of Israel.

of great craft, and bore about him in his soul a strong passion after tyranny; and at a distance was the adviser in these actions. And, indeed, at this time he pretended to be of the people's opinion; and went all about with Ananus, when he consulted the great men every day; and in the night time also, when he went round the watch. But he divulged their secret to the zealots; and every thing that the people deliberated upon was by his means known to their enemies, even before it had been well agreed upon by themselves. And by way of contrivance how he might not be brought into suspicion, he cultivated the greatest friendship possible with Ananus, and with the chief of the people. Yet, did this over-doing of his turn against him. For he flattered them so extravagantly, that he was but the more suspected: and his constant attendance every where, even when he was not invited to be present, made him strongly suspected of betraying their secrets to the enemy: for they plainly perceived that they understood all the resolutions taken against them at their consultations. Nor was there any one whom they had so much reason to suspect of that discovery as this John. Yet was it not easy to get rid of him, so potent was he grown by his wicked practices. He was also supported by many of those eminent men, who were to be consulted upon all considerable affairs. It was, therefore, thought reasonable to oblige him to give them assurance of his good will upon oath. Accordingly John took such an oath readily, that he would be on the people's side, and would not betray any of their counsels or practices to their enemies; and would assist them in overthrowing those that attacked them: and that both by his hand, and his advice. So Ananus, and his party believed his oath; and did now receive him to their consultations without further suspicion. Nay, so far did they believe him, that they sent him as ambassador into the temple, to the zealots, with proposals of accommodation. For they were very desirous to avoid the pollution of the temple, as much as they possibly could: and that no one of their nation should be slain therein.

But now this John, as if his oath had been made to the zealots, and for confirmation of his good will to them, and not against them, went into the temple, and stood in the midst of them, and spake as follows: That he had run many hazards on their accounts, and in order to let them know of every thing that was secretly contrived against them by Ananus, and his party. But that both he and they should be cast into the most imminent danger, unless some providential assistance were afforded them. For that Ananus made no longer delay, but had prevailed with the people to send ambassadors to Vespasian, to invite him to come presently, and take the city. And that he had appointed a fast for the next day against them; that they might obtain admission into the temple on a religious account; or gain it by force, and fight with them there. That he did not see how long they could either endure a siege, or how they could fight against so many enemies. He added farther, that it was by the providence of God he was himself sent as an ambassador to them, for an accommodation. For that Ananus did, therefore, offer them such proposals, that he might come upon them when they were unarmed. That they ought to choose one of these two methods: either to intercede with those that guarded them, to save their lives; or to provide some foreign assistance for themselves. That if any fostered themselves with the hopes of pardon, in case they were subdued, they had forgotten what desperate things they had done; or could suppose, that as soon as the actors repented, those that had suffered by them must be presently reconciled to them: while those that have done injuries, though they pretend to repent of them, are frequently hated by the others for that sort of repentance. And that the sufferers, when they get the power into their hands, are usually still more severe upon the actors: that the friends and kindred of those that had been destroyed would always be laying plots against them; and that a large body of people were very angry on account of their gross breaches of their laws, and illegal judicatures. Insomuch, that although some part might commiserate them, those would be quite overborne by the majority.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE ATTEMPT OF THE IDUMEANS TO SUCCOUR THE ZEALOTS OF JERUSALEM; THEIR EXCLUSION OUT OF THE CITY; THE SPEECH OF JESUS, ONE OF THE HIGH-PRIESTS, AND SIMON'S REPLY.

BY this crafty speech John made the zealots afraid. Yet durst he not directly name what foreign assistance he meant; but in a covert way only hinted at the Idumeans. But now that he might particularly irritate the leaders of the zealots, he calumniated Ananus, that he was about a piece of barbarity, and did in a special manner threaten them. These leaders were Eleazar, the son of Simon; who seemed the most plausible man of them all, both in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of what he had determined upon; and Zacharias the son of Phalek. Both of whom derived their families from the priests. Now when these two men had heard, not only the common threatenings which belonged to them all, but those peculiarly levelled against themselves; and besides how Ananus and his party, in order to secure their own dominion, had invited the Romans to come to them: (for that also was part of John's falsehood:) they hesitated a great while what they should do, considering the shortness of the time by which they were straitened, because the people were prepared to attack them very soon; and because the suddenness of the plot laid against them had almost cut off all their hopes of getting any foreign assistance. For they might be under the height of all their afflictions, before any of their confederates could be informed of it. However, it was resolved to call in the Idumeans. So they wrote a short letter to this effect: that "Ananus had imposed on the people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans. That they themselves had revolted from the rest, and were in custody in the temple, on account of the preservation of their liberty. That there was but a small time left, wherein they might hope for their deliverance. And that unless they would come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Ananus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans." They also charged the messengers to tell many more circumstances

to the rulers of the Idumeans. Now there were two active men proposed for the carrying this message, and such as were able to speak, and to persuade them that things were in this posture: and, what was a qualification still more necessary than the former, they were very swift of foot. For they knew well enough these would immediately comply with their desires: as being ever a tumultuous and disorderly nation; always on the watch upon every motion; delighting in mutations; and upon being flattered ever so little, and petitioned, they soon take up their arms, and put themselves into motion, and hasten to a battle, as if it were to a feast. There was, indeed, occasion for quick despatch in the carrying of this message: in which point the messengers were no way defective. Both their names were Ananias: and they soon came to the rulers of the Idumeans.

Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the contents of the letter, and at what those that came with it farther told them. Whereupon they ran about the nation like madmen, and made proclamation that the people should come to war. So a multitude was suddenly gotten together, sooner indeed than the time appointed in the proclamation: and every body caught up their arms, in order to maintain the liberty of their metropolis. And twenty thousand of them were put into battle array, and came to Jerusalem, under four commanders; John, and Jacob the son of Sosas, Simon the son of Cathlas, and Phineas the son of Clusothus.

Now this exit of the messengers was not known either to Ananus, or to the guards. But the approach of the Idumeans was known to him. For as he knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did not he by any means think of fighting against them; but, before they came to blows, to try what persuasions would do. Accordingly Jesus, the eldest son of the high-priests next to Ananus, stood upon the tower that was over against them, and said thus: "Many troubles, indeed, and those of various kinds, have fallen upon this city. Yet in none of them I have so much wondered at her fortune as now: when you are come to assist wicked men; and this after a very extraordinary manner. For I see that you are come to support the vilest of men against us, and this with so great alacrity, as you could hardly put on the like, in case our metropolis had called you to her assistance against barbarians. And if I had perceived that your army was composed of men like unto those who invited them, I had not deemed your attempt so absurd. For nothing does so much cement the minds of men together, as the alliance there is between their manners. But now for these men who have invited you, if you were to examine them one by one, every one of them would be found to have deserved ten thousand deaths. For the very rascality and off-scouring of the whole country,* who have spent in debauchery their own substance, and by way of trial beforehand, have madly plundered the neighbouring villages and cities; in the upshot of all, have privately run together into this holy city. They are robbers, who by their prodigious wickedness have profaned this most sacred floor, and who are to be now seen intoxicating themselves in the sanctuary, and expending the spoils of those whom they have slaughtered upon their insatiable appetites. As for the multitude that is with you, one may see them so decently adorned in their armour, as it would become them to be, had their metropolis called them to her assistance against foreigners. What can a man call this procedure of yours, but the sport of fortune, when he sees a whole nation coming to protect a sink of wicked wretches? I have for a good while been in doubt what it could possibly be that should move you to do this so suddenly. Because certainly you would not take all your armour on behalf of robbers, and against a people of kin to you, without some very great cause for so doing. But we have had an item that the Romans are pretended; and that we are supposed to be going to betray this city to them. For some of your men have lately made a clamour about those matters, and have said they are come to set their metropolis free. Now we cannot but admire at these wretches, in their devising such a falsehood as this against us. For they knew there was no other way to irritate against us men that were naturally desirous of liberty; and on that account the best disposed to fight against foreign enemies; but by framing a tale as if we were going to betray that most desirable thing, liberty. But you ought to consider what sort of people they are that raise this calumny; and against what sort of people that calumny is raised; and to gather the truth of things, not by fictitious speeches, but out of the actions of both parties. For what occasion is there for us to sell ourselves to the Romans? while it was in our power not to have revolted from them at the first; or when we had once revolted, to have returned under their dominion again: and this while the neighbouring countries were not yet laid waste. Whereas it is not an easy thing to be reconciled to the Romans, if we were desirous of it, now they have subdued Galilee, and are thereby become proud and insolent. And to endeavour to please them at the time when they are so near us, would bring such a reproach upon us, as were worse than death. As for myself, indeed, I should have preferred peace with them before death: but now we have once made war upon, and fought with them, I prefer death, with reputation, before living in captivity under them. But farther, whether do they pretend that we, who are the rulers of the people, have sent thus privately to the Romans, or hath it been done by the common suffrages of the people? If it be ourselves only that have done it, let them name those friends of ours that have been sent, as our servants, to manage this treachery. Hath any one been caught as he went out on this errand; or seized upon as he came back? Are they in possession of our letters? How could we be concealed from such a vast number of our fellow-citizens, among whom we are conversant every hour, while what is done privately in the country is, it seems, known by the zealots; who are but few in number, and under confinement also; and are not able to come out of the temple into the city? Is this the first time that they are become sensible how they ought to be punished for their

* Of such characters armies are too often composed. This easily accounts for the excesses committed by them; for those who have before acted without any principle as it regarded themselves, cannot be expected to be influenced by it as it concerns others. B.

insolent actions? For while these men were free from the fear they are now under, there was no suspicion raised that any of us were traitors. But if they lay this charge against the people, this must have been done at a public consultation, and not one of the people must have dissented from the rest of the assembly. In which case the public fame of this matter would have come to you sooner than any particular indication. But how could that be? Must there not then have been ambassadors sent to confirm the agreements? And let them tell us who this ambassador was, that was ordained for that purpose. But this is no other than a pretence of such men as are loth to die, and are labouring to escape those punishments that hang over them. For if fate had determined that this city was to be betrayed into its enemies' hands, no other than these men that accuse us falsely could have the impudence to do it. There being no wickedness wanting to complete their impudent practices, but this only, that they become traitors. And now you, Idumeans, are come hither already with your arms, it is your duty, in the first place, to be assisting to your metropolis, and to join with us in cutting off those tyrants that have infringed the rules of our regular tribunals; that have trampled upon our laws, and made their swords the arbitrators of right and wrong. For they have seized upon men of great eminence, and under no accusation, as they stood in the midst of the market-place, and tortured them with putting them into bonds; and without bearing to hear what they had to say, or what supplications they made, they destroyed them. You may, if you please, come into the city, though not in the way of war, and take a view of the vestiges still remaining of what I now say; and may see the houses that have been depopulated by their rapacious hands; with those wives and families that are in mourning for their slaughtered relations. As also you may hear their groans and lamentations all the city over: for there is nobody but hath tasted of the incursions of these profane wretches. Who have proceeded to that degree of madness, as not only to have transferred their impudent robberies out of the country, and the remote cities, into this city, the very face and head of the whole nation; but out of the city into the temple also. For that is now made their receptacle, and refuge, and the fountain head whence their preparations are made against us. And this place, which is adored by the habitable world, and honoured by such as only know it by report, as far as the ends of the earth, is trampled upon by these wild beasts born among ourselves. They now triumph in the desperate condition they are already in, when they hear that one people are going to fight against another people; and one city against another: and that your nation hath gotten an army together against its own bowels. Instead of which procedure it were highly fit and reasonable, as I said before, for you to join with us in cutting off these wretches; and in particular to be revenged on them for putting this very cheat upon you: I mean for having the impudence to invite you to assist them, whom they ought to have stood in fear of, as ready to punish them. But if you have some regard to these men's invitation of you, yet may you lay aside your arms, and come into the city under the notion of our kindred, and take upon you a middle name between that of auxiliaries, and of enemies; and so become judges in this case. However, consider what these men will gain by being called into judgment before you, for such undeniable and such flagrant crimes: who would not vouchsafe to hear such as had no accusations laid against them to speak a word for themselves. However, let them gain this advantage by your coming. But still, if you will neither take our part in that indignation we have at these men, nor judge between us; the third thing I have to propose is this, that you let us both alone, and neither insult upon our calamities, nor abide with these plotters against their metropolis. For though you should have never so great a suspicion that some of us have discoursed with the Romans, it is in your power to watch the passage into the city: and in case any thing that we have been accused of is brought to light, then to come, and defend your metropolis, and to inflict punishment on those that are found guilty. For the enemy cannot prevent you, who are now so near to the city. But if, after all, none of these proposals seem acceptable and moderate, do not you wonder that the gates are shut against you, while you continue in arms."

Thus spake Jesus. Yet did not the multitude of the Idumeans give any attention to what he said, but were in a rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also had indignation at the offer of laying down their arms; and looked upon it as equal to a captivity, to throw them away at any man's injunction. But Simon, the son of Cathlas, one of their commanders, with much difficulty quieted the tumult of his own men, and stood so that the high-priests might hear him, and said as follows: "I can no longer wonder that the patrons of liberty are under custody in the temple, since there are those that shut the gates of our *common city to their own nation; and at the same time are prepared to admit the Romans into it; nay, perhaps, are disposed to crown the gates with garlands at their coming; while they speak to the Idumeans from their towers, and enjoin them to throw down those arms which they have taken up for the preservation of its liberty. And while they will not entrust the guard of our metropolis to their kindred, profess to make them judges of the differences that are among them: nay, while they accuse some men of having slain others without a legal trial, they do themselves condemn a whole nation after an ignominious manner. And have now walled up that city from their own nation, which used to be open to even all foreigners that came to worship there. We have, indeed, come in great haste to you, and to a war against our own countrymen. And the reason why we have made such haste is, that we may preserve that freedom which you are so unhappy as to betray. You have probably been guilty of the like crimes against those whom you keep in custody; and have, I suppose, collected together the like plausible pretences against them also, that you make use of against us. After which

* This appellation of Jerusalem, given it here by Simon, the general of the Idumeans, "the common city of the Idumeans," who were proselytes of justice, as well as of the original native Jews, greatly confirms that maxim of the Rabbins, here set down by Reland, that Jerusalem was not assigned, or appropriated, to the tribe of Benjamin or Judah, but every tribe had equal right in it; at their coming to worship there, at the several festivals. See a little before, Chap. 3.

you have gotten the mastery of those within the temple, and keep them in custody; while they are only taking care of the public affairs. You have also shut the gates of the city in general against nations that are the most nearly related to you. And while you give such injurious commands to others, you complain that you have been tyrannized over by them: and fix the name of unjust governors upon such as are tyrannized over by yourselves. Who can bear your abuse of words, while they have a regard to the contrariety of your actions? Unless you mean that those Idumeans do now exclude you out of your metropolis, whom you exclude from the sacred offices of your own country. One may, indeed, justly complain of those that are besieged in the temple; that when they had courage enough to punish those traitors, whom you call eminent men, and free from any accusations, because of their being your companions in wickedness; they did not begin with you, and thereby cut off beforehand the most dangerous parts of this treason. But if these men have been more merciful than the public necessity required, we that are Idumeans will preserve this house of God; and will fight for our common country; and will oppose by war as well those that attack them from abroad, as those that betray them from within. Here will we abide before the walls in our armour, until either the Romans grow weary in waiting for you, or you become friends to liberty, and repent of what you have done against it."

Now the Idumeans made an acclamation to what Simon had said. But Jesus went away sorrowful: as seeing that the Idumeans were against all moderate counsels; and that the city was besieged on both sides. Nor, indeed, were the minds of the Idumeans at rest: for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them, by their exclusion out of the city: and when they thought the zealots had been strong, but saw nothing of theirs to support them, they were in doubt about the matter; and many of them repented that they had come thither. But the shame that would attend them in case they returned without doing any thing at all, so far overcame their repentance, that they lay all night before the wall, though in a very bad encampment. For there broke out a prodigious storm in the night, with the utmost violence, and very strong winds, with the largest showers of rain, with continual lightnings, terrible thunderings, and amazing concussions and bellowings of the earth. These things were a manifest indication* that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of the world was put into this disorder; and any one would guess that these wonders foreshewed some grand calamities that were coming.

Now the opinion of the Idumeans, and of the citizens, was one and the same. The Idumeans thought that God was angry at their taking arms; and they should not escape punishment for making war upon their metropolis: while Ananus and his party thought, that they had conquered without fighting; and that God acted as a general for them. But truly they proved both ill conjectures at what was to come; and made those events to be ominous to their enemies, while they were themselves to undergo the ill effects of them. For the Idumeans fenced one another by uniting their bodies into one band, and thereby kept themselves warm: and connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. But the zealots were more deeply concerned for the danger these men were in, than they were for themselves; and got together, and looked about them to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The more violent sort of them thought it best to force their guards with their arms; and after that to fall into the midst of the city, and publicly open the gates to those that came to their assistance. As supposing the guards would be in disorder, and give way at such an unexpected attempt, especially as the greater part of them were unarmed, and unskilled in affairs of war. And that besides the multitude of the citizens would not be easily gathered together, but confined to their houses by the storm. And that if there were any hazard in their undertaking, it became them to suffer any thing themselves, rather than to overlook so great a multitude as were miserably perishing on their account. But the more prudent part of them disapproved of this forcible method; because they saw not only the guards about them very numerous, but the walls of the city itself carefully watched, by reason of the Idumeans. They also supposed that Ananus would be every where, and visit the guards every hour. Which, indeed, was done upon other nights; but was omitted that night: not by reason of any slothfulness of Ananus, but by the overbearing appointment of †fate; that so both he might himself perish, and the multitude of the guards might perish with him. For as the night was far gone, and the storm very terrible, Ananus gave the guards in the cloisters leave to go to sleep. While it came into the heads of the zealots to make use of the saws belonging to the temple, and to cut the bars of the gates to pieces. The noise of the wind, and that not inferior sound of the thunder, did here also conspire with their designs, that the noise of the saws was not heard by the others.

So they secretly went out of the temple to the wall of the city, and made use of their saws, and opened that gate which was over against the Idumeans. Now at first there came a fear upon the Idumeans themselves, which disturbed them; as imagining that Ananus and his party were coming to attack them. So that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword, in order to defend himself. But they soon came to know who they were that came to them, and were entered the city. And had the Idumeans then fallen upon the city, nothing could have hindered them from destroying the whole of the people: such was the rage they were in at that time. But they first of all hastened to get the zealots out of custody; which those that brought them in earnestly desired them to do, and not to overlook those for whose sake they were come, in the midst of their distresses; nor to bring them into a still greater danger. For that when they had once seized on the guards, it would be easy for them to fall upon the city: but that if the city were once alarmed, they would not then be able to overcome those guards; because as soon as they should per-

* There certainly are intimations of future events afforded by Providence to prepare us for their approach. But in former times superstition invented so many omens and portents, as much oftener to deceive than direct the people. B.

† Or, Providence.

ceive they were there, they would put themselves in order to fight them, and would hinder their coming into the temple.

CHAP. V.

OF THE CRUELTY OF THE IDUMEANS, AND OF THE ZEALOTS; THE SLAUGHTER OF ANANUS, JESUS, AND ZACHARIAS, AND THE SUBSEQUENT RETREAT OF THE IDUMEANS.

THIS advice pleased the Idumeans; and they ascended through the city to the temple. The zealots were also in great expectation of their coming, and earnestly waited for them. When, therefore, these were entering, they also came boldly out of the *inner temple; and mixing themselves among the Idumeans, attacked the guards. And some of those that were upon the watch, but were fallen asleep, they killed, as they were asleep. But as those that were now awakened made a cry, the whole multitude arose; and in the amazement they were in, caught hold of their arms immediately; and betook themselves to their own defence. And so long as they thought they were only the zealots who attacked them, they went on boldly; as hoping to overpower them by their numbers. But when they saw others pressing in upon them also, they perceived the Idumeans were got in: and the greatest part of them laid aside their arms, together with their courage, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the younger sort covered themselves with their armour, and valiantly received the Idumeans: and for a great while protected the multitude of old men. Others indeed gave a signal to those that were in the city of the calamities they were in. But when these were also made sensible that the Idumeans were come in, none of them durst come to their assistance. Only they returned the terrible echo of wailing, and lamented their misfortunes. A great howling of the women also was excited: and every one of the guards was in danger of being killed. The zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the Idumeans; and the storm itself rendered the cry more terrible. Nor did the Idumeans spare any body. For as they are naturally a most barbarous and sanguinary nation, and had been distressed by the tempest, they made use of their weapons against those that had shut the gates against them: and acted in the same manner as to those that supplicated for their lives, and to those that fought them. Insomuch that they ran those through with their swords, who desired them to remember the relation there was between them; and begged of them to have regard to their common temple. Now there was at present neither any place for flight, nor any hope of preservation; but as they were driven together by force, as there was no place of retirement, and the murderers were upon them; and, having no other way, threw themselves down headlong into the city. Whereby, in my opinion, they underwent a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided: because that was a †voluntary one. And now the ‡outer temple was completely overflowed with blood. And that day, as it came on, saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies there.

But the rage of the Idumeans was not satiated by these slaughters: but they now betook themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met. And for the other multitude they esteemed it needless to go on with killing them; but they sought for the high-priests; and the generality went with the greatest zeal against them. And as soon as they caught them, they slew them: and then standing upon their dead bodies, in way of jest, upbraided Ananus with his kindness to the people; and Jesus with his speech made to them from the wall. Nay, they proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to cast away their dead bodies without burial: although the Jews used to take so much care of the sepulture of men, that they took down those that were condemned, and buried them §before the going down of the sun. I should not mistake if I said, that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of the city: and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of her wall, and the ruin of her affairs; whereon they saw their high-priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also a venerable, and a very just man: and besides the grandeur of that nobility, dignity, and honour, of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of parity, even with regard to the meanest of the people. He was a prodigious lover of liberty; and an admirer of a democracy in government; and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage: and preferred peace above all things. For he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were not to be conquered. He also foresaw that of necessity a war would follow: and that unless the Jews made up matters with them very dexterously, they would be destroyed. In a word, if Ananus had survived, they had certainly compounded matters. For he was a shrewd man in speaking, and persuading the people: and had already gotten the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war. And the Jews had then abundance of delays in the way of the Romans, if they had had such a general as he was. Jesus was also joined with him: and although he were inferior to him upon the comparison, he was superior to the rest. And I cannot but think, that it was because God had doomed this city to destruction, as a polluted city, and resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these their great defenders and well-wishers. While those that a little before had worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship, and had been esteemed venerable by those that dwelt on the whole habitable earth, when they came into our city, were cast out naked; and seen to be the food of dogs and wild beasts. And I cannot but imagine that virtue itself groaned at these men's case; and lamented that she was here so terribly conquered by wickedness. And this at last was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

Now after these were slain, the zealots and the multitude of the Idumeans fell upon the people as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats. And for the ordinary sort, they were destroyed in what place soever they caught them. But for the noblemen and the youth, they first caught them, and bound them, and shut them up in prison,

* The court of Israel.
† See Book III. chap. 8.
‡ The court of the Gentiles.
§ As at the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

and put off their slaughter, in hopes that some of them would turn over to their party. But not one of them would comply with their desires; but all of them preferred death before being enrolled among such wicked wretches as acted against their own country. But this refusal of theirs brought upon them terrible torments. For they were so scourged and tortured, that their bodies were not able to sustain their torments: till at length, and with difficulty, they had the favour to be slain. Those whom they caught in the day time were slain in the night; and then their dead bodies were carried out, and thrown away; that there might be room for other prisoners. And the terror that was upon the people was so great, that no one had courage either openly to weep for the dead man that was related to him, or to bury him: but those that were shut up in their own houses, could only shed tears in secret; and durst not even groan, without great caution, lest any of their enemies should hear them. For if they did, those that mourned for others soon underwent the same death with those whom they mourned for. Only, in the night time, they would take up a little dust, and throw it upon their bodies; and even some that were the most ready to expose themselves to danger, would do it in the day time. And there were twelve thousand of the better sort, who perished in this manner.

When these zealots and Idumeans were quite weary of barely killing men, they had the impudence of setting up fictitious tribunals and judicatures for that purpose. And as they intended to have *Zacharias, the son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens slain; so what provoked them against him was, that hatred of wickedness, and love of liberty, which were so eminent in him. He was also a rich man: so that by taking him off, they did not only hope to seize his effects, but also to get rid of a man that had great power to destroy them. So they called together, by a public proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, for a show, as if they were real judges; while they had no proper authority. Before these was Zacharias accused, of a design to betray their polity to the Romans; and of having treacherously sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or sign of what he was accused; but they affirmed themselves, that they were well persuaded that so it was, and desired that their affirmation might be taken for sufficient evidence. Now when Zacharias clearly saw that there was no way remaining for his escape, as having been treacherously called before them, and then put in prison, but not with any intention of a legal trial, he took great liberty of speech in that despair of his life that he was under. Accordingly he stood up, and laughed at their pretended accusation; and in a few words confuted the crimes laid to his charge. After which he turned his speech to his accusers, and went over distinctly all their transgressions of the law; and made heavy lamentation upon the confusion they had brought public affairs to. In the mean time the zealots grew tumultuous, and had much ado to abstain from drawing their swords: although they designed to preserve the appearance of a judicature to the end. They were also desirous, on other accounts, to try the judges, whether they would be mindful of what was just at their own peril. Now the seventy judges brought in their verdict, that the person accused was not guilty: as choosing rather to die themselves with him, than to have his death laid at their doors. Hereupon there arose a great clamour of the zealots upon his acquittal: and they all had indignation at the judges, for not understanding that the authority that was given them was but in jest. So two of the boldest of them fell upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, and slew him. And as he fell down dead, they bantered him, and said, "Thou hast also our verdict: and this will prove a more sure acquittal to thee than the other." They also threw him down from the temple immediately into the valley beneath it. Moreover they struck the judges with the backs of their swords, by way of abuse; and thrust them out of the court of the temple; and spared their lives with no other design than that, when they were dispersed among the people in the city, they might become their messengers, to let them know they were no better than slaves.

But by this time the Idumeans repented of their coming; and were displeased at what had been done. And when they were assembled together by one of the zealots, who had come privately to them, he declared to them, what a number of wicked pranks they had themselves done in conjunction with those that invited them: and gave a particular account of what mischiefs had been done against their metropolis. He said, that "They had taken arms, as though the high-priests were betraying their metropolis to the Romans; but had found no indication of any such treachery: but that they had succoured those that had pretended to believe such a thing, while they did themselves the works of war and tyranny, after an insolent manner. It had been indeed their business to have hindered them from such proceedings at the first: but seeing they had once been partners with them in shedding the blood of their own countrymen, it was high time to put a stop to such crimes, and not continue to afford any more assistance to such as were subverting the laws of their forefathers. For that if any had taken it ill that the gates had been shut against them, and they had not been permitted to come into the city; yet that those who had excluded them had been punished, and Ananus was dead: and that almost all those people had been destroyed in one night's time. That one might per-

* Some commentators are ready to suppose, that this Zacharias the son of Baruch, here most unjustly slain by the Jews in the temple, was the very same person with Zacharias the son of Barachias, whom our Saviour says the Jews slew between the temple and the altar: Matt. xxiii. 35. This is a somewhat strange exposition, since Zachariah the prophet was really the son of Barachiah and grandson of Iddo: Zech. i. 1, and how he died, we have no other account than that before us in St. Matthew: while this Zacharias was the son of Baruch. Since the slaughter was past when our Saviour spake those words, the Jews had then already slain him: whereas this slaughter of Zacharias the son of Baruch, in Josephus, was then about 34 years future. And since that slaughter was between the temple and the altar, in the court of the priests, one of the most sacred and remote parts of the whole temple; while this was, in Josephus's own words, in the middle of the temple, and much the most probable in the court of Israel only: (for we have had no intimation that the zealots had at this time profaned the court of the priests. See v. 1.) Nor do I believe that our Josephus, who always insists on the peculiar sacredness of that inmost court, and of the holy house that was in it, would have omitted so material an aggravation of this barbarous murder, as perpetrated in a place so very holy, had that been the true place of it. See Antiquities, XI. 7, and the note here on v. 1.

ceive many of themselves repenting for what they had done; and might see the horrid barbarity of those that had invited them: and that they had no regard to such as had saved them: that they were so impudent as to perpetrate the vilest things, under the eyes of those that had supported them: and that their wicked actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumeans: and would be so laid to their charge till somebody should obstruct their proceedings, or separate himself from the same wicked action: that they therefore ought to retire home, since the imputation of treason appeared to be a calumny: and that there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the government of the city was secured by such walls as could not easily be thrown down. And, by avoiding any farther fellowship with these bad men, to make some excuse for themselves, as to what they had been so far deluded, as to have been partners with them hitherto."

CHAP. VI.

OF THE CONTINUED CRUELTIES OF THE ZEALOTS TOWARDS THE CITIZENS.—AND THE ARGUMENTS USED BY VESPASIAN TO DISSUADE THE ROMANS FROM PROCEEDING IN THE WAR AT THAT TIME.

THE Idumeans complied with these persuasions, and in the first place, they set those that were in the prisons at liberty; being about two thousand of the populace: who thereupon fled away immediately to Simon; one of whom we shall speak of presently. After which these Idumeans retired from Jerusalem, and went home. Which departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties. For the people, not knowing of their repentance, raised their courage for a while, as being eased of so many of their enemies. While the zealots grew more insolent; not as deserted by their confederates, but as freed from such men as might hinder their designs, and put some stop to their wickedness. Accordingly they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation in their enormous practices; but made use of the shortest methods for all their executions. And what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice sooner than any one could imagine. But their thirst was chiefly after the blood of valiant men, and men of good families; the one sort of which they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear. For they thought their whole security lay in leaving no potent men alive. On which account they slew Gorion, a person eminent in dignity, and on account of his family also. He was also for a democracy, and of as great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whatsoever. The principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free speaking. Nor did Niger of Perea escape their hands. He had been a man of great valour in their *war with the Romans; but was now drawn through the middle of the city: and as he went, he frequently called out, and shewed the scars of his wounds. And when he was drawn out of the gates, and despaired of his preservation, he besought them to grant him a burial. But as they had threatened him beforehand not to grant him any spot of earth for a grave, which he chiefly desired of them, so did they slay him without permitting him to be buried. Now when they were slaying him, he made this imprecation upon them, that they might undergo both famine and pestilence in this war; and besides all, that they might come to the mutual slaughter of one another: all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men: and which came most justly upon them, when not long afterward they tasted of their own madness in their mutual seditions one against another. So when this Niger was killed, their fears of being overturned were diminished. And indeed there was no part of the people but they found out some pretence to destroy them. For some were therefore slain, because they had had differences with some of them. And as to those that had not opposed them in times of peace, they watched seasonable opportunities to gain some accusation against them. And if any one did not come near them at all, he was under their suspicion as a proud man. If any one came with boldness, he was esteemed a contemner of them. And if any one came as aiming to oblige them, he was supposed to have some treacherous plot against them. While the only punishment of crimes, whether they were of the greatest or smallest sort, was death. Nor could any one escape, unless he were very inconsiderable, either on account of the meanness of his birth, or on account of his fortune.

Now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans deemed this sedition among their enemies to be of great advantage to them, and were very earnest to march to the city: and they urged Vespasian, as their lord and general in all cases, to make haste; and said to him, "The providence of God is on our side, by setting our enemies at variance against one another: but still the change in such cases may be sudden, and the Jews may quickly be reconciled again: either because they may be tired out with their civil miseries, or repent of such doings." But Vespasian replied, They were greatly mistaken in what they thought fit to be done: as those that, upon the theatre, love to make a show of their hands, and of their weapons; but do it to their own hazard: without considering what was for their advantage, and for their security. For that if they should now go and attack the city immediately, they would but occasion their enemies to unite together; and thus convert their force, now it is in its height, against themselves. But if they remained a while they would have fewer enemies; because they must be consumed in this sedition. "God," said he, "acts as the general of the Romans better than I can do; and is giving the Jews up to us, without any pains of our own; and granting our army a victory, without any danger. Therefore it is our best way, while our enemies are destroying each other with their own hands, and falling into the greatest of misfortunes, which is that of sedition, to sit still as spectators of the dangers they run into; rather than to fight hand to hand with men that love murdering, and are mad one against another. But if any one imagine that the glory of the victory, when it is gotten without fighting, will be more insipid; let him know, that a glorious success quietly obtained is more profitable than the dangers of a battle. For we ought to esteem those that do what is agreeable to temperance and prudence no less glorious than those

* See Book ii. chap. 20.

that have gained great reputation by their actions in war. I shall lead on my army with greater force, when the enemies are diminished, and my own troops refreshed after the continual labours they have undergone. However, this is not a proper time to propose to ourselves the glory of victory: for the Jews are not now employed in making of armour, or building of walls; nor indeed in getting together auxiliaries: while the advantage will be on their side who give them such opportunity of delay: but they are torn to pieces every day by their civil wars and dissensions; and are under greater miseries than, if they were once taken, could be inflicted on them by us. Whether, therefore, any one hath regard to what is for our safety, he ought to suffer these Jews to destroy one another; or whether he hath regard to the greater glory of the action, we ought by no means to meddle with these men now they are afflicted with a distemper at home. For should we now conquer them, it would be said the conquest was not owing to our bravery, but to their sedition."

Now the commanders joined in their approbation of what Vespasian had said: and it was soon discovered how wise an opinion he had given. And indeed there were many of the Jews that deserted every day, and fled away from the zealots. Although their flight was very difficult; since they had guarded every passage out of the city; and slew every one that was caught at them: as taking it for granted they were going over to the Romans. Yet did he who gave them money get clear off; while he only that gave them none was voted a traitor. So the result was, that the rich purchased their flight by money: while none but the poor were slain. Along all the roads also vast numbers of dead bodies lay on heaps; and even many of those that were so zealous in deserting, at length chose rather to perish within the city. For the hopes of burial made death in their own city appear of the two less terrible to them. But these zealots came at last to that degree of barbarity, as not to bestow a burial, either on those slain in the city, or on those that lay along the roads. But as if they had made an agreement to cancel both the laws of their country, and the laws of nature, and at the same time that they defiled men with their wicked actions, they would pollute the divinity itself also; they left the dead bodies to putrefy under the sun. And the same punishment was allotted to such as buried any, as to those that deserted: which was no other than death. While he that granted the favour of a grave to another would presently stand in need of a grave himself. In a word, no other gentle passion was so entirely lost among them as mercy. For what were the greatest objects of pity did most of all irritate these wretches: and they transferred their rage from the living to those who had been slain, and from the dead to the living. Nay, the terror was so very great, that he who survived called them that were first dead happy, as being at rest already: as did those that were under torture in the prisons, declare that upon this comparison those that lay unburied were the happiest. These men, therefore, trampled upon all the laws of men, and laughed at the laws of God: and for the oracles of the prophets they ridiculed them, as the tricks of jugglers. Yet did these prophets foretell many things concerning the rewards of virtue, and punishments of vice, which, when these zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of those very prophecies belonging to their own country. For there was a certain ancient oracle of those men, that "The city should be taken, *and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews: and their own hands should pollute the temple of God." Now while these zealots did not quite disbelieve these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE TYRANNICAL BEHAVIOUR OF JOHN, AND THE MISCHIEFS DONE BY THE ZEALOTS AT MASADA.—ALSO OF THE REDUCTION OF GADARA; AND THE ACTIONS PERFORMED BY PLACIDUS.

BY this time John was beginning to tyrannize; and thought it beneath him to accept of barely the same honours that others had. And joining to himself by degrees a party of the most wicked, he broke off from the rest of the faction. This was brought about by his still disagreeing with the opinions of others; and giving out injunctions of his own, in a very imperious manner. So that it was evident he was setting upon a monarchical power. Now some submitted to him out of fear, and others out of their good will to him. For he was a shrewd man to entice men, both by deluding them and putting cheats upon them. Nay, many there were that thought they should be safer themselves, if the causes of their past insolent actions should now be reduced to one head, and not to a great many. His activity was so great, and that both in action and in counsel, that he had not a few guards about him. Yet was there a great plenty of his antagonists that left him; among whom envy weighed a great deal; while they thought it a very heavy thing to be in subjection to one that was formerly their equal. But the main reason that moved men against him was the dread of monarchy. For they could not hope easily to put an end to his power, if he had once obtained it. And yet they knew that he would have this pretence always against them, that they had opposed him when he was first advanced. While every one chose rather to suffer any thing in war, than that when they had been in a voluntary slavery, for some time, they should afterwards perish. So the sedition was divided into two parts: and John reigned in opposition to his adversaries over one of them. But for their leaders, they watched one another; nor did they at all, or at least very little, meddle with arms in their quarrels. But they fought earnestly against the people;

* This prediction that "the city of Jerusalem should be taken, and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews; and their own hands should pollute that temple:" or, as it is VI. 2. "When any one should begin to slay his countrymen in the city," is wanting in our present copies of the Old Testament. See Essay on the Old Test. page 104—112. But this prediction, as Josephus well remarks here, though, with the other predictions of the prophets, it was now laughed at by the seditious, was by their very means soon exactly fulfilled. However, I cannot but here take notice of Grotius's positive assertion upon Matt. xxvi. 9, here quoted by Dr. Hudson, that "It ought to be taken for granted, as a certain truth, that many predictions of the Jewish prophets were preserved, not in writing, but by memory." Whereas it seems to me so far from certain, that I think it has no evidence, nor probability at all.

and contended one with another which of them should bring home the greatest prey. But because the city had to struggle with three of the greatest misfortunes, war, tyranny, and sedition; it appeared, upon the comparison, that the war was the least troublesome to the populace of the mall. Accordingly they ran away from their own houses to foreigners; and obtained that preservation from the Romans, which they despaired of obtaining among their own people.

And now a fourth misfortune arose, in order to bring our nation to destruction. There was a fortress of very great strength, not far from Jerusalem, which had been built by our ancient kings: both as a repository for their effects, in the hazards of war, and for the preservation of their bodies at the same time. It was called Masada. Those that were called Sicarii had taken possession of it formerly: but at this time they overran the neighbouring countries: aiming only to procure to themselves necessaries; for the fear they were then in prevented their future ravages. But when once they were informed that the Roman army lay still; and that the Jews were divided between sedition and tyranny, they boldly undertook greater matters. And at the feast of unleavened bread, which the Jews celebrate in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, when they were sent back into the country of their forefathers; they came down by night, without being discovered by those that could have prevented them; and overran a certain small city called Engaddi. In this expedition they prevented those citizens that could have stopped them, before they could arm themselves, and fight them. They also dispersed them, and cast them out of the city. As for such as could not run away, being women and children, they slew of them about seven hundred. Afterward, when they had carried every thing out of their houses, and had seized upon all the fruits that were in a flourishing condition, they brought them into Masada. And indeed these men laid all the villages that were about the fortress waste, and made the whole country desolate: while there came to them every day, from all parts, not a few men, as corrupt as themselves. At that time all the other regions of Judea that had hitherto been at rest were in motion, by means of the robbers. Now as it is in a human body, if the principal part be inflamed, all the members are subject to the same distemper; so, by means of the sedition and disorder that was in the metropolis, had the wicked men that were in the country opportunity to ravage the same. Accordingly, when every one of them had plundered their own villages, they retired into the desert. Yet were these men that now got together, and joined in the conspiracy by parties, too small for an army and too numerous for a gang of thieves. And thus did they fall upon the *holy places, and the cities. Yet did it now so happen that they were sometimes very ill treated by those upon whom they fell with such violence: and were taken by them, as men are taken in war. But still they prevented any farther punishment, as do robbers; who as soon as their ravages are discovered run their way. Nor was there now any part of Judea that was not in a miserable condition, as well as its most eminent city also.

These things were told Vespasian by deserters. For although the seditious watched all the passages out of the city, and destroyed all, whosoever they were, that came thither; yet were there some that had concealed themselves; and when they had fled to the Romans, persuaded their general to come to the assistance of their city, and save the remainder of the people: informing him withal, that it was upon account of the people's good will to the Romans, that many of them were already slain, and the survivors in danger of the same treatment. Vespasian did indeed already pity the calamities these men were in; and arose, in appearance, as though he were going to besiege Jerusalem; but in reality to deliver them from a worse siege they were already under. However he was obliged to overthrow what remained elsewhere; and to leave nothing out of Jerusalem behind him, that might interrupt him in that siege. Accordingly he marched against Gadara, the metropolis of Perea, which was a place of strength; and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dystrus, or Ada.† For the men of power had sent an ambassage to him without the knowledge of the seditious, to treat about a surrender. Which they did out of the desire they had of peace; and for saving their effects: because many of the citizens of Gadara were rich men. This embassy the opposite party knew nothing of: but discovered it, as Vespasian was approaching near the city. However they despaired of keeping possession of the city; as being inferior in number to their enemies who were within the city, and seeing the Romans very near to the city. So they resolved to flee: but thought it dishonourable to do it without shedding some blood, and revenging themselves on the authors of this surrender. So they seized upon Dolesus, (a person not only the first in rank and family in that city, but one that seemed the occasion of sending such an embassy;) and slew him, and treated his body after a barbarous manner: so very violent was their anger at him; and then ran out of the city. And as now the Roman army was just upon them, the people of Gadara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand; as also a garrison of horsemen and footmen, to guard them against the excursions of the runagates. For as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them so to do; that they might thereby give them assurance that they were lovers of peace: and that, if they had a mind, they could not now make war against them.

Now Vespasian sent Placidus against those that had fled from Gadara, with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen; while he returned himself to Cæsarea, with the rest of the army. But as soon as these fugitives came to a close fight; they ran together to a certain village, which was called Bethennabris. Where, finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, partly by their own consent, and partly by force, they rashly and suddenly assault-

* By these holy places, as distinct from cities, must be meant Proseuchæ, or houses of prayer out of cities; as the synagogues were in cities. Of which we find mention made in the New Testament, and other authors. See Luke vi. 12; Acts xvi. 13, 16. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. In qua te quæro proseucha; Juvenal. Sat. III. verse 296. They were situate sometimes by the sides of rivers; Acts xvi. 13, or by the sea-side: Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. So did the LXXII. interpreters go to prayer every morning by the sea-side, before they went to their work, XII. 2.

† A. D. 68.

ed Placidus, and the troops that were with him. These horsemen at the first onset gave way a little; as contriving to entice them farther off the wall. And when they had drawn them into a place fit for their purpose, they made their horse encompass them round, and throw their darts at them. So the horsemen cut off the flight of the fugitives: while the foot terribly destroyed those that fought against them. For those Jews did no more than shew their courage, and then were destroyed. For as they fell upon the Romans, when they were joined close together, and, as it were, walled about with their entire armour, they were not able to find any place where the darts could enter: nor were they any way able to break their ranks. While they were themselves run through by the Roman darts: and like the fiercest of wild beasts, rushed upon the points of the others' swords. So some of them were destroyed, as cut with their enemies' swords upon their faces; and others were dispersed by the horsemen.

Now Placidus's concern was to exclude them in their flight from getting into the village: and causing his cavalry to march continually on that side, he then turned short upon them; and at the same time his men made use of their darts, and easily took their aim at those that were the nearest to them: as they made those that were farther off turn back by the terror they were in: till at last the most courageous of them brake through those horsemen, and fled to the wall of the village. And now those that guarded the wall were in great doubt what to do. For they could not bear the thoughts of excluding those that came from Gadara, because of their own people that were among them. And yet, if they should admit them, they expected to perish with them: which came to pass accordingly. For as they were crowding together at the wall, the Roman horsemen were just ready to fall in with them. However the guards prevented them, and shut the gates. When Placidus made an assault upon them, and fighting courageously till it was dark, he got possession of the wall, and of the people that were in the city. When the useless multitude were destroyed: but those that were more potent ran away: and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country; and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans was upon them, they put them into great fear on every side. So they got in great numbers together, and fled to Jericho. For they knew no other place that could afford them any hope of escaping: it being a city that had a strong wall, and a great multitude of inhabitants. But Placidus relying much upon his horsemen, and his former good success, followed them; and slew all that he overtook, as far as Jordan. And when he had driven the whole multitude to the river side, where they were stopped by the current: (for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not fordable,) he put his soldiers in array over against them. So the necessity the others were in provoked them to hazard a battle; because there was no place whither they could flee. They then extended themselves a great way along the banks of the river; and sustained the darts that were thrown at them; as well as the attacks of the horsemen: who beat many of them, and pushed them into the current. In this close combat fifteen thousand of them were slain: while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into Jordan was prodigious; and two thousand and two hundred were taken prisoners. A mighty prey was taken also, consisting of asses, sheep, camels, and oxen.

Now this destruction that fell upon the Jews, as it was not inferior to any of the rest in itself; so did it still appear greater than it really was. And this because, not only the whole country through which they fled was filled with slaughter, and Jordan could not be passed over by reason of the dead bodies that were in it; but because the lake Asphaltites was also full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river. And now Placidus, after his good success, fell violently upon the neighbouring smaller cities and villages. When he took Abila, Julias, Bezemoth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltites: and put such of the deserters into each of them as he thought proper. He then put his soldiers on board the ships, and slew such as had fled to the lake. Insomuch that all Perea had either surrendered themselves, or were taken by the Romans, as far as Macherus.

CHAP. VIII.

VESPASIAN, UPON HEARING OF SOME COMMOTIONS IN GAUL, HASTENS TO FINISH THE JEWISH WAR.—A DESCRIPTION OF JERICHO, AND OF THE GREAT PLAIN; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAKE ASPHALTITES.

IN the mean time an account came, that there were commotions in Gaul; and that *Vindex, together with the men of power in that country, had revolted from Nero; which affair is more accurately described elsewhere. This report excited Vespasian to go on briskly with the war; for he foresaw already the civil wars which were coming upon them; nay, that the very government was in danger: and he thought, if he could first reduce the eastern parts of the empire to peace, he should make the fears for Italy the lighter. While, therefore, the winter was his hindrance, from going into the field, he put garrisons into the villages, and smaller cities, for their security. He put decurions also into the villages, and centurions into the cities. He besides this rebuilt many of the cities that had been laid waste. But at the beginning of the spring he took the greatest part of his army, and led it from Cæsarea to Antipatris. There he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city, and then, on the third day, he marched on; laying waste and burning all the neighbouring villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thamnas, he passed on to Lydda, and Jamnia. And when both those cities had submitted to him, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him from other places as inhabitants therein; and then came to Emmaus; where he seized upon the passages which led thence to their metropolis; and fortified his camp: and leaving the fifth legion therein, he came to the toparchy of Bethleptephon. He

* Concerning this Julius Vindex, who was now in rebellion against Nero in Gaul, see Tacitus, Annal. XV. 74; Histor. I. 51, and Suetonius in Neron, § 40, 41, 46.

then destroyed that place, and the neighbouring places, by fire; and fortified, at proper places, the strong holds all about Idumea. And when he had seized upon two villages, which were in the very midst of Idumea, Betaris, and Caphartobas, he slew above ten thousand of the people; and carried into captivity above a thousand; and drove away the rest of the multitude; and placed no small part of his own forces in them. These overran and laid waste the whole mountainous country: while he, with the rest of his forces, returned to Emmaus: whence he came down through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city, by others called *Neapolis, but by the people of that country Mabortha, to Corea: where he pitched his camp, on the second day of the month Desius, or Sivan. And on the day following he came to Jericho. On which day Trajan, one of his commanders, joined him with the forces he brought out of Perea, all the places beyond Jordan being already subdued.

Hereupon a great multitude prevented their approach, and came out of Jericho: and fled to those mountainous parts that lay over against Jerusalem: while that part which was left behind was in a great measure destroyed. They also found the city desolate. It is situate in a plain: but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it: which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward; but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limits of the lake Asphaltites southward, this mountain is all of it very uneven, and uninhabited by reason of its barrenness. There is an opposite mountain, that is situate over against it, on the other side of Jordan. This last begins at Julias, and the northern quarters, and extends itself southward as far as †Somorrhon: which is the bound of Petra; in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle between these ridges of mountains, is called The Great Plain. It reaches from the village Ginnabris, as far as the lake Asphaltites. Its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs: and its breadth a hundred and twenty: and it is divided in the midst by Jordan. It hath two lakes in it; that of Asphaltites and that of Tiberias: whose natures are opposite to each other. For the former is salt, and unfruitful; but that of Tiberias is sweet, and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer time: and, by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholesome air. It is all destitute of water, except the river Jordan which water of Jordan is the occasion why those plantations of palm-tress, that are near its banks, are more flourishing, and much more fruitful: as are those that are remote from it not so flourishing, or fruitful.

There is, however, a fountain by Jericho, that runs plentifully; and is very fit for watering the ground. It rises near the old city, which Joshua, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan, by right of war. The report is, that this fountain, at the beginning, caused not only the blasting of the earth and the trees, but of the children born of women; and that it was entirely of a sickly and corruptive nature, to all things whatsoever: but that it was made very wholesome and fruitful by the prophet Elisha. This prophet was familiar with Elijah, and was his successor. Who when he once was the guest of the people at Jericho, and the men of the place had treated him very kindly, he made them amends; as well as the country, by a lasting favour. For he went out of the city to this fountain, and threw into the current an earthen vessel full of salt. After which he stretched out his righteous hand to heaven, and pouring out a mild drink-offering, he made this ‡supplication: that "The current might be mollified; and that the veins of fresh water might be opened. That God also would bring into the place a more temperate and fertile air for the current; and would bestow upon the people of that country plenty of the fruits of the earth, and a succession of children; and that this prolific water might never fail them, while they continued to be righteous." To these prayers Elisha joined proper operations of his hands, after a skilful manner, and changed the fountain; and that water, which had been the occasion of sterility and famine before, from that time supplied a numerous posterity, and afforded great abundance to the country. Accordingly the power of it is so great, in watering the ground, that if it but once touch a country, it affords a sweeter nourishment than other waters do, when they lie upon them, till they are satiated with them. For which reason the advantage gained from other waters, when they flow in great plenty, is but small; while that of this water is great, when it flows even in little quantities. Accordingly it waters a larger space of ground than any other waters do: and passes along a plain of seventy furlongs long, and twenty broad: wherein it affords nourishment to those most excellent gardens, that are thickly set with trees. There are in it many sorts of palm-trees, that are watered by it; different from each other in taste and name. The better sort of them, when they are pressed, yield an excellent kind of honey; not much inferior in sweetness to other honey. This country withal produces honey from bees. It also bears that balsam, which is the most precious of all the fruits in that place. Cypress trees also, and those that bear myro-balanum. So that he who should pronounce this place to be divine, would not be mistaken. Wherein is such plenty of trees produced, as are very rare, and of the most excellent sort. And indeed, if we speak of those other fruits, it will not be easy to meet with any climate in the habitable earth, that can well be compared to it: what is sown here comes up in such clusters. The cause of which seems to me to be the warmth of the air, and the fertility of the waters. The warmth calling forth the sprouts, and making them spread: and the moisture making every one of them take root firmly, and supplying that virtue which it stands in need of, in summer time. This country is then so sadly burnt up, that nobody cares to come at it.

* Or Sichem.

† Whether this Somorrhon, or Somorrha, ought not to be here written Gomorrha, as some MSS. in a manner, have it: (for the place meant by Josephus seems to be near Segor or Zoar, at the very south of the Dead Sea: hard by which stood Sodom and Gomorrha:) cannot now be certainly determined; but seems by no means improbable.

‡ This excellent prayer of Elisha's is wanting in our copies, 2 Kings ii. 21, 22, though it be referred to also in the Apostolical Constitutions, VII. 37, and the successes of it is mentioned in them all.

And if the water be drawn up before sun rising, and after that exposed to the air, it becomes exceeding cold: and becomes of a nature quite contrary to the ambient air. As in winter again it becomes warm. And if you go into it, it appears very gentle. The ambient air is here also of so good a temperature, that the people of the country are clothed in linen only; even when snow covers the rest of Judea. This place is a hundred and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, is desert, and stony. But that as far as Jordan, and the lake Asphaltites, lies lower, though it be equally desert and barren. But so much shall suffice for the description of Jericho; and of the great happiness of its situation.

The nature of the lake Asphaltites is also worth describing. It is, as I have already said, bitter and unfruitful. It is so thick that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it. Nor is it easy for any one to make things sink therein to the bottom, if he had a mind so to do. Accordingly, when Vespasian went to see it, he commanded that some who could not swim, should have their hands tied behind them, and be thrown into the deep. When it so happened, that they all swam, as if a wind had forced them upwards. The change of the colour of this lake is also wonderful: for it changes its appearance thrice every day. And as the rays of the sun fall differently upon it, the light is variously reflected. However, it casts up black clods of bitumen, in many parts of it. These swim at the top of the water, and resemble both in shape and bigness headless bulls. And when the labourers that belong to the lake come to it, and catch hold of it, as it hangs together, they draw it into their ships. But when the ship is full, it is not easy to cut off the rest: for it is so tenacious as to make the ship hang upon its clods, till they set it loose, with blood and with urine, to which alone it yields. This bitumen is not only useful for the calking of ships, but for the cure of men's bodies. Accordingly it is mixed in a great many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs; where it is extended as far as Zoar in Arabia, and its breadth is a hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom* borders upon it. It was anciently a most happy land, both for the fruits it bore, and the riches of its cities: although it be now all burnt up. It is †related how for the impiety of its inhabitants, it was burnt by lightning. In consequence of which there are still the remainders of that divine fire; and the traces of these five cities are still to be seen: as well as the ashes growing in their fruits. Which fruits have a colour, as if they were fit to be eaten; but if you pluck them with your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. And thus what is related of this land of Sodom hath these marks of credibility, which our very sight affords us.

CHAP. IX.

VESPASIAN, AFTER REDUCING GADARA, MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM; BUT, UPON HEARING OF THE DEATH OF NERO, HE CHANGES HIS INTENTIONS.—ALSO CONCERNING SIMON OF GERASA.

NOW Vespasian had fortified all the places round about Jerusalem, and erected citadels at Jericho and Adida, and placed garrisons in them both: partly out of his own Romans, and partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa; and delivered to him a body of horsemen, and a considerable number of footmen. So when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men, who had not prevented him by fleeing away. But he took their families captive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder them of their effects. After this he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages: while the men of power fled away, and the weaker part were destroyed; and what was remaining was all burnt down. And now the war having gone through all the mountainous country, and all the plain country also, those that were at Jerusalem were deprived of the liberty of going out of the city. For such as had a mind to desert, were watched by the zealots. And as to such as were not yet on the side of the Romans, their army kept them in, by encompassing the city round about on all sides.

Now as Vespasian was returned to Cæsarea, and was getting ready with all his army to march directly to Jerusalem, he was informed that Nero was dead;‡ after he had reigned thirteen years and eight days. But as to any narration after what manner he abused his power in the government, and committed the management of his affairs to those vile wretches Nymphidius and Tigellinus, his unworthy freedmen; and how he had a plot laid against him by them, and was deserted by all his guards, and ran away with four of his most trusty freedmen, and slew himself in the suburbs of Rome; and how those that occasioned his death were, in no long time, brought themselves to punishment: how also the war in Gaul ended: and how §Galba was made emperor, and returned out of Spain to Rome: and how he was accused by the soldiers as a pusillanimous person, and slain by treachery, in the middle of the market-place at Rome; and Otho was made emperor: with his expedition against the commanders of Vitellius, and his destruction thereupon: and besides, what troubles there were under Vitellius, and the fight that was about the capitol: as also how Antonius Primus and Mucianus slew Vitellius, and his German legions: and thereby put an end to that civil war: I have omitted to give an exact account of them because they

* See the note on Book V. chap. 13.
† See Antiquities, l. 11.
‡ A. D. 68.
§ Of these Roman affairs, and tumults under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, here only touched upon by Josephus, see Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio, more largely. However, we may observe with Ottius, that Josephus writes the name of the second of them not Otto, with many others, but Otho, with the coins.

are well known by all; and are described by a great number of Greek and Roman authors. Yet for the sake of the connection of matters, and that my history may not be incoherent, I have just touched upon every thing briefly. Wherefore Vespasian put off at first his expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting whither the empire would be transferred, after the death of Nero. Moreover, when he heard that Galba was made emperor, he attempted nothing, till he should send him some directions about the war. However he sent his son Titus, to salute him, and to receive his commands about the Jews. Upon the very same errand did king Agrippa sail along with Titus, to Galba. But as they were sailing in their long ships by the coasts of Achaia, (for it was winter time,) they heard that Galba was slain, before they could get to him; after he had reigned seven months and as many days. After whom Otho took the government, and undertook the management of public affairs. So Agrippa resolved to go on to Rome, without any terror, on account of the change in the government. But Titus, by a divine impulse, sailed back from Greece to Syria; and came in great haste to Cæsarea, to his father. And now they were both in suspense about the public affairs; the Roman empire being then in a fluctuating condition: and did not go on with their expedition against the Jews: but thought that to make any attack upon foreigners was now unseasonable, on account of the solicitude they were in for their own country.

And now there arose another war at Jerusalem. There was a son of Giora, one Simon, by birth of Gerasa, a young man; not so cunning indeed as John of Gischala, who had already seized upon the city, but superior in strength of body, and courage. On which account, when he had been driven away from that Acrabattene toparchy which he once had, by Ananus the high-priest, he came to those robbers that had seized upon Masada. At the first they suspected him, and only permitted him to come, with the women he brought with him, into the lower part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of it themselves. However his manners so well agreed with theirs, and he seemed so trusty a man, that he went out with them, and ravaged and destroyed the country with them about Masada. Yet when he persuaded them to undertake greater things, he could not prevail with them so to do. For as they were accustomed to dwell in that citadel, they were afraid of going far from that which was their hiding place: but he affecting to tyrannize, and being fond of greatness, when he had heard of the death of Ananus he left them, and went into the mountainous part of the country. So he proclaimed liberty to those in slavery, and a reward to those already free, and got together a set of wicked men from all quarters.

And as he had now a strong body of men about him, he overran the villages that lay in the mountainous country, and when there were still more and more that came to him, he ventured to go down into the lower parts of the country; and since he was now become so formidable to the cities, many of the men of power were corrupted by him: so that his army was no longer composed of slaves and robbers, but a great many of the populace were obedient to him as to their king. He then overran the Acrabattene toparchy, and the places that reached as far as the great Idumea. For he built a wall at a certain village called *Nain, and made use of that as a fortress for his own party's security: and at the valley called Pharan he enlarged many of the caves, and many others he found ready for his purpose: these he made use of as repositories for his treasures, and receptacles for his prey; and therein he laid up the fruits that he had got by rapine. And many of his partizans had their dwelling in them: and he made no secret of it that he was exercising his men beforehand, and making preparations for the assault of Jerusalem.

Hereupon the zealots, out of the dread they were in of his attacking them, and being willing to prevent one that was growing up to oppose them, went out against him with their weapons. Simon met them, and joining battle, slew a considerable number of them, and drove the rest before him into the city: but durst not trust so much upon his forces, as to make an assault upon the walls. But he resolved first to subdue Idumea. And as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched to the borders of that country. Hereupon the rulers of the Idumeans got together on a sudden the most warlike part of their people, about twenty-five thousand in number, and permitted the rest to be a guard to their own country, by reason of the incursions that were made by the Sicarii that were at Masada. Thus they received Simon at their borders: where they fought him, and continued the battle all that day: and the dispute lay whether they had conquered him, or been conquered by him. So he went back to Nain: as did the Idumeans return home. Nor was it long before Simon came violently again upon their country. When he pitched his camp at a certain village called Thecoe: and sent Eleazar, one of his companions, to those that kept garrison at Herodium; and in order to persuade them to surrender that fortress to him. The garrison received this man readily, while they knew nothing of what he came about. But as soon as he talked of the surrender of the place, they fell upon him with their drawn swords, till he found that he had no place for flight. He therefore threw himself down from the wall into the valley beneath, and died immediately. But the Idumeans, who were already much afraid of Simon's power, thought fit to take a view of the enemy's army before they hazarded a battle with them.

Now there was one of their commanders named Jacob, who offered to serve them readily upon that occasion: but had it in his mind to betray them. He went therefore from the village Alurus, wherein the army of the Idumeans were gotten together, and came to Simon: and at the very first he agreed to betray his country to him; and took assurances upon oath from him that he should always have him in his esteem; and then promised that he would assist him in subduing all Idumea. Upon which account he was feasted after an obliging manner by Simon, and elevated by his mighty promises: and when he was returned to his own men, he at first belied the army of Simon, and said it was much more numerous than it was. After which he dexterously persuaded the commanders, and by degrees the whole multitude, to receive Simon, and to surrender the whole govern-

* Or Ain.

ment up to him, without fighting. And as he was doing this, he invited Simon by his messengers, and promised him to dissipate the Idumeans, which he performed also. For as soon as their army was nigh them, he first of all got upon his horse, and fled, together with those whom he had corrupted. Hereupon a terror fell upon the whole multitude: and before it came to a close fight they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his own home.

Thus did Simon unexpectedly march into Idumea, without bloodshed; and made a sudden attack upon the city Hebron, and took it. Wherein he got possession of a great deal of prey, and plundered it of a vast quantity of fruit. Now the people of the country say, that it is an ancienter city, not only than any in that country, but than *Memphis in Egypt: and accordingly its age is reckoned at two thousand three hundred years. They also relate, that it had been the habitation of Abram, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had removed out of Mesopotamia, and that his posterity descended from thence into Egypt. Whose monuments are to this very time shewn in that small city: the fabric of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner. There is also there shewn, at the distance of six furlongs from the city, a very large †turpentine-tree; and it is reported that this has continued ever since the creation of the world. Thence did Simon make his progress over all Idumea: and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but lay waste the whole country. For, besides those that were completely armed, he had forty thousand men that followed him: insomuch that he had not provisions to suffice such a multitude. Now, besides this want of provisions, he was of a barbarous disposition, and bore great anger at this nation. By which means it came to pass, that Idumea was greatly depopulated. And as one may see all the woods behind despoiled of their leaves by locusts, after they have been there; so was there nothing left behind Simon's army, but a desert. Some places they burnt down; some they utterly demolished; and whatsoever grew in the country they either trod it down, or fed upon it: and by their marches they made the ground that was cultivated harder and more untractable than that which was barren. In short, there was no sign remaining of those places that had been laid waste, that ever they had had a being.

This success of Simon's excited the zealots afresh. And though they were afraid to fight him openly in a fair battle, yet did they lay ambushes in the passes, and seized upon his wife, with a considerable number of her attendants: whereupon they came back to the city rejoicing, as if they had taken Simon himself captive; and were in present expectation that he would lay down his arms, and make supplication to them for his wife. But instead of indulging any merciful affection, he grew very angry at them for seizing his beloved wife. So he came to the wall of Jerusalem; and, like wild beasts when they are wounded, and cannot overtake those that wounded them, he vented his spleen upon all persons whom he met with. Accordingly he caught all those that were come out of the city gates, either to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed, and in years; he then tormented them, and destroyed them, out of the immense rage he was in: and was almost ready to taste the very flesh of their dead bodies. He also cut off the hands of a great many, and sent them into the city, to astonish his enemies, and in order to make the people fall into a sedition, and desert those that had been the authors of his wife's seizure. He also enjoined them to tell the people that Simon swore by the God of the universe, that unless they would restore him his wife, he would break down their wall, and inflict the like punishment upon all the citizens, without sparing any age: and without making any distinction between the guilty and the innocent. These threatenings so greatly affrighted, not the people only, but the zealots themselves also, that they sent his wife back to him: upon which he became a little milder, and left off his perpetual blood-shedding.

But sedition and civil war prevailed, not only over Judea, but in Italy also. For now Galba was slain in the midst of the Roman market-place. Then was Otho made emperor, and fought against Vitellius, who set up for emperor also: for the legions in Germany had chosen him. But when he gave battle to Valens and Cecinna, who were Vitellius's generals, at Betriacum in Gaul, Otho gained the advantage on the first day: but on the second day Vitellius's soldiers had the victory. And, after much slaughter, Otho slew himself, when he had heard of this defeat at Brixia, and after he had managed the public affairs ‡three months and two days. §Otho's army also came over to Vitellius's generals, and he came himself down to Rome, with his army. But in the mean time Vespasian removed from Cæsarea, on the fifth day of the month Desius, or Sivan, and marched against those places of Judea which were not yet overthrown. So he went up to the mountainous country, and took those two toparchies that were called the Gophnitic and Acrabattene toparchies. After which he took Bethel and ‖Ephraim, two small cities. And when he had put garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jerusalem: in which march he took many prisoners, and many captives. But Cerealis, one of his commanders, took a body of horsemen and footmen, and laid waste that part of Idumea which was called the Upper Idumea: and attacked Caphethra, which pretended to be a small city, and took it at the first onset, and burnt it down. He also attacked Capharabim and laid siege to it; for it had a very strong wall. And when he expected to spend a long time in that siege, those that were within opened their gates on the sudden, and came to beg pardon, and surrendered themselves up to him. When Cerealis had conquered them, he went to Hebron, another ancient city, situate in a mountainous country, not far off Jerusalem. And when he had broken into the city by force, what multitude and young men were left therein he slew, and burnt down the city. So that as now all the places were taken,

* Tanis, or Zoan, Antiq. I. 8; Numb. xiii. 22.

† Some of the ancients call this famous tree, or grove, an oak, others a turpentine-tree, or grove. It has been very famous in all the past ages; and is so, I suppose, at this day; and that particularly for an eminent mart or meeting of merchants there every year, as the travellers inform us.

‡ Suetonius differs hardly three days from Josephus, and says Otho perished on the 95th day of his reign. In Othon. See the note on chap. 11.

§ A. D. 69.

‖ See John xi. 54.

excepting Herodium, Masada, and Macherus, which were in the possession of the robbers; so Jerusalem was what the Romans at present aimed at.

Now, as soon as Simon had set his wife free, and recovered her from the zealots, he returned back to the remainders of Idumea: and driving the nation before him, from all quarters, he compelled a great number of them to retire to Jerusalem. He followed them himself also to the city, and encompassed the wall all round again. And when he met with any labourers, that were coming thither out of the country, he slew them. Now this Simon, who was without the wall, was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves: as were the zealots who were within it more heavy upon them than both of the other. And during this time did the mischievous contrivances and courage of John corrupt the *body of the Galileans. For these Galileans had advanced this John, and made him very potent: who made them a suitable requital, from the authority he had obtained by their means, for he permitted them to do all things that any of them desired. While their inclination to plunder was insatiable: as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich. And for the murdering of the men, and abusing of the women, it was sport to them. They also devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood; and indulged themselves in feminine wantonness, without any disturbance, till they were satiated therewith. While they decked their hair, and put on women's garments, and were besmeared over with ointments: and, that they might appear very comely, they had paints under their eyes; and were guilty of such intolerable uncleanness, that they invented unlawful pleasures, and rolled themselves up and down the city, as in a brothel house; and defiled it entirely with their impure actions. Nay, while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands: and when their gate was effeminate, they presently attacked men, and become warriors: and drew their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, and ran every body through whom they met with; however, Simon waited for such as ran away from John, and was the more sanguinary of the two. And he who escaped the tyrant within the wall, was destroyed by the other that lay before the gates. So that all attempts of deserting to the Romans were cut off, as to those that had a mind so to do.

Yet did the army that was under John raise a sedition against him: and all the Idumeans separated themselves from the tyrant, and attempted to destroy him: and this out of their envy at his power, and hatred of his cruelty. So they got together, and slew many of the zealots, and drove the rest before them into that royal palace that was built by Grapte, who was a relation of †Izates, king of Adiabene: the Idumeans fell in with them, and drove the zealots out thence into the temple, and betook themselves to plunder John's effects. For both he himself was in that palace; and therein had he laid up the spoils he had acquired by his tyranny. In the mean time the multitude of those zealots that were dispersed over the city ran together to the temple, unto those that had fled thither: and John prepared to bring them down against the people and the Idumeans: who were not so much afraid of being attacked by them, because they were themselves better soldiers than they, as at their madness, lest they should privately sally out of the temple, and get among them, and not only destroy them, but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together, and the high-priests with them, and took counsel, after what manner they should avoid their assault. Now it was God who turned their opinions to the worst advice, ‡and thence they devised such a remedy to get themselves free, as was worse than the disease itself. Accordingly, in order to overthrow John, they determined to admit Simon: and earnestly to desire the introduction of a second tyrant into the city. This resolution they brought to perfection, and sent Matthias, the high-priest, to beseech this Simon to come in to them, of whom they had so often been afraid. Those also that had fled from the zealots in Jerusalem joined in this request, out of the desire they had of preserving their houses, and their effects. Accordingly he, in an arrogant manner, granted them his lordly protection; and came into the city, in order to deliver it from the zealots. The people also made joyful acclamations to him, as their saviour and their preserver. But when he was come in, with his army, he took care to secure his own authority; and looked upon those that had invited him in to be no less his enemies, than those against whom the invitation was intended.

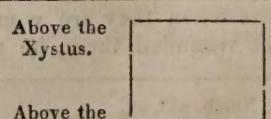
And thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus, or Nisan. Whereupon John, with his multitude of zealots, as being both prohibited from coming out of the temple, and having lost their power in the city, (for Simon and his party had plundered them of what they had,) were in despair of deliverance. Simon also made an assault upon the temple, with the assistance of the people; while the others stood upon the cloisters, and the battlements, and defended themselves from their assaults. However, a considerable number of Simon's party fell; and many were carried off wounded. For the zealots threw their darts easily from a superior place, and seldom failed of hitting their enemies. But having the advantage of situation, and having withal erected four very large towers beforehand, that their darts might come from higher places, §one at the north-east corner of the court, one above the Xystus: the third at another corner, over against the lower city; and the last was erected above the top of the Pastophoria: where one of the priests

* Those that came out of Galilee with John of Gischala.

† See Antiq. XX. 2.

‡ This God can easily effect by leaving men to their own uninfluenced counsel and wisdom. B.

§ Take here Reland's small scheme of the situation of these four towers, erected in the temple, in the court of Israel, as follows:


Above the Xystus.
The corner over against the lower city.
Above the top of the Pastophoria.
The tower at the north-east corner of the court.

stood of course, and gave *a signal beforehand, with a trumpet, at the beginning of every seventh day, in the evening twilight: as also at the evening, when that day was finished; as giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work, and when they were to go to work again. These men also set their engines to cast darts and stones withal, upon those towers, with their archers and slingers. And now Simon made his assault upon the temple more faintly, by reason that the greatest part of his men grew weary of that work. Yet did he not leave off his opposition: because his army was superior to the others: although the darts which were thrown by the engines were carried a great way, and slew many of those that fought for him.

CHAP. X.

OF THE ELEVATION OF VESPASIAN TO THE IMPERIAL DIGNITY, AND THE EMANCIPATION OF JOSEPHUS FROM HIS BONDS.

ABOUT this time heavy calamities came about Rome on all sides. For Vitellius was come from Germany with his soldiery; and drew along with him a great multitude of other men besides. And when the spaces allotted for soldiers could not contain them, he made all Rome itself his camp; and filled all the houses with the armed men. Which men, when they saw the riches of Rome, with those eyes which had never seen such riches before, and found themselves shone round about on all sides with silver and gold, they had much ado to contain their covetous desires; and were ready to betake themselves to plunder, and to the slaughter of such as should stand in their way. And this was the state of affairs in Italy at that time.

But when Vespasian had overthrown all the places that were near to Jerusalem, he returned to Cæsarea, and heard of the troubles that were at Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor, this produced indignation in him: although he well knew how to be governed, as well as to govern: and could not, with any satisfaction, own him for his lord, who acted so madly, and seized upon the government, as if it were absolutely destitute of a governor. And as this sorrow of his was violent, he was not able to support the torments he was under; nor to apply himself farther in other wars, when his native country was laid waste. But then, as much as his passion excited him to avenge his country, so much was he restrained by the consideration of his distance therefrom. Because fortune might prevent him, and do a world of mischief before he could himself sail over the sea to Italy: especially as it was still the winter season: so he restrained his anger, how vehement soever it was at this time.†

But now his commanders and soldiers met in several companies, and consulted openly about changing the public affairs: and out of their indignation, cried out, "At Rome there are soldiers that live delicately: and when they have not ventured so much as to hear the fame of war, they ordain whom they please for our governors; and in hopes of gain make them emperors, while you have gone through so many labours, and are grown into years under your helmets, give leave to others to use such a power; when you have among yourselves one more worthy to rule than any whom they have set up. Now what juster opportunity shall they ever have of requiting their generals, if they do not make use of this that is now before them? while there is much juster reasons for Vespasian's being emperor, than for Vitellius: as they are themselves more deserving, than those that made the other emperors. For they have undergone as great wars as have the troops that come from Germany. Nor are they inferior in war to those that have brought that tyrant to Rome; nor have they undergone smaller labours than they. For neither will the Roman senate, nor people, bear such a lascivious emperor as Vitellius; if he be compared with their chaste Vespasian. Nor will they endure a most barbarous tyrant, instead of a good governor; nor choose one that hath ‡no child, to preside over them instead of him that is a father. Because the advancement of men's own children to dignities is certainly the greatest security kings can have for themselves. Whether, therefore, we estimate the capacity of governing from the skill of a person in years, we ought to have Vespasian; or whether from the strength of a young man, we ought to have Titus: for by this means we shall have the advantage of both their ages. For they will afford strength to those that shall be made emperors: they having already three legions, besides other auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings; and will have farther all the armies in the east to support them: as also those in Europe, so far as they are out of the distance and dread of Vitellius: besides such auxiliaries as they may have in Italy itself; that is, Vespasian's §brother, and his ‖other son: the one of which will bring in a great many of those young men that are of dignity; while the other is entrusted with the government of the city: which office of his will be no small means of Vespasian's obtaining the government. Upon the whole, the case may be such, that if we ourselves make farther delays, the senate may choose an emperor whom the soldiers, who are the saviours of the empire, will hold in contempt."

These were the discourses the soldiers had in their several companies. After which they got together in a great body;

* This beginning and ending the observance of the Jewish seventh day, or sabbath, with a priests's blowing of a trumpet, is remarkable; and no where else mentioned, that I know of. Nor is Reland's conjecture here improbable; that this was the very place that has puzzled our commentators so long, called Musach Sabbati, the "covert of the Sabbath:" if that be the true reading, 2 Kings xvi. 18. Because here the proper priest stood dry, under a covering to proclaim the beginning and ending of every Jewish sabbath.

† A. D. 69.

‡ The Roman authors that now remain, say Vitellius had children: whereas Josephus introduces here the Roman soldiers in Judea saying, he had none. Which of these assertions was the truth, I know not. Spanheim thinks he had given a peculiar reason for calling Vitellius childless, though he really had children. Diss. de Num. page 649, 650. To which it appears very difficult to give our assent.

§ This brother of Vespasian was Flavius Sabinus, as Suetonius informs us, in Vitell. § 15, and in Vespas. § 2. He is also named by Josephus presently, chap. 11.

‖ Domitian.

and, encouraging one another, they *declared Vespasian emperor; and exhorted him to save the government, which was now in danger. Now Vespasian's concern had been for a considerable time about the public. Yet did he not intend to set up for governor himself, though his actions shewed him to deserve it: while he preferred that safety which is in a private life, before the dangers in a state of such dignity. But when he refused the empire, the commanders insisted the more earnestly upon his acceptance: and the soldiers came about him, with their drawn swords, and threatened to kill him, unless he would now live according to his dignity. And when he had shewed his reluctance a great while, and had endeavoured to thrust away this dominion from him, he at length, being not able to persuade them, yielded to their solicitations that would salute him emperor.

So upon the exhortations of Mucianus, and the other commanders, that he would accept of the empire; and upon that of the rest of the army, who cried out, that they were willing to be led against all his opposers, he was in the first place intent upon gaining the dominion over Alexandria; as knowing that Egypt was of the greatest consequence in order to obtain the entire government, because of its supplying of corn to Rome: which corn, if he could be master of, he hoped to dethrone Vitellius; supposing he should aim to keep the empire by force: (for he would not be able to support himself, if the multitude at Rome should once be in want of food:) and because he was desirous to join the two legions that were at Alexandria to the other legions that were with him. He also considered with himself, that he should then have that country for a defence to himself against the uncertainty of fortune. For †Egypt is hard to be entered by land; and hath no good havens by sea. It hath on the west the dry deserts of Libya; and on the south Siene, that divides it from Ethiopia; as well as the cataracts of the Nile, that cannot be sailed over: and on the east the Red Sea, extended as far as Coptus; and it is fortified on the north by the land that reaches Syria; together with that called the Egyptian Sea; having no havens in it for ships. And thus is Egypt walled about on every side. Its length, between Pelusium and Siene, is two thousand furlongs; and the passage by sea from Plinthine to Pelusium is three thousand six hundred furlongs. Its river Nile is navigable as far as the city called Elephantine: the cataracts hindering ships from going any farther. The haven also of Alexandria is not entered by the mariners without difficulty, even in times of peace. For the passage inward is narrow, and full of rocks, that lie under water, which oblige the mariners to turn from a strait direction. Its left side is blocked up by works made by men's hands on both sides. On its right side lies the island called Pharos, which is situate just before the entrance, and supports a very great tower, that affords the sight of a fire to such as sail within three hundred furlongs of it; that ships may cast anchor a great way off in the night time, by reason of the difficulty of sailing nearer. About this island are built very great piers; against which, when the sea dashes itself, and its waves are broken against those boundaries, the navigation becomes very troublesome, and the entrance through so narrow a passage is rendered dangerous. Yet is the haven itself, when you are got into it, a very safe one; and of thirty furlongs in extent. Into which is brought what the country wants in order to its happiness; as also what abundance the country affords, more than it wants itself, is hence distributed into all the habitable earth.

Justly, therefore, did Vespasian desire to obtain that government, in order to corroborate his attempts upon the whole empire. So he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and of Alexandria, and informed him, what the army had put him upon, and how he, being forced to accept of the burden of the government, was desirous to have him for his confederate and supporter. Now as soon as Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the legions, and the multitude, to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian; both of which willingly complied with him: as already acquainted with the courage of the man, from his conduct in their neighbourhood. Accordingly Vespasian, looking upon himself as already entrusted with the government, got all things ready for his journey to Rome. Now fame carried this news abroad, more suddenly than one could have thought, that he was emperor over the east. Upon which every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices, and oblations, for such good news. The legions also that were in Mysia and Pannonia, who had been in commotion a little before, on account of this insolent attempt of Vitellius, were very glad to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, upon his coming to the empire. Vespasian then removed from Cæsarea to Berytus: where many ambassages came to him from Syria, and many from other provinces: bringing with them from every city crowns, and the congratulations of the people. Mucianus came also, who was the president of the province, and told him with what alacrity the people received the news of his advancement, and how the people of every city had taken the oath of fidelity to him.

So Vespasian's good fortune succeeded to his wishes every where: and the public affairs were, for the greatest part, already in his hands. Upon which he considered, that he had not arrived at the government without divine providence; but that a righteous kind of fate had brought the empire under his power. For as he called to mind the other numerous signals, which had foretold he should obtain the government, so did he remember what Josephus had said to him, when he ventured to ‡foretell his coming to the empire, while Nero was alive. So he was much concerned that this man was still in bonds with him. He then called for Mucianus, together with his other commanders and friends; and in the first place he informed them what a

* It is plain by the nature of the thing, as well as by Josephus and Eutropius, that Vespasian was first of all saluted emperor in Judea; and not till some time afterward in Egypt. Whence Tacitus's and Suetonius's present copies must be corrected; when they both say, that he was first proclaimed in Egypt, and that on the calends of July: while they still say, it was the fifth of the nones or the ides of the same July before he was proclaimed in Judea. I suppose the month they there intended was June and not July, as the copies now have it. Nor does Tacitus's coherence imply less. See Essay on the Revelation, page 136.

† Here we have an authentic description of the bounds and circumstances of Egypt, in the days of Vespasian and Titus.

‡ See Book III. chap. 8.

valiant man Josephus had been, and what great hardships he had made him undergo in the siege of Jotapata. After that he related those *predictions of his which he had then suspected as fictions, suggested out of the fear he was in; but which had by this time been demonstrated to be divine. "It is a shameful thing," said he, "that this man who hath foretold my coming to the empire beforehand, and been the minister of a divine message to me, should still be retained in the condition of a captive or a prisoner." So he called for Josephus, and commanded that he should be set at liberty. Whereupon the commanders promised themselves glorious things, from this requital Vespasian made to a stranger. Titus was then present with his father, and said, "O father, it is but just that the scandal of a prisoner should be taken off Josephus, together with his iron chain. For if we do not barely loose his bonds, but cut them to pieces, he will be like a man that had never been bound at all." For that is the usual method as to such as have been bound without a cause. This advice was agreed to by Vespasian. So there came a man in, and cut the chain to pieces: while Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward; and was also esteemed a person of credit as to futurities.

CHAP. XI.

UPON THE CONQUEST AND SLAUGHTER OF VITELLIUS, VESPASIAN HASTENS HIS JOURNEY TO ROME; BUT TITUS RETURNS TO JERUSALEM.

NOW, when Vespasian had given answers to the ambassages, and had disposed of the places of power† justly, and according to every one's deserts, he came to Antioch: and consulting which way he had best take, he preferred to go for Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria; because he saw that Alexandria was sure to him already; but that the affairs at Rome were put into disorder by Vitellius. So he sent Mucianus to Italy, and committed a considerable army both of horsemen and footmen to him. Yet was Mucianus afraid of going by sea, because it was the middle of winter;‡ and so he led his army on foot through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

In the mean time Antonius Primus took the third of the legions that were in Mysia, for he was president of that province, and made haste, in order to fight Vitellius. Whereupon Vitellius sent away Cecinna, with a great army: having a mighty confidence in him, because of his having beaten Otho. Thus Cecinna marched out of Rome in great haste, and found Antonius about Cremona in Gaul: which city is in the borders of Italy. But when he saw that the enemy was numerous, and in good order, he durst not fight them: and as he thought a retreat dangerous, so he began to think of betraying his army to Antonius. Accordingly he assembled the centurions and tribunes that were under his command, and persuaded them to go over to Antonius; and this by diminishing the reputation of Vitellius's affairs, and by exaggerating the power of Vespasian. He also told them, that "With the one there was no more than the bare name of dominion; but with the other was the power of it. And that it were better for them to prevent necessity, and gain favour; and, while they were likely to be overcome in battle, to avoid the danger beforehand; and go over to Antonius willingly. That Vespasian was able of himself to subdue what had not yet submitted, without their assistance: while Vitellius could not preserve what he had already with it."

Cecinna said this, and much more to the same purpose; and persuaded them to comply with him: and both he and his army deserted. But the very same night the soldiers repented of what they had done: and a fear seized on them, lest, perhaps, Vitellius, who sent them, should get the better. And drawing their swords, they assaulted Cecinna, in order to kill him. And the thing had been done by them, if the tribunes had not fallen upon their knees, and besought them not to do it. So the soldiers did not kill him, but put him in bonds, as a traitor: and were about to send him to Vitellius. When Antonius Primus heard of this, he raised up his men immediately, and made them put on their armour, and led them against those that had revolted. Hereupon they put themselves in order of battle, and made a resistance for a while: but were soon beaten, and fled to Cremona. Then did Primus take his horsemen, and cut off their entrance into the city, and encompassed and destroyed a great multitude of them before the city; and fell into the city together with the rest, and gave leave to his soldiers to plunder it. And here it was that many strangers, who were merchants, as well as many of the people of that country perished: and among them Vitellius's whole army, being thirty thousand and two hundred; while Antonius lost no more of those that came with him from Mysia than four thousand and five hundred. He then §loosed Cecinna, and sent him to Vespasian, to tell him the good news. So he came, and was received by him, and covered the scandal of his treachery, by the unexpected honours he received from Vespasian.

Now, upon the news that Antonius was approaching, ||Sabinus took courage at Rome, and assembled those cohorts of soldiers that kept watch by night: and in the night time

* As Daniel was preferred by Darius and Cyrus, on account of his having foretold the destruction of the Babylonian monarchy by their means, and the consequent exaltation of the Medes and Persians, Dan. v. 6, or rather, as Jeremiah, when he was a prisoner, was set at liberty, and honourably treated by Nebuzaradan, at the command of Nebuchadnezzar, on account of his having foretold the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians: Jer. xl. 1—6, so was our Josephus set at liberty, and honourably treated, on account of his having foretold the advancement of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman empire. All these are most eminent instances of the interposition of divine providence, and of the certainty of divine predictions, in the great revolutions of the four monarchies. Several such-like examples occur both in the sacred and other histories. As in the case of Joseph in Egypt; of Jaddua the high-priest, in the days of Alexander the Great, &c.

† This is well observed by Josephus, that Vespasian, in order to secure his success, and establish his government at first, distributed his offices and places upon the foot of justice; and bestowed them on such as best deserved them, and were best fit for them. Which wise conduct, in a mere heathen, ought to put those rulers and ministers of state to shame who, professing Christianity, act otherwise; and thereby expose themselves and their kingdoms to vice and to destruction.

‡ A. D. 69.

§ This delivery of Cecinna, and his sending to Vespasian, are also in Tacitus, Hist. III. 31, as Spanheim here observes.

|| The brother of Vespasian.

seized upon the capitol. And as the day came on, many men of character came over to him, with Domitian, his brother's son: whose encouragement was of very great weight for the compassing the government. Now Vitellius was not much concerned at this Primus; but was very angry at those that had revolted with Sabinus: and thirsting, out of his own natural barbarity, after noble blood, he sent out that part of his army which came along with him to fight against the capitol: and many bold actions were done on this side, and on the side of those that held the *temple. But at last the soldiers that came from Germany, being too numerous for the others, got the hill into their possession. Where Domitian, with many other of the principal Romans, providentially escaped: while the rest of the multitude were entirely cut to pieces; and Sabinus himself was brought to Vitellius, and then slain. The soldiers also plundered the temple of its ornaments, and set it on fire. But now, within a day's time, came Antonius, with his army; and were met by Vitellius and his army: and having had a battle, in three several places, the last were all destroyed. Then did Vitellius come out of the palace, in his cups, and satiated with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as in the last extremity. And being drawn along through the multitude, and abused with all sorts of torments, his head was cut off in the midst of Rome; having retained the government †eight months and five days; and had he lived much longer, I cannot but think the empire would not have been sufficient for his lust. Of the others that were slain were numbered above fifty thousand. This battle was fought on the third day of the month Apelleus, or Casleu. On the next day Mucianus came into the city, with his army; and ordered Antonius and his men to leave off killing. For they were still searching the houses, and killed many of Vitellius's soldiers, and many of the populace, as supposing them to be of his party: preventing by their rage any accurate distinction between them and others. He then produced Domitian, and recommended him to the multitude, until his father should come himself. So the people being now freed from their fears, made acclamations of joy for Vespasian, as for their emperor; and kept festival days for his confirmation, and for the destruction of Vitellius.

And now, as Vespasian was come to Alexandria, this good news came from Rome; and at the same time came embassies from all ‡his own habitable earth, to congratulate him upon his advancement. And though this Alexandria was the greatest of all cities next to Rome, it proved too narrow to contain the multitude that then came to it. So upon this confirmation of Vespasian's entire government, which was now settled; and upon the unexpected deliverance of the public affairs of the Romans from ruin; Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained unsubdued in Judea. However, he himself made haste to go to Rome, as the winter was now almost over; and soon set the affairs of Alexandria in order: but he sent his son Titus, with a select part of his army, to destroy Jerusalem. So Titus marched on foot as far as Nicopolis; which is distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria. There he put his army on board some long ships, and sailed upon the river along the Mendesian Momus, as far as the city Thmuis. There he got out of the ships, and walked on foot, and lodged all night at a small city called §Tanis. His second station was Heracleopolis; and his third Pelusium. He then refreshed his army at that place, for two days. And on the third passed over the mouth of the Nile at Pelusium. He then proceeded one station over the desert, and pitched his camp at the temple of the ‖Casian Jupiter; and on the next day at Ostracine. This station had no water: but the people of the country make use of water brought from other places. After this he rested at Rhinocolura; and from thence he went to Raphia, which was his fourth station: this city is the beginning of Syria. For his fifth station he pitched his camp at Gaza. After which he came to Ascalon, and thence to Jamnia, and after that to Joppa, and from Joppa to Cæsarea: having taken a resolution to gather all his other forces together at that place.

---

* The capitol, where was Jupiter's famous temple.

† The numbers in Josephus, chap. 9, for Galba, seven months seven days, for Otho, three months two days, and here for Vitellius, eight months five days, do not agree with any of the Roman historians: who also disagree among themselves. And, indeed, Scaliger justly complains, as Dr. Hudson observes on chap. 9, ◊ 2, that this period is very confused and uncertain in the ancient authors. They were probably some of them contemporary together for some time. One of the best evidences we have, I mean Ptolemy's Canon, omits them all, as if they did not altogether reign one whole year: nor had a single Thoth or New-Year's-Day, (which then fell upon August 6,) in their entire reigns. Dio also, who says that Vitellius reigned a year within ten days, does yet estimate all their reigns together at no more than one year, one month and two days.

‡ The whole Roman empire.

§ Zoan in the Old Testament.

‖ There are coins of this Casian Jupiter, still extant, as Spanheim here informs us.

BOOK V.

Containing an Interval of near Six Months.

FROM THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM, TO THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED.

CHAP. I.

CONCERNING THE SEDITIOUS AT JERUSALEM; AND THE TERRIBLE MISERIES WHICH AFFLICTED THE CITY BY THEIR MEANS.

WHEN Titus had marched over that desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner before mentioned, he came to Cæsarea: having resolved to set his forces in order at that place, before he began the war. Nay, indeed, while he was assisting his father at Alexandria, in settling that government which had been newly conferred upon them by God, it so happened, that the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and parted into three factions: and that one faction fought against the other. Which partition in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of divine justice. Now as to the attack the zealots made upon the people, and which I esteem the beginning of the city's destruction, it hath been already explained after an accurate manner; as also whence it arose, and to how great a mischief it was increased. But for the present sedition, one should not mistake if he called it a sedition begotten by another sedition: and to be like a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of food from abroad, fell now upon eating its own flesh.

For Eleazar, the son of Simon, who made the first separation of the zealots from the people, and made them retire into the temple, appeared very angry at John's insolent attempts, which he made every day upon the people. For this man never left off murdering. But the truth was, that he could not bear to submit to a tyrant, who set up after him. So he, being desirous of gaining the entire power and dominion to himself, revolted from John, and took to his assistance John the son of Chelcias, and Simon the son of Ezron, who were among the men of greatest power. There was also with him Hezekiah, the son of Chobar, a person of eminence. Each of these were followed by a great many of the zealots. These seized upon the *inner †court of the temple, and laid their arms upon the holy gates, and over the holy fronts of that court. And because they had plenty of provisions, they were of good courage. For there was great abundance of what was consecrated to sacred uses, and they scrupled not the making use of them. Yet were they afraid on account of their small number. And when they had laid up their arms there, they did not stir from the place they were in. Now as to John, what advantage he had above Eleazar in the multitude of his followers, the like disadvantage he had in the situation he was in: since he had his enemies over his head. And as he could not make any assault upon them without some terror, so was his anger too great to let him be at rest. Nay, although he suffered more mischief from Eleazar and his party than he could inflict upon them, yet would he not leave off assaulting them. Insomuch that there were continual sallies made one against another; as well as darts thrown at one another, and the temple was defiled every where with murders.

But the tyrant Simon, the son of Gioras, whom the people had invited in, out of the hopes they had of his assistance in the great distresses they were in; having in his power the upper city, and a great part of the lower, did now make more vehement assaults upon John, and his party: because these were fought against from above also. Yet was he beneath their situation, when he attacked them: as were they beneath the attacks of the others above them. Whereby it came to pass, that John did both receive and inflict great damage, and that easily: as he was fought against on both sides. And the same advantage that Eleazar and his party had over him, since he was beneath them;

* This appears to be the first time that the zealots ventured to pollute this most sacred court of the temple, which was the court of the priests, wherein the temple itself and the altar stood. So that the conjecture of those that would interpret that Zacharias, who was slain between the temple and the altar several months before, IV. 5, as if he were slain there by these zealots, is groundless: as I have noted on that place already.

† The court of the priests.

the same advantage had he, by his higher situation, over Simon. On which account he easily repelled the attacks that were made from beneath, by the weapons thrown with their hands only: but was obliged to repel those that threw their darts from the temple above him, by his engines of war. For he had such engines as threw darts, javelins, and stones; and that in no small number. By which he did not only defend himself from such as fought against him, but also slew many of the priests, as they were about their sacred ministrations. For notwithstanding these men were mad with all sorts of impiety, yet did they still admit those that desired to offer their sacrifices; although they took care to search the people of their own country beforehand; and both suspected and watched them. While they were not so much afraid of strangers: who although they had gotten leave of them, how cruel soever they were, to come into that court, were yet often destroyed by this sedition. For those darts that were thrown by the engines came with such force, that they went over all the buildings, and reached as far as the altar, and the temple itself: and fell upon the priests, and *those that were about the sacred offices. Insomuch that many persons who came thither with great zeal from the ends of the earth, to offer sacrifices, at this celebrated place, which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down before their own sacrifices, and sprinkled that altar which was venerable among all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, with their own blood, till the dead bodies of strangers were mingled together with those of their own country; and those of profane persons with those of priests: and the blood of all sorts of dead carcasses stood in lakes in the holy courts themselves. And now, O most wretched city! what misery so great as this didst thou suffer from the Romans, when they came to purify thee from thy intestine hatred? For thou couldst be no longer a place fit for God; nor couldst thou long continue in being, after thou hadst been a sepulchre for the bodies of thy own people; and hadst made the holy house itself a burying place in this civil war. Yet †mayest thou again grow better, if perchance thou wilt hereafter appease the anger of that God who is the author of thy destruction. But I must refrain myself from these passions by the rules of history: since this is not a proper time for domestic lamentations, but for historical narrations; I, therefore, return to the operations that follow in this sedition.

Now there were three treacherous factions in the city, the one parted from the other. Eleazar and his party, that kept the sacred first-fruits, came against John in their cups. Those that were with John plundered the populace, and went out with zeal against Simon. This Simon had his supply of provisions from the city, in opposition to the seditious. When, therefore, John was assaulted on both sides, he made his men turn about, throwing darts upon those citizens that came up against him, from the cloisters he had in his possession; while he opposed those that attacked him from the temple, by his engines of war. And if at any time he was freed from those that were above him, which happened frequently, from their being tired or inebriated, he sallied out with a greater number upon Simon and his party. And this he did always in such parts of the city as he could come at, till he set on fire those houses that were full of ‡corn, and of all other provisions. The same thing was done by Simon, when, upon the others' retreat, he attacked the city also: as if they had on purpose done it to serve the Romans, by destroying what the city had laid up against the siege; and by thus cutting off the nerves of their own power. Accordingly, it came to pass, that all the places that were about the temple were burnt down; and were become an intermediate desert space, ready for fighting on both sides of it: and almost all that corn was burnt, which would have been sufficient for a siege of many years. So they were taken by means of the famine: which it was impossible they should have been, unless they had thus prepared the way for it by this procedure.

Now, as the city was engaged in a war on all sides, from these treacherous crowds of wicked men; the people of the city between them were, like a great body, torn in pieces. The aged men, and the women, were in such distress by their internal calamities, that they wished for the Romans; and earnestly hoped for an external war, in order to their delivery from their domestic miseries. The citizens themselves were under a terrible consternation and fear. Nor had they any opportunity of taking counsel, and of changing their conduct. Nor were there any hopes of coming to an agreement with their enemies: nor could such as had a mind flee away. For guards were set at all places; and the heads of the robbers, although they were seditious one against another in other respects, yet did they agree in killing those that were for peace with the Romans; or were suspected of an inclination to desert to them, as their common enemies. They agreed in nothing but this, to kill those that were innocent. The noise also of those that were fighting was incessant both by day and by night: but the lamentation of those that mourned exceeded the other. Nor was there ever any occasion for them to leave off their lamentations; because their calamities came perpetually one upon another: although the deep consternation they were in prevented their outward wailing. But being constrained by their fear to conceal their inward passions, they were inwardly tormented; without daring to open their lips in groans. Nor was any regard paid to those that were still alive by their relations: nor was there any care taken of burial for those that were dead. The occasion of both which was, that every one despaired of himself. For those that were not among the seditious had no great desires of any thing; as expecting for certain, that they should very soon be destroyed. But for the seditious themselves, they fought against each other while they trod upon the dead bodies, as they lay heaped one upon another: and taking

* The Levites.

† This is an excellent reflection of Josephus: including his hopes of the restoration of the Jews, upon their repentance. See Antiquities, IV. 8. Which is the grand Hope of Israel, as Manasseh ben Israel, the famous Jewish Rabbi, styles it, in his small but remarkable treatise on that subject; of which the Jewish prophets are every where full.

‡ This destruction of such a vast quantity of corn and other provisions, as was sufficient for many years, was the direct occasion of that terrible famine, which consumed incredible numbers of Jews in Jerusalem during its siege. Nor probably could the Romans have taken this city, after all, had not these seditious Jews been so infatuated as thus madly to destroy what Josephus here justly styles, "The nerves of their power."

up a mad rage from those dead bodies that were under their feet, became the fiercer thereupon. They, moreover, were still inventing somewhat or other that was pernicious against themselves. And when they had resolved upon any thing, they executed it without mercy; and omitted no method of torment, or of barbarity. Nay, John abused the *sacred materials; and employed them in the construction of his engines of war. For the people and the priests had formerly determined to support the temple, and raised the holy house twenty cubits higher. For king Agrippa had, at a very great expense, and with very great pains, brought thither such materials as were proper for that purpose; being pieces of timber very well worth seeing, both for their straightness, and their largeness. But the war coming on, and interrupting the work, John had them cut, and prepared for building him towers, he finding them long enough, to oppose from them, those his adversaries that fought him from the temple that was above him. He also had them brought, and erected behind the inner court, over against the west end of the cloisters; where †alone he could erect them. Whereas the other sides of that court had so many steps, as would not let them come nigh enough to the cloisters.

Thus did John hope to overcome his enemies by these engines; constructed by his impiety. But God himself demonstrated that his pains would prove of no use to him, by bringing the Romans upon him before he had reared any of his towers. For Titus, when he had gotten together part of his forces about him, and had ordered the rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched out of Cæsarea. He had with him those three legions, that had accompanied his father when he laid Judea waste: together with that twelfth legion which had been formerly beaten with Cestius. Which legion, as it was otherwise remarkable for their valour, so did it march on now with greater alacrity, to avenge themselves on the Jews, as remembering what they had formerly suffered from them. Of these legions he ordered the fifth to meet him, by going through Emmaus; and the tenth to go up by Jericho. He also moved himself, together with the rest. Besides which marched those auxiliaries that came from the kings, being now more in number than before: together with a considerable number that came to his assistance from Syria. Those also that had been selected out of these four legions, and sent with Mucianus to Italy, had their places filled up out of those soldiers that came out of Egypt with Titus: which were two thousand men, chosen out of the armies at Alexandria. There followed him also three thousand drawn from those that guarded the river Euphrates. As also there came Tiberius Alexander, who was a friend of his, most valuable both for his good will to him, and for his prudence. He had formerly been governor of Alexandria, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army, under Titus. The reason of this was, that he had been the first who encouraged Vespasian very lately to accept this his new dominion: and enjoined himself to him, with great fidelity, when things were uncertain, and fortune had not yet declared for him. He also followed Titus, as a counsellor; very useful to him in this war, both by his age, and skill in such affairs.

CHAP. II.

TITUS MARCHES TO JERUSALEM, AND IS IN DANGER, WHILE TAKING A VIEW OF THE CITY.—OF THE PLACE ALSO WHERE HE PITCHED HIS CAMP.

NOW as Titus was upon his march into the enemies' country, the auxiliaries, that were sent by the kings, marched first: having all the other auxiliaries with them. After whom followed those that were to prepare the roads, and measure out the camp. Then came the commanders' baggage; and after that the other soldiers, who were completely armed to support them. Then came Titus himself, having with him another select body; and then came the pikemen. After whom came the cavalry belonging to that legion. All these came before the engines. And after these engines came the tribunes, and the leaders of the cohorts, with their select bodies. After these came the ensigns, with the eagle: and before those ensigns came the trumpeters belonging to them. Next came the main body of the army in their rank: every rank six deep. The servants belonging to every legion came after these, and before these last their baggage. The mercenaries came last; and those that guarded them brought up the rear. Now Titus, according to the Roman usage, went in the front of the army, after a decent manner; and marched through Samaria, to Gophna; a city that had been formerly taken by his father, and was then garrisoned by Roman soldiers. And when he had lodged there one night, he marched on in the morning: and when he had gone as far as a day's march, he pitched his camp at that valley which the Jews, in their own tongue, call The Valley of Thorns, near a certain village called Gabaoth Saul: which signifies the hill of Saul: being distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs. There it was that he chose out six hundred select horsemen, and went to take a view of the city, to observe what strength it was of, and how courageous the Jews were. Whether, when they saw him, and before they came to a direct battle, they would be affrighted, and submit. For he had been informed, what was really true, that the people who were fallen under the power of the seditious and the robbers were greatly desirous of peace: but, being too weak to rise up against the rest, they lay still.

Now so long as he rode along the straight road which led to the wall of the city, nobody appeared out of the gates. But when he went out of that road, and declined towards the tower Psephinos, and led the band of horsemen obliquely, an immense number of Jews leaped out suddenly at the towers called the Women's towers, through that gate which was over against the monuments of queen Helena, and intercepted his horse: and standing directly opposite to those that still ran along the road, hindered them from joining

* This timber we see was designed for the rebuilding those twenty additional cubits of the holy house above the hundred which had fallen down some years before. See the note on Antiq. XV. 11.

† There being no gate on the west, and only on the west side of the court of the priests, and so no steps there; this was the only side that the seditious, under this John of Gischala, could bring their engines close to the cloisters of that court endways, though upon the floor of the court of Israel.

those who had declined out of it. They intercepted Titus also, with a few others. Now it was here impossible for him to go forward, because all the places had trenches dug in them from the wall, to preserve the gardens round about; and were full of gardens obliquely situate, and of many hedges. And to return back to his own men he saw was also impossible; by reason of the multitude of the enemies that lay between them. Many of whom did not so much as know that the *king was in any danger; but supposed him still among them. So he perceived that his preservation must be wholly owing to his own courage, and turned his horse about, and cried out aloud to those that were about him to follow him; and ran with violence into the midst of his enemies: in order to force his way through them to his own men. And hence we may principally learn that both the success of wars, and the dangers that kings are in, are under the providence of God. For while such a number of darts were thrown at Titus, when he had neither his head-piece on, nor his breast-plate: (for he went out not to fight, but to view the city:) none of them touched his body, but went aside, without hurting him. As if all of them missed him on purpose; and only made a noise as they passed by him. So he diverted those perpetually with his sword that came on his side, and overturned many of those that directly met him; and made his horse ride over those that were overthrown. The enemy, indeed, made a shout at the boldness of Cæsar, and exhorted one another to rush upon him. Yet did those against whom he marched flee away, and go off from him in great numbers. While those that were in the same danger kept up close to him, though they were wounded both on their backs, and on their sides. For they had each of them but this one hope of escaping, if they could assist Titus in opening himself a way, that he might not be encompassed round by his enemies, before he got away from them. Now there were two of those that were with him, but at some distance: the one of which the enemy compassed round, and slew him with their darts, and his horse also. But the other they slew, as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and came safe to the camp. So this success of the Jews' first attack raised their minds, and gave them an ill-grounded hope: and this short inclination of fortune on their side made them very courageous for the future.

But now, as soon as that legion that had been at Emmaus was joined to Cæsar at night, he removed thence, when it was day, and came to a place called Scopus: from whence the city began already to be seen, and a plain view might be taken of the great temple. Accordingly this place, on the north quarter of the city, and joining thereto, was a plain, and very properly named Scopus, or the prospect: and was no more than seven furlongs distant from it. And here it was that Titus ordered a camp to be fortified for two legions, that were to be together: but ordered another camp to be fortified at three furlongs farther distance behind them, for the fifth legion. For he thought that by marching in the night they might be tired, and might deserve to be covered from the enemy, and with less fear might fortify themselves. And as these were now beginning to build, the tenth legion, which came through Jericho, was already come to the place, where a certain party of armed men had formerly lain, to guard that pass into the city, and had been †taken before by Vespasian. These legions had orders to encamp at the mount called the ‡mount of Olives; which lies over against the city, on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley, interposed between them, which is named Cedron.

Now when hitherto the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war, now suddenly come upon them after a violent manner, put the first stop to their contentions one against another. And as the seditious now saw, with astonishment, the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to think of an awkward sort of concord: and said one to another, "What do we do here? and what do we mean, when we suffer three fortified walls to be built, to coop us in, that we shall not be able to breathe freely; while the enemy is securely building a kind of city in opposition to us: and while we sit still, within our own walls, and become spectators only of what they are doing, with our hands idle, and our armour laid by; as if they were about somewhat that was for our good and advantage. We are, it seems, only courageous against ourselves; while the Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed, by our sedition." Thus did they encourage one another, when they were gotten together; and took their armour immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with great eagerness, and with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. These Romans were caught in different parties, and this in order to perform their several works; and on that account had, in great measure, laid aside their arms. For they thought the Jews would not have ventured to make a sally upon them: and had they been disposed so to do, they supposed their sedition would have distracted them. So they were put into disorder unexpectedly: when some of them left the works they were about, and immediately marched off; while many ran to their arms, but were smitten and slain before they could turn back upon the enemy. The Jews became still more and more in number, as encouraged by the good success of those that first made the attack. And while they had such good fortune, they seemed both to themselves, and to the enemy, to be many more

* We may here note, that Titus is here called a king, and Cæsar by Josephus, even while he was no more than the emperor's son, and general of the Roman army; and his father Vespasian was still alive. Just as the New Testament says Archelaus reigned, or was king. Matt. ii. 22, though he were properly no more than ethnarch, as Josephus assures us, Antiq. XVII. 11. Of the War, II. Thus also the Jews called the Roman emperors kings; though they never took that title to themselves. "We have no king but Cæsar," John xix. 15. "Submit to the king as supreme," 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17. Which is also the language of the Apostolical Constitutions, II. 11, 34; IV. 13; V. 19; VI. 2, 25; VII. 16; VIII. 2, 13. And elsewhere in the New Testament, John xix. 15; Matt. x. 18.—xvii. 25; 1 Tim. ii. 2, and in Josephus also. Though I suspect Josephus particularly esteemed Titus as joint king with his father, ever since his divine dreams that declared them both such, III. 8.

† See Book IV. chap. 9.

‡ This situation of the mount of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem, at about the distance of five or six furlongs, with the valley of Cedron interposed between the mountain and the city, are things well known both in the Old and New Testament, in Josephus elsewhere, and in all the descriptions of Palestine.

than they really were. The disorderly way of their fighting at first put the Romans also to a stand: who had been constantly used to fight skilfully, in good order, and with keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders that were given them. For which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Now when these Romans were overtaken, and turned back upon the Jews, they put a stop to their career; yet when they did not take care enough of themselves, through the vehemency of their pursuit, they were wounded by them. But as still more Jews and more sallied out of the city, the Romans were at length brought into confusion, and put to flight, and ran away from their camp. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succours immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice; and brought those back that were running away; and fell himself upon the Jews on their flank, with those select troops that were with him; and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them: and put them all to flight, and made them run away hastily down the valley. Now as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so when they were gotten over it, they turned about, and stood over against the Romans, having the valley between them, and there fought with them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that came to the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, to prevent the Jews from making any more sallies: and then sent the rest of the legion to the upper part of the mountain, to fortify their camp.

This march of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight. And as the watchman, who was placed upon the wall, gave a signal, by shaking his garment, there came out a fresh multitude of Jews, and that with such mighty violence, that one might compare it to the running of the most terrible wild beasts. To say the truth, none of those that opposed them could sustain the fury with which they made their attacks: but, as if they had been cast out of an engine, they brake the enemies' ranks to pieces, who were put to flight, and ran away to the mountain: none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the acclivity. Now these others, who were his friends, despised the danger they were in, and were ashamed to leave their general, earnestly exhorting him, "To give way to these Jews, that are fond of dying; and not to run into such dangers before those that ought to stay before him, to consider what his fortune was: and not, by supplying the place of a common soldier, to venture to turn back upon the enemy so suddenly. And this because he was a general in the war, and lord of the habitable earth, on whose preservation the public affairs do all depend." These persuasions Titus seemed not so much as to hear: but opposed those that ran upon him, and smote them on the face; and when he had forced them to go back, he slew them. He also fell upon great numbers as they marched down the hill, and thrust them forward. While those men were so amazed at his courage, and his strength, that they could not flee directly to the city, but declined from him on both sides: and pressed after those that fled up the hill. Yet did he still fall upon their flank, and put a stop to their fury. In the mean time a disorder and terror fell again upon those that were fortifying their camp, at the top of the hill: upon their seeing those beneath them running away. Insomuch that the whole legion was dispersed: while they thought that the sallies of the Jews upon them were plainly insupportable, and that Titus was himself put to flight. Because they took it for granted, that if he had staid, the rest would never have fled for it. Thus were they encompassed on every side, by a kind of panic fear: and some dispersed themselves one way, and some another: till certain of them saw their general in the very midst of an action: and being under great concern for him, they loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion. And now shame made them turn back: and they reproached one another, that they did worse than run away, by deserting Cæsar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews; and declining from the straight declivity, they drove them on heaps into the bottom of the valley. Then did the Jews turn about, and fight them: but as they were themselves retiring. And now because the Romans had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them all into the valley. Titus also pressed upon those that were near; and sent the legion again to fortify their camp. While he, and those that were with him before, opposed the enemy, and kept them from doing farther mischief. Insomuch, that if I may be allowed neither to add any thing out of flattery, nor to diminish any thing out of envy, but to speak the plain truth, Cæsar did twice deliver that entire legion, when it was in jeopardy; and gave them a quiet opportunity of fortifying their camp.

CHAP. III.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE SEDITIOUS IN JERUSALEM; THE SNARES CONTRIVED FOR THE ROMANS; AND THE MEANS USED BY TITUS TO RESTRAIN THE UNGOVERNABLE RASHNESS OF HIS TROOPS.

AS now the war abroad ceased for a while, the sedition within was revived. And on the feast of unleavened bread, which was now come; it being the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, or Nisan,* when it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians; Eleazar and his party opened the gates of the inmost court of the temple, and admitted †such of the people as were desirous to worship God into it. But John made use of this festival as a

* A. D. 70.

† Here we see the true occasion of these vast numbers of Jews that were in Jerusalem, during this siege by Titus, and perished therein; that the siege began at the feast of the Passover: when such prodigious multitudes of Jews, and proselytes of the gates, were come from all parts of Judea, and from other countries, in order to celebrate that great festival. See the note on VI. 9. Tacitus himself informs us, that the number of men, women, and children, in Jerusalem, when it was besieged by the Romans, as he had been informed, was 600,000. This information must have been taken from the Romans: for Josephus never mentions the numbers of those that were besieged. Only he lets us know that of the vulgar, carried dead out of the gates, and buried at the public charges, was the

cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable of his own party, the greater part of which were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it. Accordingly these men, when they were gotten in, threw their garments away, and presently appeared in their armour. Upon which there was a very great disorder and disturbance about the holy house: while the people, who had no concern in the sedition, supposed that this assault was made against all, without distinction: as the zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from their battlements, before they came to an engagement, and fled away into the subterranean caverns of the temple: while the people that stood trembling at the altar, and about the holy house, were rolled on heaps together, and trampled upon; and were beaten both with wooden and with iron weapons, without mercy. Such also as had differences with others slew many persons that were quiet, out of their own private enmity and hatred; as if they were opposite to the *seditious. And all those that had formerly offended any of these plotters were now known, and led away to the slaughter. And when they had done abundance of horrid mischief to the guiltless, they granted a truce to the guilty; and let those go off that came out of the caverns. These followers of John also did now seize upon this inner temple, and upon all the warlike engines therein; and then ventured to oppose Simon. And thus that sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

But Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer to the city than Scopus, placed as many of his choice horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient opposite to the Jews, to prevent their sallying out upon them; while he gave orders for the whole army to level the distance, as far as the wall of the city.† So they threw down all the hedges and walls, which the inhabitants had made about their gardens and groves of trees; and cut down all the fruit-trees, that lay between them and the wall of the city; and filled up all the hollow places, and the chasms; and demolished the rocky precipices with iron instruments: and thereby made all the place level from Scopus to Herod's monuments, which adjoined to the pool, called the Serpent's Pool.

Now at this very time, the Jews contrived the following stratagem against the Romans. The bolder sort of the seditious went out at the towers, called the Women's towers, as if they had been ejected out of the city by those who were for peace: and rambled about as if they were afraid of being assaulted by the Romans, and were in fear of one another: while those that stood upon the wall, and seemed to be of the people's side, cried out aloud for peace; and entreated they might have security for their lives given them; and called for the Romans: promising to open the gates to them. And as they cried out after that manner, they threw stones at their own people, as though they would drive them away from the gates. These also pretended that they were excluded by force; and that they petitioned those that were within to let them in: and rushing upon the Romans perpetually, with violence they then came back, and seemed to be in great disorder. Now the Roman soldiers thought this cunning stratagem of theirs was to be believed real: and thinking they had the one party under their power, and could punish them as they pleased: and hoping that the other party would open their gates to them, set to the execution of their designs accordingly. But for Titus himself, he had this surprising conduct of the Jews in suspicion. For whereas he had invited them to come to terms of accommodation by Josephus, but one day before, he could then receive no civil answer from them. So he ordered the soldiers to stay where they were. However some of them that were set in front of the works prevented him: and catching up their arms, ran to the gates. Whereupon those that seemed to have been ejected at the first retired: but as soon as the soldiers were gotten between the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran out, and encompassed round and fell upon them behind: while that multitude, which stood upon the wall, threw a heap of stones and darts of all kinds at them. Insomuch that they slew a considerable number, and wounded many more. For it was not easy for the Romans to escape; by reason those behind them pressed them forward. Besides which, the shame they were under for being mistaken, and the fear they were in of their commanders, engaged them to persevere in their mistake. Whereupon they fought with their spears a great while, and received many blows from the Jews: though indeed they gave them as many blows again; and at last repelled those that had encompassed them about. While the Jews pursued them, as they retired; and followed them, and threw darts at them as far as the monument of queen Helena.

After this these Jews, without keeping any decorum, grew insolent upon their good fortune, and jested upon the Romans for being deluded by the trick they had put upon them: and making a noise with beating their shields, leaped for gladness, and made joyful exclamations. In the mean time these soldiers were received with threatenings by their officers; and with indignation by Cæsar himself, who spake to them thus: "These Jews, who are only conducted by their madness, do every thing with care and circumspection: they contrive stratagems, and lay ambushes; and fortune gives success to their stratagems, because they are obedient, and preserve their good will and fidelity to one another. While the Romans, to whom fortune uses to be ever subservient, by reason of their good order, and ready submission to their commanders, have now had ill success, by their contrary behaviour: and by not being able

like number of 600,000. Chap. 13. However, when Cestius Gallus came first to the siege, that sum in Tacitus is no way disagreeable to Josephus's history: though they were become much more numerous, when Titus encompassed the city at the Passover. As to the number that perished, during this siege, Josephus assures us, as we shall see hereafter, they were 1,100,000; besides 97,000 captives. But Tacitus's History of the last part of this siege is not now extant. So we cannot compare his parallel numbers with those in Josephus.

* John's party was now so called, as distinct from the zealots under Eleazar.

† Devastation is the usual companion of war. Such destruction of private property is, in such cases, thought justifiable from necessity; and has accordingly ever been practised. The progress of an army over uneven ground being impossible, it has been usual to level the ground, so as to allow an uninterrupted and easy passage. Vid. Oriental Customs, Vol. 2. No. 1078. B.

Aceldama

Absalom's Pillar

Cave of St James

Zechary's Sepulchre

to restrain their hands rom action, they had been caught: and that which is the most to their reproach, they have gone on without their commanders in the very presence of Cæsar. Truly, the laws of war cannot but groan heavily; as will my father also himself, when he shall be informed of this wound that hath been given us: since he, who is grown old in wars, did never make so great a mistake. Our laws of war do also ever inflict capital punishment on those that in the least break into good order: while at this time they have seen an entire army run into disorder. However, those that have been so insolent shall be made immediately sensible, that even they who conquer among the Romans, without orders for fighting, are to be under disgrace." When Titus had enlarged upon this matter before the commanders, it appeared evident that he would execute the law against all those that were concerned. So these soldiers were in despair; as expecting to be put to death, and that justly, and quickly. However, the other legions came round about Titus, and entreated his favour to these their fellow soldiers; and made supplication to him, that he would pardon the rashness of a few, on account of the better obedience of all the rest: and promised for them that they should make amends for their present fault, by their more virtuous behaviour for the time to come.

So Cæsar complied with their desires, and with what prudence dictated to him also. For he esteemed it fit to punish single persons by real executions; but that the punishment of great multitudes should proceed no farther than reproofs. So he was reconciled to the soldiers, but gave them a special charge to act more wisely for the future. And he considered with himself, how he might be even with the Jews for their stratagem. And now, when the space between the Romans and the wall had been levelled, which was done in four days; and as he was desirous to bring the baggage of the army, with the rest of the multitude that followed him, safely to the camp; he set the strongest part of his army over against that wall which lay on the north quarter of the city, and over against the western part of it; and made his army seven deep, with the footmen placed before them, and the horsemen behind them, each of the last in three ranks: while the archers stood in the midst in seven ranks. And now as the Jews were prohibited by so great a body of men from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts that carried the burthens, and belonged to the three legions, and the rest of the multitude, marched on without any fear. But as for Titus himself, he was but about two furlongs distant from the wall; at that part of it where was the *corner, and over against that tower which was called Psephinus: at which tower the compass of the wall belonging to the north bended and extended itself over against the west. But the other part of the army fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus; and was distant, in like manner, but two furlongs from the city. However the tenth legion continued in its own place, upon the mount of Olives.

* Perhaps, says Dr. Hudson, here was that gate, called the gate of the corner, in 2 Chron. xxvi. 9. See Chap. 4.

CHAP. IV.

A DESCRIPTION OF JERUSALEM.

THE city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with unpassable valleys. For in such places it had but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder. At which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly it was called the citadel, by king David. He was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first. But it is by us called the Upper Market-place. But the other hill, which was called Acra, and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon, when she is horned. Over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra; and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times, when the Asmoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth; and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the valley of the cheesemongers, as it was called, and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam. For that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the outsides these hills are surrounded by deep valleys; and, by reason of the precipices to them belonging on both sides, they are every where unpassable.

Now of these three walls, the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But besides that great advantage, as to the place where they were situate, it was also built very strong: because David and Solomon, and the following kings, were very zealous about this work. Now that wall began on the north, at the tower called Hippicus, and extended as far as the Xistus, a place so called; and then joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go the other way westward, it began at the same place; and extended through a place called Bethso, to the gate of the Essenes; and after that it went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam: where it also bends again towards the east at Solomon's pool; and reaches as far as a certain place which they called Ophlas, where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called Gennath, which belonged to the first wall. It only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia. The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus: whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus; and then was so far extended till it came over against the monument of Helena, queen of Adiabene, the †mother of Izates. It then extended farther to a great

† See Antiquities, XX. 2.

length ; and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument of the *fuller : and joined to the old wall at the valley called the Valley of Cedron. It was Agrippa who encompassed the parts added to the old city with this wall : which had been all naked before. For as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits :† and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill, which is in number the fourth, and is called ‡Bezetha, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia : but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose : and that in order to hinder the foundations of the tower of Antonia from joining to this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and hindering the security that arose from its superior elevation. For which reason also that depth of the ditch made the elevation of the towers more remarkable. This new built part of the city was called Bezetha, in our own language : which, if interpreted in the Grecian language, may be called the New City. Since, therefore, its inhabitants stood in need of a covering, the father of the present king, and of the same name with him, Agrippa, began that wall we spoke of. But §he left off building it when he had only laid the foundations ; out of the fear he was in of Claudius Cæsar ; lest he should suspect that so strong a wall was built in order to make some innovation in public affairs. For the city could no way have been taken, if that wall had been finished in the manner it was begun. As its parts were connected together by stones twenty cubits long, and ten cubits broad : which could never have been either easily undermined by any iron tools, or shaken by any engines. The wall was, however, ten cubits wide ; and it would probably have had a height greater than that, had not his zeal who began it been hindered from exerting itself. After this, it was erected with great diligence by the Jews, as high as twenty cubits ; above which it had battlements of two cubits ; and turrets of three cubits' altitude. Insomuch that the entire altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits.

Now the towers that were upon it were twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in height. They were square, and solid, as was the wall itself. Wherein the niceness of the joints, and the beauty of the stones, were no way inferior to those of the holy house itself. Above this solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence ; and over them upper rooms, and cisterns to receive rain-water. They were many in number : and the steps by which you ascended up to them were every one broad. Of these towers then the third wall had ninety ; and the spaces between them were each two hundred cubits. But in the middle wall were forty towers ; and the old wall was parted into sixty ; while the compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now the third wall was all of it wonderful. Yet was the tower Psephinus elevated above it at the north-west corner : and there Titus pitched his own tent. For being seventy cubits high, it both afforded a prospect of Arabia, at sun-rising, as well as of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. Moreover it was an octagon, and over against it was the tower Hippicus ; and hard by it two others were erected by king Herod, in the old wall. These were for largeness, beauty, and strength, beyond all that were in the habitable earth. For besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his magnificence towards the city on other occasions, he built these after an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own private affections : and dedicated these towers to the memory of those three persons who had been the dearest to him, viz. his brother, his friend, and his wife. This wife he had slain, out of his love and jealousy, as we have already ‖related. The other two he lost in war, as they were courageously fighting. Hippicus, so named from his friend, was square ; its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty ; and it had no vacuity in it. Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, there was a reservoir twenty cubits deep. Over which there was a house of two stories, whose height was twenty-five cubits, and divided into several parts : and over this were battlements, of two cubits ; and turrets all round of three cubits high. Insomuch that the entire height added together amounted to eighty cubits. The second tower, which he named from his brother Phasaelus, had its breadth and its height equal ; each of forty cubits. Over which was its solid height of forty cubits : and above this a cloister went round about, whose height was ten cubits : and it was covered from enemies by breastworks and bulwarks. There was also built over that cloister another tower, parted into magnificent rooms, and a place for bathing. So that this tower wanted nothing that might make it appear to be a royal palace. It was also adorned with battlements and turrets, more than was the foregoing. And the entire altitude was about ninety cubits. The appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharos, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria ; but was much larger than it in compass. This was now converted to a house, wherein Simon exercised his tyrannical authority. The third tower was Mariamne ; for that was his queen's name. It was solid as high as twenty cubits. Its breadth and its length were twenty cubits ; and were equal to each other. Its upper buildings were more magnificent, and had greater variety, than the other towers had. For the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was denominated from his wife, better than those denominated from men : as those were built stronger than this that bore his wife's name. The entire height of this tower was fifty-five cubits.

Now as these towers were so very high, they appeared much taller by the place on which they stood. For that very old wall wherein they were was built on a high hill ; and was itself a kind of elevation that was still thirty cubits taller. Over which were the towers situate, and thereby were made much higher to appearance. The largeness also of the stones was wonderful. For they were not made

* See 2 Kings xviii. 17 ; Isaiah vii. 3.

† Cities were usually bounded by walls ; but the increase of their population rendering it impossible for the inhabitants to be accommodated within them, gave rise to suburbs and liberties. B.

‡ Bethesda. See John v. 2.

§ See Antiquities, XIX. 7.

‖ See Book I. chap. 22.

of common small stones, nor of such larger ones only as men could carry; but they were made of white marble, cut out of the rock. Each stone was twenty cubits in length, ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so exactly united to one another, that each tower looked like one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally; and afterward cut by the hands of the artificers into their present shape: so little did their joints and connection appear. Now as these towers were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjoined, which exceeds all my ability to describe it. For it was so very curious as to want no cost nor skill in its construction; but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits; and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large bed-chambers, each of which would contain beds for a hundred guests. The variety of the stones used in these is not to be expressed: for a large quantity of those that were rare of that kind was collected together. Their roofs were also wonderful; both for the length of the beams, and the splendour of their ornaments. The number of the rooms was also very great, and the variety of the figures that were about them was prodigious. Their furniture was complete; and the greatest part of the vessels that were in them was of silver and gold. There were besides many porticoes one beyond another, round about; and in each of those porticoes curious pillars. Yet were all the courts that were exposed to the air every where green. There were also several groves of trees, and long walks through them, with deep canals and cisterns, that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There were likewise many *dove-courts of tame pigeons about the canals. But indeed it is not possible to give a complete description of these palaces; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the robbers hath consumed. For these were not burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plotters, as we have †already related, in the beginning of their rebellion. That fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves.

CHAP. V.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE.

NOW the temple, as I have ‡already said, was built upon a strong hill. At first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the holy house, and the altar: for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice. But when king Solomon, who was the person that erected the temple, built a wall to it, on its east side, there was then added one cloister, founded on a bank cast up for it, and on the other parts the holy house stood naked. But in future ages the people §added new banks; and the hill became a larger plain. They then brake down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterward for the compass of the entire temple. And when they had built walls on three sides of the temple round about, from the bottom of the hill; and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for; (in which work long ages were spent by them; as well as all their sacred treasures were exhausted; which were still replenished by those tributes that were sent to God from the whole habitable earth;) they then encompassed their upper courts with cloisters, as well as they afterward did the lowest court of the temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of three hundred cubits, and in some places more. Yet did not the entire depth of the foundations appear: for they brought earth, and filled up the valleys; as being desirous to make them on a level with the narrow streets of the city. Wherein they made use of stones of forty cubits in magnitude. For the great plenty of money they then had, and the liberality of the people, made this attempt of theirs to succeed to an incredible degree. And what could not be so much as hoped for, as ever to be accomplished, was by perseverance, and length of time, brought to perfection.

Now the works that were above these foundations were not unworthy of such foundations. For all the cloisters were double: and the pillars to them belonging were twenty-five cubits in height, and supported the cloisters. These pillars were each of one entire block of white marble. And the roofs were adorned with cedar, curiously graven. The natural magnificence, and excellent polish, and the harmony of the joints in these cloisters, afforded a prospect that was very remarkable. Nor was it on the outside adorned with any work of the painter or engraver. The cloisters of the exterior court were in breadth thirty cubits; while the entire compass of it was by measure six furlongs; including the tower of Antonia. Those entire courts that were exposed to the air were laid with stones of all sorts. When you go through these first cloisters, unto the second court of the temple, there was a partition made of stone, all round; whose height was three cubits, and its construction was very elegant. Upon it stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek and some in Roman letters; that no foreigner should go within that sanctuary. For that second court of the temple was called the sanctuary: and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the first court. This court was four square; and had a wall about it peculiar to itself. The

* These dove-courts in Josephus, built by Herod the Great, are, in the opinion of Reland, the very same that are mentioned by the Talmudists, and named by them Herod's dove-courts. Nor is there any reason to suppose otherwise: since in both accounts they were expressly tame pigeons which were kept in them.

† See Book II. chap. 17.

‡ See Book IV. chap. 5.

§ See the description of the temples hereto belonging, chap. xv. But note, that what Josephus here says of the original scantiness of this mount Moriah; that it was quite too little for the temple; and that, at first, it held only one cloister, or court of Solomon's building; and that the foundations were forced to be added long afterwards by degrees, to render it capable of the cloisters for the other courts, &c. is without all foundation in the scriptures: and not at all confirmed by his exacter account in the Antiquities. All that is or can be true here is, that when the court of the Gentiles was long afterward to be encompassed with cloisters, the southern foundation for those cloisters was found not to be large or firm enough, and was raised; and that additional foundation supported by great pillars, and arches under ground: which Josephus speaks of elsewhere, Antiq. XV. 11, and which Mr. Maundrel saw, and describes, page 100, as extant under ground at this day.

height of its buildings, although it were *on the outside forty cubits, was hidden by the steps; and on the inside that height was but twenty-five cubits. For it being built over against a higher part of the hill with steps, it was no farther to be entirely discerned within; being covered by the hill itself. Beyond those fourteen steps there was the distance of ten cubits; this was all plain. Whence there were other steps, each of five cubits, that led to the gates: which gates on the north and south sides were eight; on each of those sides four; and of necessity two on the east. For since there was a partition built for the women on that side, as the proper place wherein they were to worship, there was a necessity of a second gate for them. This gate was cut out of its wall over against the first gate. There was also on the other side one southern, and one northern gate; through which was a passage into the court of the women. For as to the other gates the women were not allowed to pass through them. Nor when they went through their own gate could they go beyond their own wall. This place was allotted to the women of our own country, and of other countries, provided they were of the same nation, and that equally. The western part of this court had no gate at all; but the wall was built entire on that side. But then the cloisters which were betwixt the gates extended from the wall inward, before the chambers. For they were supported by very fine and large pillars. These cloisters were single; and, excepting their magnitude, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

Now nine of these gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver: as were the jambs of their doors, and their lintels. But there was one gate that was without the inward court of the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold. Each gate had two doors; whose height was severally thirty cubits, and their breadth fifteen. However they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side rooms, and those both in breadth and in length built like towers; and their height was about forty cubits. Two pillars did also support those rooms: and were in circumference twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east, over against the gate of the holy house itself, was much larger. For its height was fifty cubits, and its doors were forty cubits; and it was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other. These nine gates had that silver and gold poured upon them by †Alexander, the father of Tiberius. Now there were fifteen steps, which led from the wall of the court of the women to this greater gate: whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter.

As to the holy house itself, which was placed in the midst of the inmost court, that most sacred part of the temple, it was ascended to by twelve steps: and in front its height and its breadth were equal, each being a ‡hundred cubits: though it was behind forty cubits narrower. For on its front it had what may be styled shoulders on each side, that extended twenty cubits farther. Its first gate was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five cubits broad, but this gate had no doors: for it represented the universal visibility of heaven, and that it cannot be excluded from any place. Its front was covered with gold all over; and through it the first part of the house that was more inward, did all of it appear. Which, as it was very large, so did all the parts about the more inward gate appear to shine to those that saw them. But then as the entire house was divided into two parts within, it was only the first part of it that was open to our view. Its height extended all along to ninety cubits in height; and its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty. But that gate which was at this end of the first part of the house, was, as we have already observed, entirely covered with gold: as was its whole wall about it. It had also golden vines above it: from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man's height. But then this house, as it was divided into two parts, the inner part was lower than the appearance of the outer: and had golden doors of fifty-five cubits altitude and sixteen in breadth; but before these doors there was a veil of equal largeness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple: and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colours without its mystical interpretation: but was a kind of image of the universe. For by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire; by the fine flax, the earth; by the blue, the air; and by the purple, the sea. Two of them having their colours the foundations of this resemblance: but the fine flax, and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one, and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the twelve signs, representing living creatures.

When any person entered into this temple, its §floor received them. This part of the temple, therefore, was in height sixty cubits, and its length the same. Whereas its breadth was but twenty cubits. But still that sixty cubits in length was divided again; and the first part of it was cut off at forty cubits, and had in it three things that were very famous among all mankind; the candlestick, the table of shew-bread, and the altar of incense. Now the seven lamps signified the seven planets. For so many there were springing out of the candlestick. The twelve loaves that were upon the table signified the circle of the zodiac, and the year. But the altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of

* What Josephus seems here to mean is this, that these pillars, supporting the cloisters in the second court, had their foundations or lowest parts as deep as the floor of the first or lowest court; but that so far of those lowest parts as were equal to the elevation of the upper floor above the lowest were, and must be hidden, on the inside by the ground or rock itself, on which that upper court was built. So that 40 cubits visible below, were reduced to 25 visible above: and implies the difference of their heights to be 15 cubits. The main difficulty lies here, how 14 or 15 steps should give an ascent of 15 cubits: half a cubit seeming sufficient for a single step. Possibly there were 14 or 15 steps at the partition wall, and 14 or 15 more thence into the court itself: which would bring the whole near to the just proportion. But I determine nothing.

† Governor of Egypt, before his son Tiberius Alexander. See Book II. chap. 15.

‡ The additional twenty cubits of its original height being now fallen down, and not rebuilt. See Book V. chap. 1, and XV. 1.

§ The lower part of the holy house.

sweet smelling spices, with which the sea replenished it, signified that God is the possessor of all things that are both in the unhabitable and habitable parts of the earth; and that they are all to be dedicated to his use. But the inmost part of the temple of all was of twenty cubits. This also separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all. It was inaccessible, inviolable, and not to be seen by any: and was called the *Holy of Holies. Now about the sides of the lower part of the temple there were little houses, with passages out of one into another. There were also entrances on each side into them, from the gate of the temple. But the superior part of the temple had no such little houses any farther: because the temple was there narrower, and forty cubits higher, and of a smaller body than the lower parts of it. Thus we collect that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor amounted to a hundred cubits.

Now the outward face of the temple in its front wanted nothing that was likely to excite either admiration or astonishment. For it was covered all over with plates of gold, of great weight: and at the first rising of the sun reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it, to turn their eyes away; just as they would have done at the sun's rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow.† For as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. On its top it had spikes, with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones some of them were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. Before this temple stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth: each of which dimensions was fifty cubits. The figure it was built in was a square; and it had corners like horns: and the passage up to it was by an insensible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch it at any time. There was also a wall of partition, about a cubit in height, made of fine stones, and so as to be grateful to the sight. This encompassed the holy house, and the altar; and kept the people that were on the outside off from the priests. Moreover those that had the gonorrhea, and the leprosy, were excluded out of the city entirely. Women also, when deemed impure by the law, were shut out of the temple: nor were they at any time allowed to go beyond the limit before mentioned. Men also that were not thoroughly pure were prohibited to come into the inner court of the temple. Nay the priests themselves, that were not pure, were prohibited to come into it also.

Now all those of the stock of the priests that could not minister by reason of some defect in their bodies came within the partition, together with those that had no such imperfection; and had their share with them, by reason of their stock: but still made use of none, except their own private garments. For nobody but he that officiated had on his sacred garments. But then those priests that were unblemished, went up to the altar, clothed in fine linen. They abstained chiefly from wine; out of this fear, lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their ministration. The high-priest did also go up with them: not always, indeed, but on the seventh days, and new moons; and upon the alteration of any particular festival. When he officiated he had on a pair of breeches, and an inner garment of linen; together with a blue garment round without seam, with fringe work; and reaching to the feet. There were also golden bells, that hung upon the fringes; and pomegranates intermixed among them. The bells signified thunder, and the pomegranates lightning. But that girdle that tied the garment to the breast was embroidered with five rows of various colours: of gold, and purple, and scarlet: as also of fine linen, and blue. With which colours, we have already said, the veils of the temple were embroidered. The like embroidery was upon the ephod; but the quantity of gold therein was greater. Its figure was that of a stomacher for the breast. There were upon it two golden buttons, like small shields, which buttoned the ephod to the garments. In these buttons were inclosed two very large and very excellent sardonyxes; having the names of the tribes of that nation engraved upon them. On the other part there hung twelve stones; three in a row one way, and four in the other. A sardius, a topaz, and an emerald; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethist, and a ligure; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolite. Upon every one of which was again engraved one of the forementioned names of the tribes. A mitre also of fine linen encompassed his head, and was tied by a blue riband, about which there was another golden crown, engraven with the sacred name of God, consisting of four vowels. However, the high-priest did not wear these garments, but when he went into the most sacred part of the temple, which he did but once in a year: on that day when our custom is for all of us to keep a fast-day to God. And thus much concerning the city and the temple. But for the custom and laws hereto relating, we shall speak more accurately ‡another time. For there remain a great many things thereto relating, which have not been here touched upon.

Now as to the tower of Antonia, it was situate at the corner of two cloisters of the §court of the temple: of that on the west, and that on the north. It was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice. It was the work of king ||Herod: wherein he demonstrated his natural magnanimity. In the first place the rock itself was covered over with smooth pieces of stone from its foundation; both for ornament, and that any one who would either try to get up, or to go down it, might not be able to hold his feet upon it. Next to this, and before you come to the edifice itself, there was a wall, three cubits high: but within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia was built upon, to the height of forty cubits. The inward parts had the largeness and form of a palace: being parted into all kinds of rooms, and other conveniences; such as courts, baths, and broad spaces for camps: insomuch that by hav-

* See Hebrews ix. 3.

† The appearance of the temple was very majestic; and calculated to impress strangers with reverence and awe. An ample description of it may be found in the works of the learned Dr. Lightfoot. B.

‡ See Antiquities, I. 6.

§ The court of the Gentiles.

|| See Book I. chap. 21.

ing all conveniences that cities wanted, it might seem to be composed of several cities; but by magnificence it seemed a palace. And as the entire structure resembled that of a tower, it contained also four other distinct towers, at its four corners. Whereof the others were but fifty cubits high: whereas that which lay upon the south-east corner was seventy cubits: that from whence the whole temple might be viewed. But on the corner, where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both: through which the guards, (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion,) went several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations. For the temple was a fortress, that guarded the city; as was the tower of Antonia a guard to the temple. And in that tower were *the guards of those three. There was also a peculiar fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod's palace. But for the hill Bezetha, it was divided from the tower of Antonia, as we have already observed. And as that hill on which the tower of Antonia stood was the highest of these three, so did it adjoin to the †new city: and was the only place that hindered the sight of the temple on the north. And this shall suffice at present to have spoken respecting the city, and the walls about it.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE TYRANTS SIMON AND JOHN: ALSO CONCERNING AN ACCIDENT WHICH PROVOKED TITUS TO PRESS ON THE SIEGE.

NOW the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditious that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumeans. Those ten thousand had fifty commanders; over whom this Simon was supreme. The Idumeans that paid him homage were five thousand, and had eight commanders. Among those of the greatest fame were Jacob the son of Sosas, and Simon the son of Cathlas. John, who had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men, under twenty commanders. The zealots also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred: and had the same commander that they had formerly, Eleazar; together with Simon the son of Arius. Now while these factions fought one against another, the people were their prey on both sides. And that part of the people which would not join with them in their wicked practices were plundered by both factions. Simon held the upper city, and the great wall as far as Cedron; and as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east; and which went down to the palace of Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabeni, beyond Euphrates. He also held that fountain: and the area, which was no other than the lower city. He also held all that reached to the palace of queen Helena, the mother of Monabazus. But John held the temple, and the parts thereto adjoining, for a great way; as also Ophla, and the valley of Cedron. And when the parts that were interposed between their possessions were ‡burnt by them, they left a space wherein they might fight with each other. For this internal sedition did not cease, even when the Romans were encamped near their very walls. But although they had grown wiser at the first onset the Romans made upon them, this lasted but a while: for they returned to their former madness, and separated one from another, and fought it out; and did every thing that the besiegers could desire them to do. For they never suffered any thing worse from the Romans, than they made each other suffer. Nor was there any misery endured by the city, after these men's actions, that could be esteemed new. But it was most of all unhappy before it was overthrown. While those that took it did it a greater kindness. For I venture to affirm, that the sedition destroyed the city, and the Romans destroyed the sedition: which it was a much harder thing to do than to destroy the walls. So that we may justly ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, and the just vengeance taken on them to the Romans. As to which matter let every one determine by the actions on both sides. Now when affairs within the city were in this posture, Titus went round the city, on the outside, with some chosen horsemen; and looked about for a proper place, where he might make an impression upon the walls. But he was in doubt where he could possibly make an attack, on any side: for the place was no way accessible where the valleys were; and on the other side, the first wall appeared too strong to be shaken by the engines. He, therefore, thought it best to make an assault about the monument of John, the high-priest. For there it was that the first fortification was lower, and the second was not joined to it. The builders neglecting to build the wall strong, where the new city was not much inhabited. Here also was an easy passage to the third wall, through which he thought to take the upper city: and through the tower of Antonia the temple itself. But at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends, whose name was Nicanor, was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached, together with Josephus, too near to the wall; and attempted to discourse to those that were upon the wall about terms of peace. For he was a person known by them. On this account it was that Cæsar, as soon as he knew their vehemence, that they would not bear even such as approached them, to persuade them to what tended to their own preservation, was provoked to press on the siege. He also, at the same time, gave his soldiers permission to set the suburbs on fire: and ordered that they should bring timber together, and raise banks against the city. And when he had divided his army into three parts, in order to set about those works, he placed those that shot darts, and the archers, in the midst of the banks that were then raising. Before whom he placed those engines that threw javelins, and darts, and stones; that he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works: and might hinder those that were upon the wall from being able to obstruct them. So the trees were cut down immediately, and the suburbs left naked. But while

* These three guards that lay in the tower of Antonia must be those that guarded the city, the temple, and the tower of Antonia.

† Bezetha.

‡ See Book V. chap. 4.

the timber was carrying to raise the banks, and the whole army was earnestly engaged in their works, the Jews were not quiet. And it happened that the people of Jerusalem, who had been hitherto plundered and murdered, were now of good courage; and supposed they should have a breathing time: while the others were very busy in opposing their enemies without the city: and that they should now be avenged on those that had been the authors of their miseries, in case the Romans did but get the victory.

However, John staid behind, out of his fear of Simon; even while his own men were earnest in making a sally upon their enemies without. Yet did not Simon remain inactive: but, continuing near the place of siege, he brought his engines of war, and disposed of them at due distances upon the wall; both those which they took from *Cestius formerly; and those which they got when they seized the garrison that lay in the tower Antonia. But though they had these engines in their possession, they had so little skill in using them, that they were in a great measure useless to them. But a few there were who had been taught by deserters how to use them: which they did, though after an awkward manner. So they cast stones and arrows at those that were making the banks. They also ran upon them by companies, and fought with them. Now those that were at work covered themselves with hurdles, spread over their banks; and their engines were opposed to them when they made their excursions. These engines, that all the legions had ready prepared for them, were admirably contrived: but still more extraordinary ones belonged to the tenth legion. Those that threw darts, and those that threw stones, were more forcible, and larger than the rest; by which they not only repelled the excursions of the Jews, but drove those away that were upon the walls also. Now the †stones that were cast were of the weight of a talent; and were carried upwards of two furlongs. The blow they gave was no way to be sustained; not only by those that stood first in the way, but by those that were beyond them, for a great space. As for the Jews, they at first watched the coming of the stone: for it was of a white colour; and could, therefore, not only be perceived by the great noise it made, but could be seen also before it came, by its brightness. Accordingly the watchmen that sat upon the towers gave them notice when the engine was let go, and the stone came from it; and cried aloud, in their own country language, ‡THE SON COMETH. So those that were in its way stood off, and threw themselves down upon the ground. By which means, and by their thus guarding themselves, the stone fell down, and did them no harm. But the Romans contrived how to prevent that, by blacking the stone: who then could aim at them with success, when the stone was not discerned beforehand, as it had been till then: and so they destroyed many of them at one blow. Yet did not the Jews, under all this distress, permit the Romans to raise their banks in quiet. But they shrewdly and boldly exerted themselves, and repelled them, both by night and by day.

And now, upon finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was from the wall, and this by lead and a line, which they threw to it from their banks. For they could not measure it any otherwise; because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves. And when they found that the engines could reach the wall, they brought them thither. Then did Titus set his engines at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them: and gave orders that they should go to work. And when thereupon a prodigious noise echoed round about from three places, and that on the sudden; there was a great noise made by the citizens that were within the city; and no less a terror fell upon the seditious themselves. Whereupon both sorts, seeing the common danger they were in, contrived to make a like defence. So those of different factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as in concert with their enemies: whereas they ought, notwithstanding God did not grant them a lasting concord, in their present circumstances, to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans.§ Accordingly Simon gave those that came from the temple leave, by proclamation, to go upon the wall. John also himself, though he could not believe that Simon was in earnest, gave them the same leave. So on both sides, they laid aside their hatred, and their peculiar quarrels, and formed themselves into one body. They then ran round the walls: and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw them at the machines, and shot darts perpetually upon those that impelled those engines which battered the wall. Nay, the bolder sort leaped out by troops upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those that belonged to them, and beat

* Book II. chap. 19.

† Πετρος, in the masculine, is here a rock, or large stone, as in the name of St. Peter, and not Πετρα only; as Matt. xvi. 18; John i. 42.

‡ What should be the meaning of this signal, or watch-word, when the watchmen saw a stone coming from the engine, THE SON COMETH; or what mistake there is in the reading I cannot tell. The MSS. both Greek and Latin, all agree in this reading. And I cannot approve of any groundless conjectural alteration of the text from ΥΙΟΣ to ΙΟΣ: that not the son, or a stone, but that the arrow or dart cometh: as hath been made by Dr. Hudson, and not corrected by Havercamp. Had Josephus written even his first edition of these books of the war in pure Hebrew, or had the Jews then used the pure Hebrew, at Jerusalem, the Hebrew word for a son, is so like that for a stone, Ben and Eben, that such a correction might have been more easily admitted. But Josephus wrote his former edition for the use of the Jews beyond Euphrates, and so in the Chaldee language: as he did this second edition in the Greek language: and Bar was the Chaldee word for son, instead of the Hebrew Ben; and was used not only in Chaldea, &c. but in Judea also, as the New Testament informs us. Dio also lets us know, that the very Romans at Rome pronounced the name of Simon, the son of Gioras, bar Poras, for bar Gioras, as we learn from Xiphiline, page 217. Reland takes notice, that "Many will here look for a mystery; as though the meaning were, that the Son of God came now to take vengeance on the sins of the Jewish nation." Which is, indeed, the truth of the fact; but hardly what the Jews could now mean. Unless, possibly, by way of derision of Christ's threatenings so so often made, that he would come at the head of the Roman army for their destruction. But even this interpretation has but a very small degree of probability. If I were to make an emendation, by mere conjecture, I would read ΠΕΤΡΟΣ instead of ΥΙΟΣ: though the likeness be not so great as in ΟΙΣ. Because that is the word used by Josephus just before, as I have already noted, on this very occasion. While ΙΟΣ, an arrow, or dart, is only a poetical word, and never used by Josephus elsewhere; and is, indeed, no way suitable to the occasion. This engine not throwing arrows or darts, but great stones, at this time.

§ Their internal dissensions were as ruinous to them, or even more so, than the assaults of their foes from without. As neither policy nor interest could induce them to preserve or restrain harmony, this discordant spirit was evidently permitted to reign among them for their destruction. E.

them: not so much by any skill they had, as, principally by the boldness of their attacks. However, Titus himself still sent assistance to those that were the hardest set; and placed both horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought the fire to them. He also thereby repelled those that shot stones or darts from the towers, and then set the engines to work in good earnest. Yet did not the wall yield to these blows; excepting where the battering ram of the fifteenth legion moved the corner of a tower; while the wall itself continued unhurt. For the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower; which was extant far above it. Nor could the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it.

And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while. But when they observed the Romans dispersed all abroad at their works, and in their several camps; (for they thought the Jews had retired out of weariness and fear;) these all at once made a sally, at the tower Hippicus, through an obscure gate; and at the same time brought fire to burn the works; and went boldly up to the Romans, and to their very fortifications themselves: where, at the cry they made, those that were near came presently to their assistance; and those farther off came running after them: and here the boldness of the Jews was too hard for the good order of the Romans. And as they beat those whom they first met with, so they pressed upon those that were now gotten together. So this fight about the machines was very hot; while the one side tried hard to set them on fire, and the other side to prevent it; on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain. However, the Jews were now too hard for the Romans, by the furious assaults they made, like madmen; and the fire caught hold of the works: and both all those works, and the engines themselves, had been in danger of being burnt, had not many of those select soldiers that came from Alexandria opposed themselves to prevent it: and had they not behaved with greater courage than they themselves supposed they could have done. For they outdid those in this fight that had greater reputation than themselves before. This was the state of things till Cæsar took the stoutest of his horsemen, and attacked the enemy. When he himself slew twelve of those that were in the forefront of the Jews. Which death of these men, when the rest of the multitude saw, they gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from the fire. Now it happened at this fight, that a certain Jew was taken alive; who by Titus's order was crucified before the wall: to see whether the rest of them would be affrighted, and abate of their obstinacy. But after the Jews were retired, John, who was commander of the Idumeans, and was talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance before the wall, was wounded by a dart, shot at him, by an Arabian, and died immediately: leaving the greatest lamentation to the Jews, and sorrow to the seditious. For he was a man of great eminence, both for his actions and his conduct.

CHAP. VII.

ONE OF THE TOWERS ERECTED BY THE ROMANS FALLS DOWN OF ITS OWN ACCORD; AND THE ROMANS, AFTER GREAT SLAUGHTER, GET POSSESSION OF THE FIRST WALL.—TITUS MAKES HIS ASSAULTS UPON THE SECOND WALL.—ALSO CONCERNING LONGINUS THE ROMAN, AND CASTOR THE JEW.

NOW on the next night, a surprising disturbance happened among the Romans. For whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of three towers, of fifty cubits high; that by setting men upon them at every bank he might from thence drive those away who were upon the wall; it happened, that one of these towers fell down about midnight. And as its fall made a very great noise, fear fell upon the army; and they, supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them, ran all to their arms. Whereupon a disturbance and tumult arose among the legions. And as nobody could tell what had happened, they went on after a disconsolate manner; and seeing no enemy appeared, they were afraid one of another: and every one demanded of his neighbour the watch-word, with great earnestness: as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now were they like people under a panic fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with it. And then, though with some difficulty, they got clear of the disturbance they had been under.

Now these towers were very troublesome to the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously. For they shot at them out of their lighter engines from those towers; as they did also by those that threw darts, and the archers, and those that flung stones. For the Jews could not reach those that were over them, by reason of their height; and it was not practicable to take them, nor to overturn them, they were so heavy; nor to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron. So they retired out of the reach of the darts, and did no longer endeavour to hinder the impressions of their rams; which, by continually beating upon the wall, did gradually prevail against it. So that the wall already gave way to the *Nico, for by that name did the Jews themselves call the greatest of their engines, because it conquered all things. And now they were for a long while grown weary of fighting, and of keeping guards; and were retired to lodge on the night times at a distance from the wall. It was on other accounts also thought by them to be superfluous to guard the wall; there being besides that two other fortifications still remaining: and they being slothful, and their counsels having been ill concerted on all occasions. So a great many grew indolent and retired. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nico had made one; and all the Jews left the guarding that wall, and retreated to the second: so those that had gotten over that wall opened the gates, and received all the army within. And thus did the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the fifteenth day of the siege: which was the seventh day of the month Artemisius, or Jyar, when they demolished a great part of it; as well as of the north-

* The conqueror.

ern parts of the city, which had been demolished also* by Cestius on a former occasion.

And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called the †camp of the Assyrians: having seized upon all that lay as far as Cedron; but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews' darts: he then presently began his attacks: upon which the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended that wall. While John and his faction did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple; and fought the Romans before the monument of king Alexander: and Simon's army also took for their share the spot of ground that was near John's monument, and fortified it, as far as to that gate where water was brought into the tower Hippicus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and that frequently, and in bodies together, out of the gates, and there fought the Romans. And when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those fights, as wanting the skill of the Romans. But when they fought them from the walls, they were too hard for them: the Romans being encouraged by their power, joined to their skill: as were the Jews by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that hardiness which is natural to our nation under calamities. They were also encouraged still by the hope of deliverance; as were the Romans by their hopes of subduing them in a little time. Nor did either side grow weary. But attacks and fightings upon the wall, and perpetual sallies in bodies, were there all the day long. Nor were there any sort of warlike engagements that were not then put in use. And the night itself was scarcely sufficient to part them; when they began to fight in the morning. Nay, the night was passed without sleep on both sides, and was more uneasy than the day to them. While the one was afraid lest the wall should be taken; and the other lest the Jews should make sallies upon their camps. Both sides also lay in their armour during the night time; and thereby were ready at the first appearance of light to go to the battle. Now among the Jews the ambition was who should undergo the first dangers, and thereby gratify their commanders. Above all they had a great veneration and dread of Simon; and to that degree was he regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command they were ready to kill themselves with their own hands. What made the Romans so courageous was their usual custom of conquering, and disuse of being defeated, their constant wars, and perpetual warlike exercises, and the grandeur of their dominion. And what was now their chief encouragement, Titus, who was present every where with them all. For it appeared a terrible thing to grow weary while Cæsar was there: and fought bravely as well as they did, and was himself at once an eye-witness of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and he who was to reward them also. It was besides esteemed an advantage at present to have any one's valour known by Cæsar. On which account many of them appeared to have more alacrity than strength to answer it. And now as the Jews were about this time standing in array before the wall, and that in a strong body; and while both parties were throwing their darts at each other, Longinus, one of the equestrian order, leaped into the very midst of the army of the Jews. And as they dispersed themselves upon this attack, he slew two of their men of the greatest courage. One of them he struck in his mouth, as he was coming to him: the other was slain by him by that very dart which he drew out of the body of the other; with which he ran this man through his side, as he was running away. And when he had done this, he first of all ran out of the midst of his enemies to his own side. So this man signalized himself for his valour; and many there were who were ambitious of gaining the like reputation. And now the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered themselves from the Romans; and were only solicitous about what mischief they could do them. And death itself seemed a small matter to them, if at the same time they could but kill any one of their enemies. But Titus took care to secure his own soldiers from harm, as well as to have them overcome their enemies. He also said, that inconsiderate violence was madness; and that this alone was true courage, that was joined with good conduct: he, therefore, commanded his men to take care, when they fought their enemies, that they received no harm from them at the same time; and thereby shew themselves to be truly valiant men.

Now Titus brought one of his engines to the middle tower of the north part of the wall. Here a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the archers. These men lay still for a while, as in great fear, under their breast-plates. But when the tower was shaken, they arose, and Castor did then stretch out his hand, as a petitioner, and called for Cæsar, and by his voice moved his compassion, and begged of him to have mercy upon them. Titus, in the innocency of his heart, believing him to be in earnest, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering ram, and forbade them to shoot at the petitioners; and bade Castor say what he wished. He said, that he would come down if he would give him his right hand for his security. Titus replied, that he was pleased with such agreeable conduct; and would be well pleased if all the Jews would be of his mind, and that he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now five of the ten dissembled with him, and pretended to beg for mercy; while the rest cried out aloud, that they would never be slaves to the Romans, while it was in their power to die in a state of freedom. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed. Castor also sent to Simon, and told him that they might take some time for consultation about what was to be done, because he would delude the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent thus to him, he appeared openly to exhort those that were obstinate to accept of Titus's hand for their security. But they seemed very angry, and brandished their naked swords upon the breast-works, and struck themselves upon their breasts, and fell down, as if they had been slain. Hereupon Titus, and those with him, were amazed at the courage of

* See Book II. chap. 19.

† See the note on chap. 9.

the men. And as they were not able to see exactly what was done, they admired at their great fortitude, and pitied their calamity. During this interval, a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in his nose; whereupon he presently pulled out the dart, and shewed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment. So Cæsar reproved him that shot the dart, and desired Josephus, who then stood by him, to give his right hand to Castor. But Josephus said, that he would not go to him, because these pretended petitioners meant nothing that was good: he also restrained those friends of his who were zealous to go to him. But still there was one Eneas, a deserter, who said he would go to him. Castor also called to them, that somebody should come, and receive the money which he had with him. This made Eneas the more earnestly to run to him, with his bosom open. Then did Castor take up a great stone, and threw it at him; which missed him, because he guarded himself against it. But still it wounded another soldier that was coming to him. When Cæsar understood that this was a delusion, he perceived that mercy in war is a pernicious thing; because such cunning tricks have less place under the exercise of greater severity. So he caused the engine to work more strongly than before, on account of his anger at the deceit put upon him. But Castor, and his companions, set the tower on fire, when it began to give way, and leaped through the flame into a hidden vault that was under it: which made the Romans farther suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.

CHAP. VIII.

THE ROMANS TAKE THE SECOND WALL TWICE; AND GET ALL READY FOR TAKING THE THIRD WALL.

NOW Cæsar took this wall on the fifth day after he had taken the first. And when the Jews had fled from him, he entered into it, with a thousand armed men of his choice troops; and this at a place where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market for cloth; and where the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall. Wherefore if Titus had either demolished a larger part of the wall immediately, or had come in, and, according to the law of war, had laid waste what was left, this victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any loss to himself. But now, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by not being willing, when he was able to afflict them more than he needed to do; he did not widen the breach of the wall, in order to make a safer retreat upon occasion. For he did not think they would lay snares for him that did them such a kindness. When, therefore, he came in, he did not permit his soldiers to kill any of those they caught, nor to set fire to their houses. Nay, he gave leave to the seditious, if they had a mind, to fight without any harm to the people: and promised to restore the people's effects to them. For he was very desirous to preserve the city for his own sake; and the temple for the sake of the city. As to the people he had them of a long time ready to comply with his proposals. But as to the fighting men, this humanity of his seemed a mark of his weakness; and they imagined that he made these proposals because he was not able to take the rest of the city. They also threatened death to the people, if they should any one of them say a word about a surrender. They moreover cut the throats of such as talked of a peace: and then attacked those Romans that were come within the wall. Some of them they met in the narrow streets, and some they fought against from their houses: while they made a sudden sally out at the upper gate, and assaulted such Romans as were beyond the wall; till those that guarded the wall were so affrighted, that they leaped down from their towers, and retired to their several camps. Upon which a great noise was made by the Romans that were within, because they were encompassed round on every side by their enemies: as also by them that were without, because they were in fear for those that were left in the city. Thus did the Jews grow more numerous perpetually, and had great advantages over the Romans by their full knowledge of those narrow lanes; and they wounded a great many of them, and fell upon them, and drove them out of the city. Now these Romans were at present forced to make the best resistance they could; for they were not able, in great numbers, to get out at the beach in the wall, it was so narrow. It is also probable that all those that were gotten within had been cut to pieces, if Titus had not sent them succours. For he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of these narrow lanes, and he stood himself where was the greatest multitude of his enemies: and with his darts he put a stop to them. As with him did Domitius Sabinus also, a valiant man, and one that in this battle appeared so to be. Thus did Cæsar continue to shoot darts at the Jews continually, and to hinder them from coming on his men: and this until all his soldiers had retreated out of the city.

Thus were the Romans driven out, after they had possessed themselves of the second wall. Whereupon the fighting men that were in the city were elevated in their minds, upon this good success; and began to think that the Romans would never venture to come into the city any more: and that, if they kept within it themselves, they should not be any more conquered. For God had blinded their minds for the transgressions they had been guilty of: nor could they see how much greater forces the Romans had than those that were now expelled; no more than they could discern how a famine was creeping upon them. For hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public miseries, and drank the blood of the city. But now poverty had for a long time seized upon the better part; and a great many had died already for want of necessaries. Although the seditious, indeed, supposed the destruction of the people to be an easement to themselves. For they desired that none others might be preserved, but such as were against a peace with the Romans, and were resolved to live in opposition to them: and they were pleased when the multitude of those of a contrary opinion were consumed, as being then freed from a heavy burden. And this was their disposition of mind with regard to those that were within the city: while they covered themselves with their armour, and prevented the Romans, when they were trying to get into the city again, and made a wall of their own bodies over against that part of the wall that was cast down. Thus did they

valiantly defend themselves for three days. But on the fourth day, they could not support themselves against the vehement assaults of Titus, but were compelled by force to flee whither they had fled before: so he quietly possessed himself again of that wall, and demolished it entirely. And when he had put a garrison into the towers that were on the south parts of the city, he contrived how he might assault the third wall.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE INTERMISSION AND RENEWAL OF THE SIEGE.—ALSO OF THE DISCOURSE OF JOSEPHUS WITH HIS COUNTRYMEN CONCERNING A PEACE.

A RESOLUTION was now taken by Titus to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the seditious an interval for consideration; and to see whether the demolishing of their second wall would not make them a little more compliant; or whether they were not somewhat afraid of a famine: because the spoils they had gotten by rapine would not be sufficient for them long. So he made use of this relaxation in order to effect his own designs. Accordingly, as the usual appointed time, when he must distribute subsistence money to the soldiers, was now come, he gave orders that the commanders should put the army into battle array, in the face of the enemy, and then give every one his pay. So the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases wherein their arms lay covered, and marched with their breast-plates on: as did the horsemen lead their horses in their fine trappings. Then did the places that were before the city shine very splendidly for a great way. Nor was there any thing either so grateful to Titus's own men, or so terrible to the enemy as that sight. For the whole old wall, and the north side of the temple, was full of spectators: and one might see the houses full of such as looked at them. Nor was there any part of the city which was not covered over with their multitudes. Nay, a very great consternation seized upon the hardiest of the Jews themselves, when they saw all the army in the same place, together with the fineness of their arms, and the good order of their men. And I cannot but think that the seditious would have changed their minds at that sight, unless the crimes they had committed against the people had been so horrid, that they despaired of forgiveness from the Romans. But as they believed death with torments must be their punishment, if they did not go on in the defence of the city, they thought it much better to die in war. *Fate also prevailed so far over them, that the innocent were to perish with the guilty; and the city was to be destroyed, with the seditious that were in it.

Thus did the Romans spend four days in bringing this subsistence money to the several legions. But on the fifth day, when no signs of peace appeared to come from the Jews, Titus divided his legions, and began to raise banks, both at the tower of Antonia, and at John's monument. Now his designs were to take the upper city at that monument, and the temple at the tower of Antonia. For if the temple were not taken, it would be dangerous to keep the city itself. So at each of these parts he raised banks; each legion raising one. As for those that wrought at John's monument, the Idumeans, and those that were in arms with Simon, made sallies upon them, and put some stop to them; while John's party, and the multitude of zealots with them, did the like to those that were before the tower of Antonia. These Jews were now too hard for the Romans; not only in direct fighting, because they stood upon the higher ground, but because they had now learned to use their own engines. For their continual use of them, one day after another, did by degrees improve their skill about them. For of one sort of engines for darts they had three hundred; and forty for stones. By means of which they made it more tedious for the Romans to raise their banks. But then Titus, knowing that the city would be either saved or destroyed for himself, did not only proceed earnestly in the siege, but did not omit to have the Jews exhorted to repentance. So he mixed good counsel with his works for the siege. And being sensible that exhortations are frequently more effectual than arms, he persuaded them to surrender the city, now in a manner already taken, and thereby to save themselves: and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language. For he imagined they might yield to the persuasions of a countryman of their own.

So Josephus went round about the wall, and tried to find a place that was out of the reach of their darts, and yet within their hearing: and besought them, in many words, "To spare themselves; to spare their country, and their temple; and not to be more obdurate in these cases than foreigners themselves. For that the Romans, who had no relation to those things, had a reverence for their sacred cities and places, although they belonged to their enemies, and had till now refrained from meddling with them. While such as were brought up under them, and, if they be preserved, will be the only people that will reap the benefit of them, hurry on to have them destroyed. That certainly they have seen their strongest walls demolished; and that the wall still remaining was weaker than those already taken. That they must know the Roman power was invincible; and that they had been used to serve them. For that in case it be allowed a right thing to fight for liberty, that ought to have been done at first. But for them that have once fallen under the power of the Romans, and have now submitted to them for so many long years, to pretend to shake off that yoke afterward, was the work of such as had a mind to die miserably; not of such as were lovers of liberty. Besides, men may well enough grudge at the dishonour of owning ignoble masters over them; but ought not to do so to those who have all things under their command. For what part of the world is there that hath escaped the Romans, unless it be such as are of no use for violent heat, or for violent cold? And evident it is that fortune is on all hands gone over to them: and that God, when he had gone round the nations with this dominion, is now settled in Italy. That, moreover, it is a strong and fixed law, even among brute beasts, as well as among men, to yield to those that are too strong for them; and to suffer those to have the dominion, who are too hard for the rest in war. For which reason their forefathers, who were far superior to them both

* Providence.

in their souls and bodies, and other advantages, did yet submit to the Romans, which they would not have suffered, had they not known that God was with them. As for themselves, what can they depend on in this their opposition, when the greatest part of their city is already taken? and when those that are within it are under greater miseries than if they were taken, although their wall be still standing? For that the Romans are not unacquainted with that famine which is in the city, whereby the people are already consumed, and the fighting men will in a little time be so too. For although the Romans should leave off the siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in their hands; yet was there an insuperable war that beset them within, and was augmented every hour. Unless they were able to wage war with famine, or could alone conquer their natural appetites." He added farther, "How right a thing it was to change their conduct before their calamities were become incurable: and to have recourse to such advice as might preserve them, while opportunity was offered them for so doing. For that the Romans would not be mindful of their past actions, to their disadvantage, unless they persevered in their insolent behaviour to the end. Because they were naturally mild in their conquests, and preferred what was profitable, before what their passions dictated to them. Which profit of theirs lay in not leaving the city empty of inhabitants, nor the country a desert. On which account Cæsar did now offer them his right hand for a security. Whereas, if he took the city by force, he would not save any of them; and this especially if they rejected his offers in these their utmost distresses. For the walls that were already taken could not but assure them that the third wall would quickly be taken. And although their fortifications should prove too strong for the Romans to break through them, the famine would fight for the Romans against them."

While Josephus was making this exhortation to the Jews, many of them jested upon him from the wall, and many reproached him: nay, some threw their darts at him. But when he could not himself persuade them by such good advice, he betook himself to the histories belonging to their own nation, and cried out aloud, "O miserable creatures! are you so unmindful of those that used to assist you, that you will fight by your weapons, and by your hands, against the Romans? When did we ever conquer any other nation by such means? And when was it that God, who is the creator of the Jewish people, did not avenge them, when they had been injured? Will not you turn again, and look back, and consider whence it is that you fight with such violence, and how great a supporter you have profanely abused? Will not you recall to mind the prodigious things done for your forefathers and this holy place, and how great enemies of yours were by him subdued under you? I even tremble myself in declaring the works of God before your ears, that are unworthy to hear them. However, hearken to me, that you may be informed, how you fight, not only against the Romans, but against God himself. In old time there was one Necao, king of Egypt, who was also called Pharaoh. He came with a prodigious army of soldiers, and seized queen Sarah, the mother of our nation. What did Abraham our progenitor then do? Did he defend himself from this injurious person by war? although he had three hundred and eighteen *captains under him, and an immense army under each of them? Indeed, he deemed them to be no number at all, without God's assistance: and only †spread out his hands towards this holy place, which you have now polluted; and reckoned upon him, as upon his invincible supporter, instead of his own army. Was not our queen sent back without any defilement, to her husband the very next evening? While the king of Egypt fled away; adoring this place which you have defiled, by shedding thereon the blood of your own countrymen: and he also trembled at those visions which he saw in the night season; and bestowed both silver and gold on the Hebrews, as on a people beloved by God. Shall I mention the removal of our fathers into Egypt? Who when they were used tyrannically, and were fallen under the power of foreign kings, for four hundred years together, and might have defended themselves by war, and by fighting; did yet do nothing but commit themselves to God. Who is there that does not know how Egypt was overrun with all sorts of wild beasts, and consumed by all sorts of distempers; how their land did not bring forth its fruit; how the Nile failed of water; how the ten plagues of Egypt followed upon one another; and how, by those means, our fathers were sent away, under a guard, without any bloodshed, and without running any dangers: because God conducted them, as his peculiar servants. Moreover, did not ‡Palestine groan under the ravage the §Assyrians made, when they carried away our sacred ark? as did their idol Dagon: and as also did the entire nation of those that carried it away: how they were smitten with a loathsome distemper, and their very bowels came down, together with what they had eaten; till those hands that stole it away were obliged to bring it back again; and that with the sound of cymbals and timbrels, and other oblations, in order to appease the anger of God for their violation of his holy ark. It was God, who then became our general, and accomplished these great things for our fathers: and this because they did not meddle with war and fighting, but committed it to him to judge about their affairs. When Sennacherib, ‖king of Assyria, brought along with him all Asia, and encompassed this city round with his army, did he fall by the hands of men? were not our king's hands lifted up to God in prayer, with-

* Correct this mistake from the Antiquities, I. 10.

† Josephus supposes, in this admirable speech of the Jews, that not Abraham only, but Pharaoh king of Egypt, prayed towards a temple at Jerusalem, or towards Jerusalem, in which were mount Sion, and mount Moriah, on which the tabernacle and temple did afterwards stand: and this long before either the Jewish tabernacle or temple were built. Nor is the famous command given by God to Abraham, to go two or three days' journey on purpose to offer up his son Isaac there, unfavourable to such a notion.

‡ The Philistines.

§ Note here that Josephus, in this same admirable speech, calls the Syrians, nay, even the Philistines, on the most south part of Syria, Assyrians. Which Reland observes as what was common among the ancient writers. Note also, that Josephus might well put the Jews in mind, as he does here more than once, of their wonderful, and miraculous deliverance from Sennacherib king of Assyria: while the Roman army, and himself with them, were now encamped upon, and beyond that very spot of ground where the Assyrian army lay 780 years before; and which retained the name of the Camp of the Assyrians to that very day. See chap. 7, 12.

‖ See 2 Kings xviii. 13; xix. 32; 2 Chron. xxxii.; Isaiah xxxvi. xxxvii.

out meddling with arms, when an angel of God destroyed that prodigious army in one night? when the Assyrian king, as he arose the next day, found a hundred and eighty-five thousand dead bodies: and when he, with the remainder of his army, fled away from the Hebrews; though they were unarmed, and did not pursue them. You are also acquainted with the slavery we were under at Babylon, where the people were captives for seventy years; yet were they not delivered into freedom again, before God made Cyrus *his gracious instrument in bringing it about. Accordingly they were set free by him, and did again restore the worship of their deliverer, at his temple. And, to speak in general, we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any success by war, or failed of success when without war they committed themselves to God. When they staid at home they conquered, as pleased their judge; but when they went out to fight, they were always disappointed. For example, when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and our king Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to the predictions made to him by Jeremiah the prophet, he was at once taken prisoner, and saw the city and the temple demolished.† Yet how much greater was the moderation of that king, than is that of your present governors? and that of the people then under him, than that of yourselves at this time? For when Jeremiah cried out aloud, how very angry God was at them, because of their transgressions; and told them they should be taken prisoners, unless they would surrender up their city: neither did the king, nor the people, put him to death. But for you, (to pass over what you have done within the city; which I am not able to describe, as your wickedness deserves;) you abuse me, and throw darts at me, who only exhort you to save yourselves: as being provoked when you are reminded of your sins, and cannot bear the very mention of those crimes, which you every day perpetrate. For another example: when ‡Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, lay before this city, and had been guilty of many indignities against God, and our forefathers met him in arms: they then were slain in the battle; this city was plundered by our enemies, and our sanctuary made desolate for three years and six months. And why need I bring any more examples? Indeed, what can it be that hath stirred up an army of the Romans against our nation? Is it not the impiety of the inhabitants? Whence did our servitude commence? Was it not derived from the seditions that were among our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and our mutual quarrels, brought Pompey upon this city; and when God reduced those under subjection to the Romans, who were unworthy of the liberty they had enjoyed; after a siege, therefore, of three months, they were forced to surrender themselves: although they had not been guilty of such offences with regard to our sanctuary and our laws as you have. And this while they had much greater advantages to go to war than you have. Do not we know what end Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to? under whose reign God provided that this city should be taken again, upon account of the people's offences. When Herod, the son of Antipater, brought upon us Sosius, and Sosius brought upon us the Roman army. They were then encompassed and besieged for six months, till, as a punishment for their sins, they were taken, and the city was plundered by the enemy. Thus it appears that arms were never given to our nation; but that we are always given up to be fought against, and to be taken. For I suppose that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God: and then only to disregard the assistance of men, when they resign themselves up to their arbitrator, who is above. As for you, what have you done of those things that are recommended by our legislator? and what have you not done of those things that he hath condemned? How much more impious are you than those which were so quickly taken? You have not avoided so much as those sins that are usually committed in secret: I mean thefts, treacherous plots against men, and adulteries. You are quarrelling about rapines and murders, and invent strange ways of wickedness. Nay, the temple itself is become the receptacle of all. And this divine place is polluted by the hands of those of our own country: which place hath been reverenced by the Romans, when it was at a distance from them; when they have suffered many of their own customs to give place to our law. And after all this, do you expect Him whom you have so impiously abused to be your supporter? To be sure then you have a right to be petitioners; and to call upon Him to assist you; so pure are your hands! Did your king Hezekiah lift up such hands in prayer to God against the king of Assyria, when he destroyed that great army in one night? And do the Romans commit such wickedness, as did the king of Assyria, that you may have reason to hope for the like vengeance upon them? Did not that monarch accept of money from our king on this condition that he should not destroy the city; and yet, contrary to the oath he had taken, he came down to burn the temple? While the Romans demand no more than that accustomed tribute, which our fathers paid to their ancestors: and if they but once obtained that, they neither aim to destroy this city, nor to touch this sanctuary. Nay, they will grant you besides, that your posterity shall be free, and your possessions secured to you, and will preserve your holy laws inviolate. And it is actual madness to expect that God should appear as well disposed towards the wicked as towards the righteous; since he knows when it is proper to punish men for their sins immediately.

Accordingly he brake the power of the Assyrians, the very first night that they pitched their camp. Wherefore had he judged that our nation was worthy of freedom, or the Romans of punishment, he had immediately inflicted punishment upon those Romans, as he did upon the Assyrians, when Pompey began to meddle with our nation; or when, after him, Sosius came up against us; or when Vespasian laid waste Galilee; or lastly, when Titus came first of all

* Ezra i.

† Jeremiah xxxix.

‡ Josephus says here, that Antiochus Epiphanes was fought against by the Jews, and that he took Jerusalem by force, as he had done before: Book I. chap. 1, and as it is, 2 Maccabees x. 3. Yet does he directly contradict it in his later and exacter work the Antiquities, XII. 5. The number three years and six months should also be corrected to just three years, for this profanation of the temple.

near to this city. Although *Magnus and Sosius did not only suffer nothing, but took the city by force: as did Vespasian go from the war he made against you to receive the empire. And as for Titus, those †springs that were formerly almost dried up, when they were under your power; since he is come, run more plentifully than they did before. Accordingly you know that Siloam, as well as all the other springs that were without the city, did so far fail, that water was sold by distinct measures: whereas they now have such a great quantity of water for your enemies, as is sufficient not only for drink, both for themselves, and their cattle, but for watering their gardens also. The same ‡wonderful sign you had also experience of formerly, when the aforementioned king of Babylon made war against us; and when he took the city, and burnt the temple. While yet I believe the Jews of that age were not so impious as you are. Wherefore I cannot but suppose that God is fled out of his sanctuary, and stands on the side of those against whom you fight. Now even a man, if he be but a good man, will flee from an impure house, and will hate those that are in it: and do you persuade yourselves that God will abide with you in your iniquities, who sees all secret things, and hears what is kept most private?

Now what crime is there, I pray you, that is so much as kept secret among you, or is concealed by you? Nay, what is there that is not open to your very enemies? For you shew your transgressions after a pompous manner; and contend one with another which of you shall be the more wicked than another: and you make a public demonstration of your injustice, as if it were virtue. However, there is a place left for your preservation, if you be willing to accept of it: and God is easily reconciled to those that confess their faults, and repent of them. O hard-hearted wretches as you are! Cast away all your arms, and take pity on your country, already verging to ruin; return from your wicked ways, and have regard to the excellency of that city you are going to betray; to that excellent temple, with the donations of so many countries in it. Who could bear to be the first that should set that temple on fire? Who could be willing that these things should be no more?

And what is there that can better deserve to be preserved? O insensible creatures, and more stupid than are the stones themselves! And if you cannot look at these things with discerning eyes, yet, at least, have pity upon your families; and set before every one of your eyes your children, and wives, and parents, who will be gradually consumed, either by famine, or by war. I am sensible that this danger will extend to my mother, and wife, and to that family of mine which hath been by no means ignoble; and, indeed, to one that hath been very eminent in old time.

And perhaps you may imagine that it is on their account only that I give you this advice. If that be all, kill them: nay, take my own blood, as a reward, if it may but procure your preservation. For I am ready to die, in case you will but return to a sound mind after my decease."

* Pompeius Magnus, Pompey the Great.

† This drying up of the Jerusalem fountain of Siloam, when the Jews wanted it; and its flowing abundantly, when the enemies of the Jews wanted it; and these both in the days of Zedekiah, and of Titus; and this last, as a certain event well known by the Jews at that time, as Josephus here tells them to their faces; are very remarkable instances of the divine providence for the punishment of the Jewish nation, when they were grown very wicked, at both the times of the destruction of Jerusalem.

‡ The history of this is now wanting elsewhere.

CHAP. X.

OF THE ATTEMPTS OF MANY OF THE PEOPLE TO DESERT TO THE ROMANS; THE CALAMITIES WHICH THOSE THAT STAID BEHIND SUFFERED BY FAMINE, AND THE SAD CONSEQUENCES THEREOF.

AS Josephus was speaking thus, with a loud voice, the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did they deem it safe for them to alter their conduct. But as for the people, they had a great inclination to desert to the Romans. Accordingly some of them sold what they had, and even the most precious things that had been laid up as treasures by them, for a very small matter: and swallowed pieces of gold, that they might not be found out by the robbers. And when they had escaped to the Romans, they had wherewithal to provide plentifully for themselves. For Titus let a great number of them go away into the country, whither they pleased. And the main reasons why they were so ready to desert were these; that now they should be freed from those miseries which they had endured in that city, and yet should not be in slavery to the Romans. However, John and Simon, with their factions, did more carefully watch these men's going out than they did the coming in of the Romans. And if any one did but afford the least shadow of suspicion of such an intention, his throat was cut immediately.

But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them whether they staid in the city, or attempted to get out of it: for they were equally destroyed in both cases. For every such person was put to death under pretence that they were going to desert; but in reality that the robbers might get what they had. The madness of the seditious did also increase, together with their famine, and both those miseries were every day inflamed more and more. For there was no corn which any where appeared publicly; but the robbers came running into, and searched men's private houses; and then, if they found any, they tormented them, because they had denied they had any: and if they found none, they tormented them worse, because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The indication they made use of whether they had any or not was taken from the bodies of these miserable wretches: which if they were in good case, they supposed they were in no want of food; but if they were wasted away, they walked off, without searching any farther. Nor did they think it proper to kill such as these; because they saw they would very soon die for want. Many there were, indeed, who sold what they had for one measure: it was of wheat, if they were of the richer sort; but of barley, if they were poorer. When these had so done, they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and ate the corn they had gotten. Some did it without grinding it, by reason of the extremity of the want they were in: and others baked bread of it,

according as necessity and fear dictated to them. A table was no where laid for a distinct meal: but they snatched the bread out of the fire, half baked, and devoured it very hastily.

It was now a miserable case, and a sight that would justly bring tears into our eyes, how men stood as to their food: while the more powerful had more than enough, and the weaker were lamenting for want of it. But the famine was too hard for all other passions: and it is destructive to nothing so much as to modesty; for what was otherwise worthy of reverence, was in this case despised. Insomuch that children pulled the very morsels that their fathers were eating out of their mouths; and, what was still more to be pitied, so did the mothers do as to their infants. And when those that were most dear were perishing under their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops that might preserve their lives. And while they ate after this manner, yet were they not concealed in so doing. But the seditious every where came upon them immediately, and snatched away from them what they had gotten from others. For when they saw any house shut up, this was to them a signal that the people within had gotten some food: whereupon they brake open the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating almost out of their very throats, and this by force. The old men, who held their food fast, were beaten: and if the women hid what they had within their hands, their hair was torn for so doing. Nor was there any commiseration shewn either to the aged, or to the infants: but they lifted up children from the ground, as they hung upon the morsels they had gotten, and shook them down upon the floor.* But still were they more barbarously cruel to those that had prevented their coming in, and had actually swallowed down what they were going to seize upon, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of their right. They also invented terrible methods of torments, to discover where any food was; and a man was forced to bear what is terrible even to hear, in order to make him confess that he had but one loaf of bread; or that he might discover a handful of barley-meal that was concealed. And this was done when these tormentors were not themselves hungry; for the thing had been less barbarous had necessity forced them to it. But this was done to keep their madness in use; and as making preparation of provisions for themselves for the following days. These men went also to meet those that had crept out of the city by night, as far as the Roman guards, to gather some plants and herbs that grew wild. And when those people thought they had got clear of the enemy, these snatched from them what they had brought with them; even while they had frequently entreated them, and that by calling upon the tremendous name of God, to give them back some part of what they had brought: though these would not give them the least morsel. And they were to be well contented that they were only plundered, and not slain at the same time.

Such were the afflictions which the lower sort of the people suffered from these tyrants' guards. But for the men that were in dignity, and withal were rich, they were carried before the tyrants themselves. Some of them were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and so were destroyed; others were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest way of all was, to suborn somebody to affirm that they were resolved to desert to the enemy. And he who was utterly despoiled of what he had by Simon, was sent back again to John: as of those who had been already plundered by John, Simon got what remained. Insomuch that they drank the blood of the populace to one another, and divided the bodies of the poor creatures between them. So that although, on account of their ambition after dominion, they contended with each other; yet did they very well agree in their wicked practices. For he that did not communicate what he got by the miseries of others, to the other tyrant, seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only. And he that did not partake of what was so communicated to him, grieved, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

It is impossible, indeed, to go distinctly over every instance of these men's iniquity. I shall, therefore, speak my mind here at once briefly; that neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries; nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was from the beginning of the world. Finally, they brought the Hebrew nation into contempt; that they might themselves appear comparatively less impious, with regard to strangers. They confessed what was true, that they were the slaves, the scum, and the spurious and abortive offspring of our nation. While they overthrew the city themselves, and forced the Romans, whether they would or no, to gain a melancholy reputation by acting gloriously against them: and did almost draw that fire upon the temple, which they seemed to think came too slowly. And, indeed, when they saw that temple burning, from the upper city, they were neither troubled at it, nor did they shed any tears on that account. While yet these passions were discovered among the Romans themselves. Which circumstances we shall speak of hereafter, in their proper place.

CHAP. XI.

MANY OF THE JEWS ARE CRUCIFIED BEFORE THE WALLS OF THE CITY.—CONCERNING ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BANKS THAT HAD BEEN RAISED BY THE ROMANS.

TITUS'S banks were now advanced a great way, notwithstanding his soldiers had been very much distressed from the wall. He then sent a party of horsemen, and ordered they should lay ambushes for those that went out into the valleys to gather food. Some of these were, indeed, fighting men, who were not contented with what they got by rapine. But the greater part of them were poor people, who were deterred from deserting by the concern they

* Vide Psalm cxxxvii. 8. Such instances of cruelty serve to shew to what inhumanity the human mind may be brought. Anciently the claims of pity were denied in the prosecution of war, which too frequently was made the engine of vengeance. B.

were under for their own relations. For they could not hope to escape, together with their wives and children, without the knowledge of the seditious. Nor could they think of leaving these relations to be slain by the robbers, on their account. Nay, the severity of the famine made them bold in thus going out. So nothing remained but that, when they were concealed from the robbers, they should be taken by the enemy. And when they were going to be taken they were forced to defend themselves, for fear of being punished; as after they had fought, they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy. So they were first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures, before they died, and were then *crucified before the wall of the city. This miserable procedure made Titus greatly to pity them; while they caught every day five hundred Jews: nay, some days they caught more. Yet did it not appear to be safe for him to let those that were taken by force to go their way: and to set a guard over so many he saw would be to make such as guarded them useless to him. The main reason why he did not forbid that cruelty was, that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield at that sight, out of fear lest they might themselves afterwards be liable to the same cruel treatment. So the soldiers, out of the wrath and hatred they bore the Jews, nailed those they caught, one after one way, and another after another, to the crosses, by way of jest. When their multitude was so great that room was wanting for the crosses; and crosses wanting for the bodies.

But so far were the seditious from repenting at this sad sight, that, on the contrary, they made the rest of the multitude believe otherwise. For they brought the relations of those that had deserted upon the wall, with such of the populace as were very eager to go over upon the security offered them, and shewed them what miseries those underwent who fled to the Romans: and told them, that those which were caught were supplicants to them, and not such as were taken prisoners. This sight kept many of those within the city, who were eager to desert, till the truth was known. Yet did some of them run away immediately, as unto certain punishment: esteeming death from their enemies to be a quiet departure, if compared with that by famine. So Titus commanded that the hands of many of those that were caught should be cut off, that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of the calamity they were under, and sent them in to John and Simon: with this exhortation, that, "They would now at length leave off their madness, and not force him to destroy the city: whereby they would have these advantages of repentance, even in their utmost distress, that they would preserve their own lives, and so fine a city, and that temple which was their peculiar." He then went round about the banks that were cast up, and hastened them; in order to shew that his words should in no long time be followed by his deeds. In answer to which the seditious cast reproaches upon Cæsar himself, and upon his father also; and cried out with a loud voice, that "They contemned death, and did well in preferring it before slavery; that they would do all the mischief to the Romans they could, while they had breath in them; and that for their own city, since they were, as he said, to be destroyed, they had no concern about it: and that the world itself was a better temple to God than this. That yet this temple would be preserved by him that inhabited therein; whom they still had for their assistant in this war: and did therefore laugh at all the threatenings of their enemies, which would come to nothing. Because the conclusion of the whole depended upon God only." These words were mixed with reproaches: and with them they made a mighty clamour.

In the mean time †Antiochus Epiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the Macedonian band about him, all of the same age, tall, and just past their childhood; armed, and instructed after the Macedonian manner, whence it was that they took that name. Yet were many of them unworthy of so famous a nation. For it had so happened, that the king of Commagene had flourished more than any other kings that were under the Romans, till a change happened in his condition; and when he was an old man he declared plainly, that we ought not to call any man happy before he be dead. But this son of his, who was then come thither before his father was decaying, said, that he could not but wonder what made the Romans so tardy in making their attacks upon the wall. Now he was a warlike man, and naturally bold in exposing himself to dangers. He was also so strong a man, that his boldness seldom failed of having success. Upon this Titus smiled, and said he would share the pains of an attack with him. However, Antiochus went, as he then was, and with his Macedonians made a sudden assault upon the wall. And, indeed, for his own part, his strength and his skill were so great, that he guarded himself from the Jewish darts, and yet shot his darts at them. While yet the young men with him were almost all sorely galled. For they had so great a regard to the promises that had been made of their courage, that they would needs persevere in their fighting; and at length many of them retired, but not till they were wounded. And then they perceived that true Macedonians, if they were to be conquerors, must have Alexander's good fortune also.

Now as the Romans began to raise their banks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, or Jyar,‡ so had they much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month, after they had laboured hard for seventeen days continually. For there were now four great banks raised: one of which was at the tower Antonia. This was raised by the fifth legion, over against that pool which was called Struthius. Another was cast up by the twelfth legion, at a distance of about twenty cubits from the other. But

* Reland very properly takes notice here, how justly this judgment came upon the Jews, when they were crucified in such multitudes together, that the Romans wanted room for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies of these Jews: since they had brought this judgment on themselves by the crucifixion of their Messiah.

† Hegesippus, the old epitomizer of Josephus, informs us, Book V. that this later Antiochus Epiphanes was the son of Antiochus, king of Commagene. He had been mentioned before, II. 18, as bringing royal auxiliary troops to the assistance of Vespasian, against the Jews. The same names continuing in that family long after that first Antiochus Epiphanes. Antiq. XIX. 5, and 9.

‡ A. D. 70.

the labours of the tenth legion, which lay a great way off these, was on the north quarter, and at the pool called Amygdalon: as was that of the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, and at the high-priest's monument. And now, when the engines were brought, John had from within undermined the space that was over against the tower of Antonia, as far as the banks themselves: and had supported the ground over the mine with beams laid across one another, whereby the Roman works stood upon an uncertain foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought in, as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire. And as the cross beams that supported the banks were burning, the ditch yielded on the sudden, and the banks were shaken down, and fell into the ditch, with a prodigious noise. Now at the first bank there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the bank. But as the suffocated materials were now gradually consumed, a plain flame brake out. On which sudden appearance of the flame a consternation fell upon the Romans, and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them. And, indeed, this accident coming upon them at a time when they thought they had already gained their point, cooled their hopes for the time to come. They also thought it would be to no purpose to take the pains to extinguish the fire, since, if it were extinguished, the banks were swallowed up already, and become utterly useless.

Two days after this, Simon and his party made an attempt to destroy the other banks: for the Romans had brought their engines to bear there, and began already to make the wall shake. And here one Tephtheus, of Garsis, a city of Galilee, and Megassarus, one who was derived from some of queen Mariamne's servants, and with them one from Adiabene, (he was the son of Nabateus, and called by the name of Chagiras, from the ill fortune he had: the word signifying a lame man:) snatched some torches, and ran suddenly upon the engines. Nor were there during this war any men that ever sallied out of the city who were their superiors, either in their own boldness, or in the terror they struck into their enemies: for they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were enemies, but friends, without fear or delay. Nor did they leave their enemies till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and set their machines on fire. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with their enemies' swords, yet did they not withdraw themselves out of the dangers they were in, till the fire had caught hold of the instruments. But when the flame went up, the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines. Then did the Jews hinder their succours from the wall, and fought with those that endeavoured to quench the fire, without any regard to the danger their bodies were in. So the Romans pulled the engines out of the fire, while the hurdles that covered them were on fire. But the Jews caught hold of the battering rams through the flame itself, and held them fast, although the iron upon them was become red hot. And now the fire spread itself from the engines to the banks, and prevented those that came to defend them. And all this while the Romans were encompassed round about with the flame; and, despairing of saving their works from it, they retired to their camp. Then did the Jews become still more numerous, by the coming of those that were within the city to their assistance. And as they were very bold upon the good success they had had, their assaults were almost irresistible. Nay, they proceeded as far as the fortifications of the enemies' camp, and fought with their guards. Now there stood a body of soldiers in array before that camp, which succeeded one another by turns in their armour: and as to those, the law of the Romans was terrible; that he who left his post there, let the occasion be whatsoever it might, was to die for it. So that body of soldiers preferring rather to die in fighting courageously, then as a punishment for their cowardice, stood firm. And at the necessity these men were in of standing to it, many of the others that had run away out of shame turned back again. And when they had set the engines against the wall, they kept the multitude from coming more of them out of the city; which they could the more easily do, because they had made no provision for preserving or guarding their bodies at this time. For the Jews now fought hand to hand with all that came in their way: and without any caution fell against the points of their enemies' spears: and attacked them bodies against bodies. For they were now too hard for the Romans; not so much by their other warlike actions, as by these courageous assaults they made upon them. And the Romans gave way more to their boldness, than they did to the sense of the harm they had received from them.

Now Titus was come from the tower of Antonia, whither he was gone to look out for a place for raising other banks, and reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own walls to be in danger, when they had taken the walls of their enemies: and sustained the fortune of men besieged, while the Jews were allowed to sally out against them, though they were already in a sort of prison. He then went round about the enemy with some chosen troops, and fell upon their flank himself. So the Jews, who had been before assaulted in their faces, wheeled about to Titus, and continued to fight. The armies also were now mixed one among another: and the dust that was raised so far hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so far hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could discern an enemy from a friend. However, the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength, as from their despair of deliverance. The Romans also would not yield, by reason of the regard they had to glory, and to their reputation in war; and because Cæsar himself went into the danger before them. Insomuch that I cannot but think the Romans would in the conclusion have now taken even the whole multitude of the Jews; so very angry were they at them; had these not prevented the result of the battle, and retired into the city. However, seeing the banks of the Romans were demolished, these Romans were very much cast down upon the loss of what had cost them so long pains; and this in one hour's time. And many, indeed, despaired of taking the city with their usual engines of war only.

CHAP. XII.

TITUS CAUSES THE CITY TO BE ENCOMPASSED WITH A WALL; AFTER WHICH THE FAMINE CONSUMES THE PEOPLE BY WHOLE HOUSES AND FAMILIES TOGETHER.

NOW did Titus consult with his commanders what was to be done. Those that were of the warmest tempers thought he should bring the whole army against the city, and storm the wall. For that hitherto no more than a part of their army had fought with the Jews: but that in case the entire army were to come at once, they would not be able to sustain their attacks, but would be overwhelmed by their darts. But of those that were for the more cautious management, some were for raising their banks again, and others advised to let the banks alone, but to lie still before the city, to guard against the coming out of the Jews, and against their carrying provisions into the city, and so to leave the enemy to the famine; and this without direct fighting with them. For that despair was not to be conquered: especially as to those who are desirous to die by the sword; while a more terrible misery than that is reserved for them. However, Titus did not think fit for so great an army to lie entirely idle: and that yet it was in vain to fight with those that would be destroyed one by another. He also shewed them how impracticable it was to cast up any more banks, for want of materials; and to guard against the Jews' coming out still more impracticable. As also that to encompass the whole city round with his army, was not very easy, by reason of its magnitude, and the difficulty of the situation: and on other accounts dangerous, upon the sallies the Jews might make out of the city. For although they might guard the known passages out of the place, yet would they, when they found themselves under the greatest distress, contrive secret passages, as being well acquainted with all such places. And if any provisions were carried in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer delayed. He also owned that he was afraid the length of time thus to be spent would diminish the glory of his success. For though it be true, that length of time will perfect every thing; yet to do what is to be done in a little time is still necessary to the gaining reputation. That, therefore, his opinion was, that if they aimed at quickness, joined with security, they must build a wall round about the whole city: which was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way. And that then they would either entirely despair of saving the city, and so would surrender it up to him; or be still the more easily conquered when the famine had farther weakened them. For that besides this wall, he would not lie entirely at rest afterward, but would take care to have banks raised again, when those that would oppose them were become weaker. But that if any one should think such a work to be too great, and not to be finished without much difficulty, he ought to consider, that it was not fit for Romans to undertake any small work: and that none but God himself could accomplish any great thing with facility.

These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work. And, indeed, there now came upon the soldiers a certain divine fury; so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them, nor did only one legion strive with another; but the lesser divisions of the army did the same. Insomuch that each soldier was ambitious to please his decurion; each decurion his centurion; each centurion his tribune; and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superior commanders; while Cæsar himself noticed and rewarded the like contention in those commanders. For he went round about the works many times every day, and took a view of what was done. Titus began the wall from the camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and drew it down to the lower parts of Cenopolis. Thence it went along the valley of Cedron, to the mount of Olives. It then bent towards the south; and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristereon, and that other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley which reaches to Siloam. Whence it bended again to the west, and went down to the valley of the fountain. Beyond which it went up again at the monument of Ananus, the high-priest; and encompassing that mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and was carried on as far as a certain village called the house of the Erebinthi. After which it encompassed Herod's monument; and there, on the east, was joined to Titus's own camp, where it began. Now its length was thirty-nine furlongs; and at this wall without were erected thirteen places to keep garrisons in; whose circumferences, put together, amounted to ten furlongs. The whole was completed in three days. So that what would naturally have required some months was done in so short an interval as is incredible. When Titus had, therefore, encompassed the city with this wall, and put garrisons into proper places, he went round the wall, at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to *Alexander; and the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch in the night time; and who should go all night long round the spaces that were interposed between the garrisons.

All hope of escaping being now cut off from the Jews, together with their liberty of going out of the city, the famine began to extend its progress, and devour the people by whole houses and families. The upper rooms were full of women and children that were dying by famine; and the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged. The children also, and the young men, wandered about the market-places like shadows, all swelled with the famine, and fell down dead, wheresoever their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick were not able, and those that were well were deterred from doing it by the great multitude of those dead bodies, and by the un-

* This must be Tiberius Alexander, mentioned by Tacitus, as now governor of Egypt; an early friend of Vespasian's and one whom Vespasian had made lieutenant-general of the army under him: as Josephus elsewhere informs us. See II. 15; IV. 10, and V. 1.

certainty there was how soon they should die themselves. For many died as they were burying others; and many went to their coffins before that fatal hour was come. Nor was there any lamentation made under these calamities; nor were heard any mournful complaints. But the famine confounded all natural passions. For those who were just going to die looked upon those that were gone to their rest before them with dry eyes, and open mouths. A deep silence also, and a kind of deadly gloom, had seized upon the city. While yet the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries themselves. For they brake open those houses which were no other than graves of dead bodies, and plundered them of what they had; and carrying off the coverings of their bodies, went out laughing, and tried the points of their swords in their dead bodies; and in order to prove what mettle they were made of, they thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground. But for those that entreated them to lend them their right hand, and their swords to despatch them, they would not grant their requests, but left them to be consumed by the famine. Every one of these died with their eyes fixed upon the temple; and left the seditious alive behind them. Now the seditious at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury; as not enduring the stench of the bodies: but afterwards, when they could not do that, they had them cast down from the walls into the valleys beneath.

However, when Titus, in going his rounds along those valleys, saw them full of dead and putrescent bodies, he uttered a groan; and spreading out his hands to heaven, called God to witness, that this was not his doing. And such was the sad case of the city itself. But the Romans were very joyful: since none of the seditious could make sallies out of the city, because they were themselves disconsolate, and the famine already touched them also. These Romans besides had great plenty of corn, and other necessaries, out of Syria, and the neighbouring provinces. Many of them, therefore, would stand near to the wall of the city, and shewed the people what great quantities of provisions they had, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famine, by the great plenty, even to satiety, which they had themselves. However, when the seditious still shewed no inclinations of yielding, Titus, out of his commiseration of the people that remained, and out of his earnest desire of rescuing what was still left out of these miseries, began to raise his banks again; although materials for them were hard to be come at. For all the trees that were about the city had been already cut down, for the erection of the former banks. Yet did the soldiers bring with them other materials from the distance of ninety furlongs, and thereby raised banks, in four parts, much greater than the former; though this was done only at the tower of Antonia. So Cæsar went his rounds through the legions, and hastened on the works; and shewed the robbers that they were now in his hands. But these men, and these only, were incapable of repenting of the wickednesses they had been guilty of; and separating their souls from their bodies, they used them both as if they had belonged to other persons, and not to themselves. For no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor could any pain affect their bodies; since they could tear the dead bodies of the people like dogs, and fill the prisons with those that were sick.

CHAP. XIII.

OF THE GREAT SLAUGHTERS AND SACRILEGE THAT WERE IN JERUSALEM.

ACCORDINGLY Simon would not suffer Matthias, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without torment. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, and was one of the high-priests; one that had been very faithful to the people, and in great esteem with them. He, when the multitude were distressed by the zealots, among whom John was now numbered,* persuaded the people to admit Simon to come in to assist them; while he had made no terms with him, nor expected any thing that was evil from him. But when Simon was come in, and had gotten the city under his power, he esteemed him that had advised them to admit him as his enemy, equally with the rest; as looking upon that advice as a proof of his simplicity only. So he had him brought before him, and condemned him to die, for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defence. He also condemned three of his sons to die with him: but the fourth prevented him, by running away to Titus. And when he begged that he might be slain before his sons, and that as a favour, on account that he had procured the gates of the city to be opened to him, he gave order that he should be slain the last of them all. So he was not slain, till he had seen his sons murdered before his eyes; and that by being produced over against the Romans. For such a charge had Simon given to Ananus, the son of Bamadus, who was the most barbarous of all his guards. He also jested upon him, and told him, that he might now see whether those to whom he intended to go over would send him any succours or not. But still he forbade their dead bodies should be buried. After the slaughter of these, a certain priest, Ananias, the son of Masambalus, a person of eminence: as also Aristeus, the scribe of the Sanhedrim, and born at Emmaus; and with them fifteen men of figure among the people were slain. They also kept Josephus's father in prison, and made public proclamation, that no citizen whatsoever should either speak to him himself, or go into his company among others, for fear he should betray them. And they even slew such as joined in lamenting these men, without any farther examination.

Now when Judas, the son of Judas, who was one of Simon's under-officers, and a person entrusted by him to keep one of the towers, saw this procedure of Simon's, he called together ten of those under him, that were the most faithful to him; and partly out of pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death, but principally in order to provide for his own safety, he spake thus to them: "How long shall we bear these miseries? Or what hopes have we of deliverance, by thus continuing faithful to such wicked wretches? Is not the famine already come against us? Are not the Romans in a manner gotten within the

* See Book IV. chap. 9.

city? Is not Simon become unfaithful to his benefactors? And is there not reason to fear he will very soon bring us to the like punishment? while the security the Romans offer us is sure. Let us surrender up this wall, and save ourselves, and the city. Nor will Simon be very much hurt, if, now he despair of deliverance, he be brought to justice a little sooner than he expects." Now these ten were prevailed upon by those arguments. So he sent the rest of those that were under him, some one way, and some another, that no difficulty might be made of what they had resolved upon.

Accordingly he called to the Romans, from the tower, about the third hour. But they, some of them out of pride, despised what he said, and others did not believe him to be in earnest; though the greater number delayed the matter, as believing they should get possession of the city in a little time, without any hazard. But when Titus was just coming thither with his armed men, Simon was acquainted with the matter, and presently took the tower into his own custody, before it was surrendered; and seized upon these men, and put them to death, in the sight of the Romans: and when he had mangled their dead bodies, he threw them down before the wall of the city.

In the mean time Josephus, as he was going round the city, had his head wounded by a stone that was thrown at him, and fell down as giddy. Upon which fall of his the Jews made a sally; and he had been hurried away into the city, if Cæsar had not sent men to protect him immediately. And as these men were fighting, Josephus was taken up: though he heard little of what was done. So the seditious supposed they had now slain that man whom they were the most desirous of killing, and made thereupon a great noise, in way of rejoicing. This accident was told in the city; and the multitude that remained became very disconsolate at the news, as being persuaded that he was really dead, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans. But when Josephus's mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she said to those that watched about her; that she had always been of opinion, since the siege of Jotapata, that he would be slain: and she should never enjoy him alive any more. She also made a great lamentation privately to the maid servants that were about her, and said, that this was all the advantage she had of bringing so extraordinary a person as this son into the world, that she should not be able even to bury that son of hers, by whom she expected to have been buried herself. However, this false report did not put his mother to pain, nor afford merriment to the robbers long. For Josephus soon recovered of his wound, and came out, and cried out aloud, that it would not be long ere they should be punished for this wound they had given him. He also made a fresh exhortation to the people, to come out upon the security that would be given them: by which means the people were greatly encouraged, and a great consternation was brought upon the seditious.

Hereupon some of the deserters, having no other way, leaped down from the wall immediately; while others of them went out of the city, with stones, as if they would fight them: but thereupon they fled away to the Romans. But here a worse fate accompanied these, than what they had found within the city: and they met with a quicker despatch from the too great abundance they had among the Romans, than they could have done from the famine among the Jews. For when they came first to the Romans, they were puffed up by the famine, and swelled like men in a dropsy: after which, they suddenly overfilled those bodies that were before empty, and so burst asunder, excepting such only as were skilful enough to restrain their appetites, and by degrees took in their food. Yet did another plague seize upon those that were thus preserved. For there was among the Syrian deserters a certain person, who was caught gathering pieces of gold out of the excrements of the Jews. For the deserters used to swallow such pieces of gold, as we said *before, when they came out: and for these did the seditious search them all. For there was a great quantity of gold in the city. Insomuch that as much was now sold in the Roman camp for twelve Attic drachmæ as was sold before for twenty-five. But when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the fame of it filled their several camps, that the deserters came to them full of gold. So the multitude of the Arabians, with the Syrians, cut up those that came as supplicants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me, that any misery befell the Jews that was more terrible than this: since, in one night, about two thousand of these deserters were thus dissected.

When Titus came to the knowledge of this wicked practice, he had like to have surrounded those that had been guilty of it with his cavalry, and to have put them to death; and he had done it, had not their number been so very great; and those that were liable to this punishment would have been manifold more than those whom they had slain. However, he called together the commanders of the auxiliary troops he had with him, as well as the commanders of the Roman legions: (for some of his own soldiers had been also guilty herein, as he had been informed:) and had great indignation against both of them, and said, "What! Have any of my own soldiers done such things as this, out of the uncertain hope of gain, without regarding their own weapons, which are made of silver and gold? Moreover, do the Arabians and Syrians now first of all begin to govern themselves as they please, and to indulge their appetites in a foreign war? and then out of their barbarity in murdering men, and out of their hatred to the Jews, get it ascribed to the Romans?" For this infamous practice was said to be spread among some of his own soldiers also. Titus then threatened, that he would put such men to death, if any of them were discovered to be so insolent as to do so again. He gave it also in charge to the legions, that they should make a search after such as were suspected, and should bring them to him. But it appeared that the love of money was too hard for all their dread of punishment;† and a vehement desire of gain is natural to men, and no passion is so venturesome as covetousness. Otherwise such passions have certain bounds, and are subordinate to fear.

* See Chap. 10.

† It is justly said to be the root of all evil. In such circumstances it could be of little service to the Jews; and the manner in which they endeavoured to preserve it might even destroy them. Yet they were not deterred from the practice. Avarice is insatiable and incurable. B.

But in reality it was God who condemned the whole nation, and turned every course that was taken for their preservation to their destruction. This, therefore, which was forbidden by Cæsar under such a threatening, was ventured upon privately against the deserters; and these barbarians would go out still, and meet those that ran away, before any saw them; and looking about them to see that no Roman spied them, they dissected them, and pulled this polluted money out of their bowels. Which money was still found in a few of them; while yet a great many were destroyed by the bare hope there was of thus getting by them. Which miserable treatment made many that were deserting to return back again into the city.

But as for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacrilege, and melted down many of the sacred utensils, which had been given to the temple; as also many of those vessels which were necessary for such as ministered about holy things: the caldrons, the dishes, and the tables. Nay, he did not abstain from those pouring vessels that were sent them by Augustus, and his wife. For the Roman emperors did ever both honour and adorn this temple: whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners; and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use divine things, while they were fighting for the Divinity, without fear: and that such whose warfare was for the temple should live of the temple. On which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept to be poured on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the *inner court of the temple; and distributed it among the multitude; who, in their anointing themselves, and drinking, used each of them above a hin of them. And here I cannot but speak my mind, and what the concern I am under dictates to me: I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening under them; or been overflowed by water; or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of †Sodom perished by. For it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suffered such punishment. For by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed.

And indeed, why do I relate these particular calamities? While Manneus, the son of Lazarus, came running to Titus at this very time, and told him, that there had been carried out through that one gate, which was entrusted to his care, no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, in the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, or Nisan, when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus, or Tamuz.‡ This was itself a prodigious multitude. And though this man was not himself set as a governor at that gate, yet was he appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying these bodies out, and so was obliged of necessity to number them: while the rest were buried by their relations. Though all their burial was but this, to bring them away, and cast them out of the city. After this man there ran away to Titus many eminent citizens, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead, and that no fewer than six hundred thousand were thrown out at the gates: though still the number of the rest could not be discovered. And they told him further, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid the corpses on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up therein. As also that a medimnus of wheat was sold for a talent: and that when, a while afterward, it was not possible to gather herbs, by reason the city was all walled about, some persons were driven to that terrible distress, as to search the common shores, and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they found there: and what they of old could not endure so much as to see, they now used for food. When the Romans heard all this, they commiserated their case; while the seditious, who saw it also, did not repent; but suffered the same distress to come upon themselves. For they were blinded by that fate, which was already coming upon that city, and upon themselves.

* The court of the priests.

† Josephus, both here, and before, IV. 8, esteems the land of Sodom, not as part of the lake Asphaltites, or under its waters, but near it only; as Tacitus also took the same notion from him, Hist. V. 6, 7, which the great Reland takes to be the truth, both in his note on this place, and in his Palestine, Tom. I. pages 254—258. Though I rather suppose part of that region of Pentapolis to be now under the waters of the south part of that sea, but perhaps not the whole country.

‡ A. D. 70.

BOOK VI.

Containing an Interval of about one Month.

FROM THE EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED, TO THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.

CHAP. I.

OF THE AUGMENTATION OF THE MISERIES SUSTAINED BY THE JEWS; AND OF AN ASSAULT WHICH THE ROMANS MADE UPON THE TOWER OF ANTONIA.

THUS did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day; and the seditious were still more irritated by the calamities they were under, even while the famine preyed upon themselves, after it had preyed upon the people. And indeed the multitude of carcasses that lay in heaps one upon another was a horrible sight, and produced a pestilential stench, which was a hindrance to those that would make sallies out of the city, and fight the enemy. But as those were to go in battle array, who had been already used to ten thousand murders, and must tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along, so were not they terrified, nor did they pity men as they marched over them. Nor did they deem this affront offered to the deceased to be any ill omen to themselves. But as they had their right hands already polluted with the murders of their own countrymen, and in that condition ran out to fight with foreigners, they seem to me to have cast a reproach upon God himself, as if he were too slow in punishing them. For the war was not now gone on with, as if they had any hope of victory; for they gloried after a brutish manner in that despair of deliverance they were already in. And now the Romans, although they were greatly distressed in getting together their materials, raised their banks in twenty-one days; after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country that adjoined to the city, and for ninety furlongs round about; as I have *already related. And indeed the very view of the country was a melancholy thing. For those places which were before adorned with trees, and pleasant gardens, were now become desolate every way; and their trees were all cut down. Nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judea, and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw it as a desert, but lament and mourn sadly at so great a change. For the war had laid all the signs of beauty quite waste. Nor if any one that had known the place before, had come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again: but though he were at the city itself, yet would he have inquired for it notwithstanding.

And now the banks were finished, they afforded a foundation for fear, both to the Romans and to the Jews. For the Jews expected that the city would be taken, unless they could burn those banks; as did the Romans expect that if these were once burnt down they should never be able to take it. For there was a great scarcity of materials, and the bodies of the soldiers began to fail with such hard labours, as did their souls faint with so many instances of ill success. Nay, the very calamities themselves that were in the city proved a greater discouragement to the Romans than to those within the city. For they found the fighting men of the Jews to be not at all mollified among their sore afflictions; †while they had themselves perpetually less and less hopes of success, and their banks were forced to yield to the stratagems of the enemy, their engines to the firmness of their wall, and their closest fights to the boldness of their attacks. And, what was their greatest discouragement of all, they found the courageous souls of the Jews to be superior to the multitude of the miseries they were under by their sedition, their famine, and the war itself. Insomuch that they were ready to imagine, that the violence of their attacks was invincible; and that the alacrity they shewed would not be discouraged by their calamities. For what would not those be able to bear, if they should be fortunate, who turned their very misfortunes to the improvement of their valour? These considerations made the Romans to keep a stronger guard about their banks than they formerly had done.

But now, John and his party took care for securing themselves afterward, even in case this wall should be thrown

* See Chap. 12.

† The obduracy of the Jews was judicial. God had given them up to hardness and insensibility of heart. It is not, therefore, to be expected, that outward danger or difficulties would make any impression upon them; but rather, as was actually the case, render them desperate. B.

down: and fell to work before the battering rams were brought against them. Yet did they not compass what they endeavoured to do; but, as they were gone out with their torches, they came back under great discouragement, before they came near to the banks. And the reasons were these: that, in the first place, their conduct did not seem to be unanimous; but they went out in distinct parties, and at distinct intervals, and after a slow manner, and timourously: and to say all in a word, without a Jewish courage. For they were now defective in what is peculiar to our nation, that is in boldness, in violence of assault, in running upon the enemy all together, and in persevering in what they go about, though they do not at first succeed in it. But they now went out in a more languid manner than usual; and, at the same time, found the Romans set in array, and more courageous than ordinary; and that they guarded their banks both with their bodies, and their entire armour; and this to such a degree on all sides, that they left no room for the fire to get among them; and that every one of their men were in such good courage, that they would sooner die than desert their ranks. For besides their notion that all their hopes were cut off, in case these works were once burnt, the soldiers were greatly ashamed that subtility should be too hard for courage, madness for armour, multitude for skill, and Jews for Romans. The Romans had now also another advantage, in that their engines for sieges co-operated with them in throwing darts and stones, as far as the Jews, when they were coming out of the city. Whereby the man that fell became an impediment to him that was next to him; as did the danger of going farther make them less zealous in their attempts. And for those that had run under the darts, some of them were terrified by the good order and closeness of the enemies' ranks, before they came to a close fight; and others were pricked with their spears, and turned back again. At length they reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired, without doing any thing. This attack was made upon the first day of the month Panemus, or Tamuz. So when the Jews were retreated, the Romans brought their engines, although they had all the while thrown stones at them from the tower of Antonia, and were assaulted by fire and sword, and by all sorts of darts which necessity afforded the Jews to make use of. For although these had great dependence on their own wall, and a contempt of the Roman engines, yet did they endeavour to hinder the Romans from bringing them. Now these Romans struggled hard, on the contrary, to bring them: as deeming that this zeal of the Jews was in order to avoid any impression to be made on the tower of Antonia; because its walls were but weak, and its foundations rotten. However, that tower did not yield to the blows given it from the engines. Yet did the Romans bear the impressions made by the enemies' darts, which were perpetually cast at them, and did not give way to any of those dangers that came upon them from above; and so they brought their engines to bear. But then, as they were beneath the other, and were sadly wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them threw their shields over their bodies, and partly with their hands, partly with their bodies, and partly with crows, they undermined its foundations: and with great pains they removed four of its stones. Then night came upon both sides, and put an end to this struggle for the present. However, that night, the wall was so shaken by the battering rams, in that place where John had used his stratagem before, and had undermined their banks, that the ground then gave way, and the wall fell down suddenly.

When this accident had unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were variously affected. For though one would expect that the Jews would be discouraged, because this fall of their wall was unexpected by them, and they had made no provision in that case; yet did they raise their courage, because the tower of Antonia itself was still standing: as was the unexpected joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall soon quenched by the sight they had of another wall, which John and his party had built within it. However, the attack of this second wall appeared to be easier than that of the former. Because it seemed a thing of greater facility to get up to it through the parts of the former wall that were now thrown down. This new wall appeared also to be much weaker than the tower of Antonia: and accordingly the Romans imagined that it had been erected so much on the sudden, that they should soon overthrow it. Yet did not any body venture now to go up to this wall: as seeing that such as first ventured so to do must certainly be killed.

Now Titus, upon consideration that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hopes, and by good words; and that exhortations and promises frequently make men forget the hazards they run; nay, sometimes induce them to despise death itself; got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried what he could do with his men by these methods. "O fellow soldiers," said he, "to make an exhortation to men to do what hath no peril in it, is on that very account inglorious to those to whom that exhortation is made: and indeed so it is in him that makes the exhortation an argument of his own cowardice also. I therefore think that such exhortations ought then only to be made use of, when affairs are in a dangerous condition, and yet are worthy of being attempted by every one themselves. Accordingly I am fully of the same opinion with you, that it is a difficult task to go up this wall. But that it is proper for those that desire reputation for their valour to struggle with difficulties in such cases will then appear, when I have particularly shown, that it is a brave thing to die with glory: and that the courage necessary shall not go unrewarded in those that first begin the attempt. And let my first argument to move you to it, be taken from what probably some would think reasonable to dissuade you, I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews, even under their ill successes. For it is unbecoming you who are Romans, and my soldiers, who have in peace been taught how to make wars, and who have also been used to conquer in those wars, to be inferior to Jews, either in action of the hand, or in courage of the soul: and this especially when you are at the conclusion of your victory, and are assisted by God himself. For as to our misfortunes, they have been owing to the madness of the Jews: while their sufferings have been owing to your valour, and to the assistance God hath afforded you. For as to the seditions they have been in, the famine they are under, the siege they now endure,

and the fall of their walls without our engines, what can they all be but demonstrations of God's anger against them, and of his assistance afforded us? It will not, therefore, be proper for you either to shew yourselves inferior to those to whom you are really superior; or to betray that divine assistance which is afforded you. And indeed, how can it be esteemed otherwise than a base and unworthy thing, that while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed if they be deserted, because they have long learned to be slaves to others, do yet despise death, that they may be so no longer; and do make sallies into the very midst of us frequently, not in hopes of conquering us, but merely for a demonstration of their courage? We, who have gotten possession of almost all the world that belongs to either land or sea, to whom it would be a great shame if we do not conquer them, do not once undertake any attempt against our enemies wherein there is much danger; but sit idle, with such brave arms as we have, and only wait till the famine and fortune do our business themselves: and this when we have it in our power, with some small hazard, to gain all that we desire. For if we go up to this tower of Antonia, we gain the city. For if there should be any more occasion for fighting against those within the city, which I do not suppose there will, since we shall then be upon the *top of the hill, and be upon our enemies before they can have taken breath; these advantages promise us no less than a certain and sudden victory. As for myself, I shall at present wave any commendations of those †who die in war; and omit to speak of the immortality of those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery. Yet cannot I forbear to imprecate upon those who are of a contrary disposition, that they may die in time of peace, by some distemper or other; since their souls are condemned to the grave, together with their bodies. For what man of virtue is there who does not know, that those souls which are severed from their fleshly bodies in battle by the sword, are received by the æther, that purest of elements, and joined to that company which are placed among the stars; that they become good dæmons, and propitious heroes; and shew themselves as such to their posterity afterwards? While upon those souls that wear away in and with their distempered bodies, comes a subterranean night, to dissolve them to nothing, and a deep oblivion to take away all remembrance of them: and this notwithstanding they be clean from all spots and defilements of this world. So that, in this case, the soul at the same time comes to the utmost bounds of its life, and of its body, and of its memorial also. But since fate hath determined that death is to come of necessity upon all men, a sword is a better instrument for that purpose than any disease whatsoever. Why is it not then a very mean thing for us not to yield up that to the public benefit, which we must yield up to fate? And this discourse I have made upon the supposition that those who first attempt to go up this wall, must needs be killed in the attempt: though still men of true courage have a chance to escape, even in the most hazardous undertakings. For, in the first place, that part of the former wall that is thrown down is easily to be ascended: and for the new built wall, it is easily destroyed. Do you therefore, many of you, exert yourselves, and set about this work; and do you mutually encourage and assist one another: and this your bravery will soon break the hearts of your enemies. And perhaps such a glorious undertaking as yours may be accomplished without bloodshed. For although it be justly to be supposed that the Jews will try to hinder you at your first beginning to go up to them; yet when you have once concealed yourselves from them, and driven them away by force, they will not be able to sustain your efforts against them any longer; though but a few of you prevent them, and get over the wall. As for that person who first mounts the wall, I should blush for shame if I did not make him to be envied of others, by those rewards I would bestow upon him. If such a one escape with his life, he shall have the command of others that are now but his equals: although it be true also, that the greatest rewards will accrue to such as die in the attempt."

Upon this speech of Titus's, the rest of the multitude were affrighted at so great a danger. But there was one, whose name was Sabinus, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and a Syrian by birth, who appeared to be of very great fortitude both in the actions he had done, and the mental courage he had exhibited. Although any body would have thought, before he came to his work, that he was of such a weak constitution of body, that he was not fit to be a soldier; for his colour was black, his flesh was lean, and thin, and lay close together. But there was a certain heroic soul that dwelt in this small body. Accordingly he rose up, and spake to this effect:—"I readily surrender up myself to thee, O Cæsar. I first ascend the wall. And I heartily wish that thy fortune may follow my courage and resolution. And if some ill fortune grudge me the success of my undertaking, take notice, that my ill success will not be unexpected; but that I choose death voluntarily for thy sake." When he had said this, and had spread out his shield over his head, with his left hand; and had, with his right hand, drawn his sword, he marched up to the wall just about the sixth hour of the day. There followed him eleven others, and no more, that resolved to imitate his bravery. But still this man was the principal person of them all; and went first, as excited by a divine fury. Now those that guarded the wall shot at them from thence, and cast innumerable darts upon them from every side. They also rolled very large stones upon them; which overthrew some of those eleven that were with him. But as for Sabinus himself, he met the darts that were cast at him: and though he were overwhelmed with them, yet did

* Reland notes here, very pertinently, that the tower of Antonia stood higher than the floor of the temple, or court adjoining to it: and that accordingly they descended thence into the temple: as Josephus elsewhere speaks also. See VI. 2.

† In this speech of Titus's we may clearly see the notions which the Romans then had of death, and of the happy state of those who died bravely in war: and the contrary of those who died ignobly in their beds by sickness. Reland here also produces two parallel passages: the one out of Ammianus Marcellinus, concerning the Alani, lib. xxxi. that "They judged that man happy, who laid down his life in battle." The other of Valerius Maximus, lib. xi. c. 6, who says, that "The Cimbri and Celtiberi exulted for joy in the army, as being to go out of the world gloriously and happily."

he not leave off the violence of his attack before he had gotten upon the top of the wall, and put the enemy to flight. For as the Jews were astonished at his great strength, and the bravery of his soul: and as they imagined more of the Romans had gotten upon the wall than really had, they were put to flight. And now one cannot but complain here of fortune, as still envious at virtue; and always hindering the performance of glorious achievements. This was the case of the man before us, when he had just obtained his purpose: for he then stumbled at a certain large stone, and fell down upon it headlong, with a very great noise. Upon this the Jews turned back; and when they saw him to be alone, and fallen down, they threw darts at him from every side. However, he got upon his knee, and covered himself with his shield; and at the first defended himself against them, and wounded many of those that came near him. But he was soon forced to relax his right hand, by the multitude of the wounds that had been given, till at length he was quite covered over with darts, before he expired. He was one who deserved a better fate, by reason of his bravery: but, as might be expected, he fell under so vast an attempt. As for the rest of his partners, the Jews dashed three of them to pieces with stones; and slew them, as they were gotten up to the top of the wall. The other eight being wounded, were pulled down, and carried back to the camp. These things were done upon the third day of the month Panemus, or Tamuz.

Two days afterward, twelve of those men that were on the forefront, and kept watch upon the banks, got together; and called to them the standard bearer of the fifth legion, and two others of a troop of horsemen, and one trumpeter: these went without noise, about the ninth hour of the night, through the ruins, to the tower Antonia. And when they had cut the throats of the first guards of the place, as they were asleep, they got possession of the wall; and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. Upon this the rest of the guard got up on the sudden, and ran away, before any body could see how many they were that were gotten up. For, partly from the fear they were in, and partly from the sound of the trumpet which they heard, they imagined a great number of the enemy were gotten up. But as soon as Cæsar heard the signal,* he ordered the army to put on their armour immediately, and came thither with his commanders, and first of all ascended: as did the chosen men that were with him. And as the Jews were fleeing away to the temple, they fell into that mine which John had †dug under the Roman banks. Then did the seditious of both the bodies of the Jewish army, as well that belonging to John, as that belonging to Simon, drive them away; and indeed were no way wanting as to the highest degree of force and alacrity. For they esteemed themselves entirely ruined, if once the Romans got into the temple; as did the Romans look upon the same thing as the beginning of their entire conquest. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple: while the Romans were forcing their way, in order to get possession of that temple; and the Jews were driving them back to the tower of Antonia. In which battle the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears: and both sides drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand. Now during this struggle, the positions of the men were undistinguished on both sides, and they fought at random: being intermixed one with another, and confounded, by reason of the narrowness of the place; while the noise that was made fell on the ear after an indistinct manner, because it was so very loud. Great slaughter was now made on both sides; and the combatants trod upon the bodies, and the armour of those that were dead, and dashed them to pieces. Accordingly, to which side soever the battle inclined, those that had the advantage exhorted one another to go on; as did those that were beaten make great lamentation. But still there was no room for flight, nor for pursuit, but disorderly evolutions and retreats: while the armies were intermixed one with another. But those that were in the first ranks were under the necessity of killing or being killed, without any way for escaping. For those on both sides that came behind, forced those before them to go on; without leaving any space between the armies. At length the Jews' violent zeal was too hard for the Roman skill: and the battle already inclined entirely that way. For the fight had lasted from the ninth hour of the night, till the seventh hour of the day: while the Jews came on in crowds, and had the danger the temple was in for their motive; the Romans having no more here than a part of their army. For those legions, on which the soldiers on that side depended, were not come up to them. So it was at present thought sufficient by the Romans to take possession of the tower of Antonia.

But there was one Julian, a centurion, that came from Bithynia, a man of great reputation, whom I had formerly seen in that war, and one of the highest fame, both for his skill in war, his strength of body, and the courage of his soul. This man, seeing the Romans giving ground, and in a sad condition; (for he stood by Titus at the tower of Antonia,) leaped out, and of himself alone put the Jews to flight, when they were already conquerors: and made them retire as far as the inner court of the temple. From him the multitude fled away in crowds; as supposing that neither his strength nor his violent attacks could be those of a mere man. Accordingly he rushed through the midst of the Jews, as they were dispersed abroad, and killed those that he caught. Nor indeed was there any sight that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Cæsar, or more terrible to others, than this. However, he was himself pursued by fate; which it was not possible that he, who was but a mortal man, should escape. For as he had ‡shoes full of thick and sharp nails, as had every one of the other soldiers; so when he ran on the pavement of the temple, he slipped, and fell down upon his back, with a very great noise which was made by his armour. This made those that were running away to turn back. Whereupon those Romans that were in the tower of Antonia set up a great shout, as they were in fear for the man. But the Jews got about him in

* Signals of various kinds have ever been in use among soldiers. They serve to direct an army in circumstances which render it impossible for the instructions of the commander to be otherwise conveyed to the soldiers. B.

† See Book V. chap. 11.

‡ No wonder that this Julian, who had so many nails in his shoes, slipped upon the pavement of the temple, which was smooth, and laid with marble of different colours.

crowds, and struck at him with their spears, and with their swords, on all sides. Now he received a great many of the strokes of these iron weapons upon his shield, and often attempted to get up again: but was thrown down by those that struck at him. Yet did he, as he lay along, stab many of them with his sword. Nor was he soon killed; as being covered with his helmet, and his breast-plate, in all those parts of his body where he might be mortally wounded: he also pulled his neck close to his body, till all his other limbs were shattered, and nobody durst come to defend him; and then he yielded to his fate. Cæsar was deeply affected on account of this man of so great fortitude; and especially as he was killed in the sight of so many people. He was desirous himself to come to his assistance; but the place would not give him leave: while such as could have done it were too much terrified to attempt it. Thus, when Julian had struggled with death a great while, and let but few of those that had given him his mortal would go off unhurt, he had at last his throat cut, though not without some difficulty: and left behind him a very great fame; not only among the Romans, and with Cæsar himself, but among his enemies also. Then did the Jews catch up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now those that most signalized themselves, and fought most zealously in this battle on the Jewish side, were one Alexas and Gyptheus of John's party; and of Simon's party were Malachias, and Judas the son of Merto, and James the son of Sosas, the commander of the Idumeans. And of the zealots, two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of Jairus.

CHAP. II.

TITUS GIVES ORDERS TO DEMOLISH THE TOWER OF ANTONIA; AND THEN PERSUADES JOSEPHUS TO EXHORT THE JEWS AGAIN TO A SURRENDER.

NOW Titus gave orders to his soldiers that were with him to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make him a ready passage for his army to come up. While he himself had Josephus brought to him; (for he had been informed that on that very day,* which was the seventeenth day of Panemus, or Tamuz, the sacrifice, called the daily sacrifice, had failed, and had not been offered to God, for the want of men to offer it; and that the people were grievously troubled at it:) and commanded him to say the same things to John, that he had said before: that if he had any malicious inclination for fighting, he might come out, with as many of his men as he pleased, in order to fight, without danger of destroying either his city or temple; but that he desired he would not defile the temple, nor thereby offend against God. That he might, if he pleased, offer the sacrifices which were now discontinued, by any of the Jews whom he should appoint. Upon this Josephus stood in a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more; and then declared to them what Cæsar had given him in charge: and this in the Hebrew† language. So he earnestly prayed them, to spare their own city: and to prevent that fire, which was just ready to seize upon the temple; and to offer their usual sacrifices therein. At these words of his, a great sadness and silence were observed among the people. But the tyrant himself cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations besides: and at last added, that he did never fear the taking of the city; because it was God's own city. In answer to which, Josephus said thus, with a loud voice: "To be sure thou hast kept this city wonderful pure for God's sake: the temple also continues entirely unpolluted! Nor hast thou been guilty of any impiety against him for whose assistance thou hopest! He still receives his accustomed sacrifices! Vile wretch that thou art! If any one should deprive thee of thy daily food, thou wouldest esteem him to be an enemy to thee: but still thou hopest to have that God for thy supporter in this war, whom thou hast deprived of his worship: and thou imputest those sins to the Romans, who to this very time take care to have our laws observed; and almost compel these sacrifices to be still offered to God, which have by thy means been intermitted. Who is there that can avoid groans and lamentations at the amazing change that is made in this city? since even foreigners and enemies do now correct that impiety which thou hast occasioned: while thou, who art a Jew, and wast educated in our laws, are become a greater enemy to them than the others. But still, John, it is never dishonourable to repent, and amend what hath been done amiss, even at the last extremity. Thou hast an instance before thee in ‡Jechoniah, the king of the Jews, if thou hast a mind to save thy city: who, when the king of Babylon made war against him, did, of his own accord, go out of this city, before it was taken; and did undergo a voluntary captivity, with his family, that the sanctuary might not be delivered up to the enemy; and that he might not see the house of God set on fire. On which account he is celebrated among all the Jews, in their sacred memorials; and his memory is become immortal; and will be conveyed down to our posterity through all ages. This is an excellent example in such a time of danger. And I dare venture to promise, that the Romans shall still forgive thee. And take notice that I who make this exhortation to thee, am one of thine own nation: I, who am a Jew, make this promise to thee. And it will become thee to consider, who I am that give thee this counsel; and whence I am derived. For while I am alive, I shall never be in such slavery, as to forego my own kindred, or forget the laws of our forefathers. Thou hast indignation at me again, and makest a clamour at me, and reproachest me. Indeed I cannot deny but I am worthy of worse treatment than all this amounts to, because, in opposition to fate, I make this kind invitation to thee; and en-

* This was a remarkable day indeed, the 17th of Panemus, or Tamuz, A. D. 70, when, according to Daniel's prediction, 606 years before, the Romans, "in half a week, caused the sacrifice and oblation to cease." Dan. ix. 27. For from the month of February, A. D. 66, about which time Vespasian entered on this war, to this very time, was just three years and a half. See Bishop Lloyd's Tables of Chronology on this year. Nor is it to be omitted, what very nearly confirms this duration of the war, that four years before the war begun, was somewhat above seven years and five months before the destruction of Jerusalem, chap. 5.

† The same that is always so called in the New Testament, and was the common language of the Jews in Judea; which was the Syriac dialect.

‡ Our present copies of the Old Testament want this encomium upon king Jechoniah, or Jehoiachim: which, it seems, was in Josephus's copy.

deavour to force deliverance upon those whom God hath condemned. And who is there that does not know what the writings of the ancient prophets contain in them? and particularly that *oracle which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this miserable city. For they foretold, that this city should be then taken, when somebody should begin the slaughter of his own countrymen. And are not both the city and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your countrymen? It is †God therefore, it is God himself that is bringing on this fire to purge the city and temple by means of the Romans; and is going to pluck up this city, which is full of your pollutions."

As Josephus spake these words, with groans and tears in his eyes, his voice was interrupted by sobs: so that the Romans could not but pity the affliction he was under, and wonder at his conduct. But for John, and those that were with him, they were but the more exasperated against the Romans on this account, and were desirous to get Josephus also into their power. Yet did that discourse influence many of the better sort. And truly some of them were so afraid of the guards set by the seditious, that they tarried where they were; but still were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction. Some also there were who, watching a proper opportunity when they might quietly get away, fled to the Romans. Of whom were the high-priests Joseph and Jesus: and of the sons of high-priests, three; whose father was Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene, and four sons of Matthias: and also one son of the ‡other Matthias, who ran away §after his father's death; and whose father was slain by Simon, the son of Gioras, with three of his sons, as I have already related. Many also of the other nobility went over to the Romans, together with the high-priests. Now Cæsar not only received these men very kindly, in other respects; but, knowing they would not willingly live after the customs of other nations he sent them to Gophna, and desired them to remain there for the present; and told them, that when he had finished this war, he would restore each of them their possessions again. So they cheerfully retired to that small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger. But as they did not appear, the seditious gave out again, that these deserters were slain by the Romans: which was done in order to deter the rest from running away, by fear of similar treatment.

However, when Titus had recalled those men from Gophna, he gave orders that they should go round the wall, together with Josephus, and shew themselves to the people: upon which a great many fled to the Romans. These men also got in a great number together, and stood before the Romans, and besought the seditious, with groans, and tears in their eyes, in the first place to receive the Romans entirely into the city, and save that their own place of residence again; but that, if they would not agree to such a proposal, they would at least depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for their own use, for that the Romans would not venture to set the sanctuary on fire, but under the most pressing necessity. Yet did the seditious still more and more contradict them: and while they cast loud and bitter reproaches upon those deserters, they also set their engines for throwing of darts, javelins, and stones, upon the sacred gates of the temple, at due distances from one another. Insomuch that all the space round about, within the temple, might be compared to a burying ground; so great was the number of the dead bodies therein. As might the house itself be compared to a citadel. Accordingly these men rushed upon these holy places in their armour, that were otherwise unapproachable: and that while their hands were yet warm with the blood of their own people, which they had shed. Nay, they proceeded to such transgressions, that the very same indignation which Jews would naturally have against Romans, had they been guilty of such abuses against them, the Romans now had against Jews, for their impiety in regard to their own religious customs. Nay, indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers who did not look with a sacred horror upon the holy house; and adored it, and wished that the robbers would repent, before their miseries became incurable.

Now Titus was deeply affected with this state of things, and reproached John and his party, and said to them, "Have not you, vile wretches that you are, by our permission, put up this ‖partition wall before your sanctuary? Have not you been allowed to put up the pillars thereto belonging, at due distances, and on it to engrave in Greek, and in your letters, a prohibition, importing that no foreigner should go beyond that wall? Have not we given you leave to kill such as go beyond it, though he were a Roman? and what do you do now, ye pernicious villains! Why do you trample upon dead bodies in this temple? And why do you pollute this holy house with the blood of both foreigners and Jews themselves? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place: (for I do not suppose it to be now regarded by any of them:) I also appeal to my own army, and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to yourselves, that I do not force you to defile this your sanctuary. And if you will but change the place whereon you will fight, no Roman shall either come near your sanctuary, or offer any affront to it. Nay, I will endeavour to preserve you your holy house, whether you will or no."¶

As Josephus explained these things, from the mouth of

* Of this oracle, see the note on Book IV. chap. 6.

† Josephus, both here, and in many places elsewhere, speaks so, that it is evident he was fully satisfied, that God was on the Romans' side; and made use of them now for the destruction of that wicked nation of the Jews: which was, for certain, the true state of this matter: as the prophet Daniel first, and our Saviour himself afterwards, had clearly foretold. See Lit. Accompl. of Proph. page 64, &c.

‡ Josephus had before told us, V. 13, that this fourth son of Matthias ran away to the Romans, before his father's and brethren's slaughter; and not after it, as here. The former account is, in all probability, the most accurate. For had not that fourth son escaped before the others were caught, and put to death, he had been caught and put to death with them. This last account, therefore looks like an instance of a small inadvertence of Josephus's on the place before us.

§ See Book V. chap. 13.

‖ Of this partition wall, separating Jews and Gentiles, with its pillars, and inscription, see the Description of the Temple, chap. 15.

¶ That these seditious Jews were the direct occasion of their own destruction, and of the conflagration of their own city and temple, and that Titus earnestly laboured to save both, is here, and every where, most evident in Josephus.

Cæsar, both the robbers, and the tyrant, thought that these exhortations proceeded from Titus's fear, and not from his good will to them; and grew insolent upon it. But when Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by commiseration towards themselves, nor had any concern upon them to have the holy house spared, he proceeded unwillingly to go on with the war against them. He could not indeed bring all his army against them, the place was so narrow. But choosing thirty soldiers of the most valiant, out of every hundred: and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cerealis their commander in chief, he gave orders that they should attack the guards of the temple about the ninth hour of that night. But as he was now in his armour, and preparing to go down with them, his friends would not let him go, by reason of the greatness of the danger; and what the commanders suggested to them. For they said, that "He would do more, by sitting above in the tower of Antonia, as a dispenser of rewards to those soldiers that signalized themselves in the fight, than by coming down, and hazarding his own person in the forefront of them: for they would all fight bravely, while Cæsar looked upon them." With this advice Cæsar complied: and said that, "the only reason he had for such compliance with the soldiers was, that he might be able to judge of their courageous actions; and that no valiant soldier might lie concealed, and miss of his reward; and no cowardly soldier might go unpunished: but that he might himself be an eye-witness, and able to give evidence of all that was done, who was to be the disposer of punishments and rewards to them." So he sent the soldiers about their work, at the appointed hour, while he went out himself to a higher place in the tower of Antonia, whence he might see what was done; and there waited with impatience to see the event.

However, the soldiers that were sent did not find the guards of the temple asleep, as they hoped to have done: but were obliged to fight with them immediately, hand to hand, as they rushed with violence upon them, with a great shout. Now as soon as the rest within the temple heard the shout of those that were upon the watch, they ran out in troops. Then did the Romans receive the onset of those that came first upon them: but those that followed fell upon their own troops, and many of them treated their own soldiers as if they had been enemies. For the confused noise that was made on both sides prevented them from distinguishing one another's voices: as did the darkness of the night hinder them from the like distinction by sight. Besides that blindness which arose otherwise also, from the passion and the fear they were in at the same time. For which reason it was all one to the soldiers, who it was they struck at. However, this ignorance did less harm to the Romans, than to the Jews, because they were joined together under their shields, and made their sallies more regularly than the others did; and each of them remembered their watch-word. While the Jews were perpetually dispersed abroad, and made their attacks and retreats at random; and so did frequently seem to one another to be enemies. For every one of them received those of their own men that came back in the dark as Romans, and made an assault upon them. So that more of them were wounded by their own men than by the enemy; till, upon the coming of the day, the nature of the fight was discerned by the eye afterward. Then did they stand in battle array in distinct bodies, and cast their darts regularly, and regularly defended themselves: nor did either side yield or grow weary. The Romans contended with each other who should fight the most strenuously, both single men and entire regiments, as being under the eye of Titus. And every one concluded, that this day would begin his promotion,* if he fought bravely. On the other hand, the great encouragements of the Jews to act vigorously were, their fear for themselves, and for the temple, and the presence of their tyrant, who exhorted some, and beat and threatened others. Now it happened, that this fight was, for the most part, a stationary one; wherein the soldiers went on, and came back in a short time, and suddenly. For there was no long space of ground for either their flights or pursuits. But still there was a tumultuous noise among the Romans, from the tower of Antonia, which loudly cried out, upon all occasions, to their own men to press on courageously, when they were too hard for the Jews; and to stay, when they were retiring backward. So that here was a kind of theatre of war. For what was done in this fight could not be concealed, either from Titus, or from those that were about him. At length it appeared that this fight, which began at the ninth hour of the night, was not over till past the fifth hour of the day: and that in the same place where the battle began neither party could say they had made the other party to retire; but both the armies left the victory almost in uncertainty between them. Wherein those that signalized themselves on the Roman side were a great many; but on the Jewish side, and of those that were with Simon, Judas, the son of Merto; and Simon, the son of Josias. Of the Idumeans, James, the son of Sosas; and Simon, the son of Cathlas. Of those that were with John, Gyptheus, and Alexas: and of the zealots, Simon, the son of Jairus.

In the mean time, the rest of the Roman army had, in seven days' time, overthrown some foundations of the tower of Antonia, and had made a ready and broad way to the temple. Then did the legions come near the †first court, and began to raise their banks. The one bank was over against the northwest corner of the ‡inner temple. Another was at that northern edifice which was between the two gates. Of the other two, one was at the western cloister of the outer court of the temple; the other against its northern cloister. However, these works were thus far advanced by the Romans, not without great pains and difficulty; and particularly by being obliged to bring their materials from the distance of an hundred furlongs. They had further difficulties also upon them. Sometimes by the over great security they were in that they should overcome the Jewish snares laid for them; and by that boldness of the Jews which their despair of escaping had inspired them withal. For some of their horsemen, when they went out

* Motives of personal interest thus proved advantageous to the public service. B.

† The court of the Gentiles.
‡ Court of Israel.

to gather wood or hay, let their horses feed, without having their bridles on, during the time of foraging: upon which horses the Jews sallied out in whole bodies, and seized them. And when this was continually done, and Cæsar believed, what the truth was, that the horses were stolen more by the negligence of his own men, than by the valour of the Jews, he determined to use greater severity to oblige the rest to take care of their horses. So he commanded that one of those soldiers who had lost their horses should be capitally punished: whereby he so terrified the rest, that they preserved their horses for the time to come. For they did not any longer let them go from them, to feed by themselves: but went always along with them when they wanted necessaries. Thus did the Romans still continue to make war against the temple, and to raise their banks against it.

Now after one day had intervened since the Romans ascended the breach, many of the seditious were so pressed by the famine, upon the present failure of their ravages, that they got together and made an attack on those Roman guards that were upon the mount of Olives: and this about the eleventh hour of the day. As supposing that they would not expect such an onset, and, in the next place, that they were then taking care of their bodies; and that therefore they should easily beat them. But the Romans were apprised of their coming to attack them beforehand; and running together from the neighbouring camps on the sudden, prevented them from getting over their fortification, or forcing the wall that was built about them. Upon this came on a sharp fight. And here many great actions were performed on both sides; while the Romans shewed both their courage, and their skill in war: as did the Jews come on them with immoderate violence, and intolerable passion. The one part were urged on by shame, and the other by necessity. For it seemed a very shameful thing to the Romans to let the Jews go, now they were taken in a kind of net: while the Jews had but one hope of saving themselves, and that was in case they could by violence break through the Roman wall. And one, whose name was Pedanius, belonging to a party of horsemen, when the Jews were already beaten, and forced down into the valley together, spurred his horse on their flank with great vehemence, and caught up a certain robust young man belonging to the enemy by his ankle, as he was running away. So low did Pedanius bend himself downward from his horse, even as he was galloping away. And so great was the strength of his right hand, and of the rest of his body: as also such skill had he in horsemanship. So this man seized upon his prey as upon a precious treasure; and carried him as his captive to Cæsar. Whereupon Titus admired the man that had seized the other for his great strength: and ordered the man that was caught to be punished with death for his attempt against the Roman wall, but betook himself to the siege of the temple, and to pressing the raising of the banks.

In the mean time the Jews were so distressed by the fights they had been in, as the war advanced to the holy house itself, that they, as it were, cut off those limbs of their body which were infected, in order to prevent the distemper's spreading farther. For they set the north-west cloister, which was joined to the tower of Antonia, on fire; and after that brake off about twenty cubits of that cloister, and thereby made a beginning in burning the sanctuary. Two days after which, on the twenty-fourth day of the afore-named month, Panemus, or Tamuz, the Romans set fire to the cloister that joined to the other; when the fire went fifteen cubits farther. The Jews in like manner cut off its roof. Nor did they entirely leave off what they were about till the tower of Antonia was parted from the temple: even when it was in their power to have stopped the fire. Nay, they lay still while the temple was first set on fire; and deemed this spreading of the fire to be for their own advantage. However, the armies were still fighting one against another about the temple: and the war was managed by continual sallies of particular parties against one another.

There was at this time a man among the Jews, low of stature, of a despicable appearance, and of no character either as to his family, or in other respects. His name was Jonathan. He went out at the high-priest John's monument, and uttered many insolent things to the Romans; and challenged the best of them all to a single combat. But many of those that stood there in the army huffed him; and many of them (as they might well be) were afraid of him. Some of them also reasoned thus, that it was not fit to fight with a man that desired to die, because those that utterly despaired of deliverance had, besides other passions, a violence in attacking men that could not be opposed, and had no regard to God himself. And that to hazard one's self with a person, whom if you overcome you do no great matter, and by whom it is hazardous that you may be taken prisoner, would be an instance not of manly courage, but of extreme rashness. So there being nobody that came out to accept the man's challenge; and the Jew provoking them with a great number of reproaches, as cowards, (for he was a very haughty man in himself, and a great despiser of the Romans:) one whose name was Pudens, of the body of horsemen, out of his abomination of the other's words, and of his impudence withal; and perhaps out of an inconsiderate arrogance, on account of the other's lowness of stature, ran out to him; and would have been too hard for him had he not been betrayed by his ill fortune. For he fell down: and as he was down, Jonathan came running to him, and cut his throat; and then standing upon his dead body he brandished his sword, bloody as it was, and shook his shield with his left hand, and made many acclamations, exulting over the dead man, and jesting upon the Romans. Till at length one Priscus, a centurion, shot a dart at him, as he was leaping, and playing the fool with himself, and thereby pierced him through. Upon which a shout was set up both by the Jews and the Romans, though on different accounts. So Jonathan grew giddy by the pain of his wounds, and fell down upon the body of his adversary; as a plain instance how suddenly vengeance may come upon men that have success in war, without any just deserving the same.

CHAP. III.

CONCERNING A STRATAGEM BY WHICH THE JEWS BURNT MANY OF THE ROMANS; WITH A FARTHER DESCRIPTION OF THE TERRIBLE FAMINE THAT WAS IN THE CITY.

NOW the seditious that were in the temple did every day openly endeavour to beat off the soldiers that were upon the banks; and on the twenty-seventh day of the month Panemus, or Tamuz, contrived the following stratagem. They filled that part of the western cloister which was between the beams, and the roof under them, with dry materials, as also with bitumen and pitch: and then retired from that place, as though they were tired with the pains they had taken. At which procedure of theirs, many of the most inconsiderate among the Romans, as carried away with violent passions, followed hard after them, as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the cloister, and got up to it suddenly. But the more prudent part of them, when they understood this unaccountable retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of those that were gone up the ladders. At which time the Jews set it all on fire. And as the flame burst out every where on the sudden, the Romans that were out of the danger were seized with a very great consternation; as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded with the flames, some threw themselves down backwards into the city, and some among their enemies in the temple: as did many leap down to their own men, and brake their limbs to pieces. But a great number of those that were going to take these violent methods were prevented by the fire; while others prevented the fire by their own swords. However, the fire was on the sudden carried so far, as to surround those which would have otherwise perished. As for Cæsar himself he could not but commiserate those that thus perished, although they got up thither without any order for so doing, since there was no way of giving them any relief. Yet was this some comfort to those that were destroyed, that every person might see that person grieve, for whose sake they came to their end. For he cried out openly to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were about him to do their utmost to relieve them. So every one of them died cheerfully: as carrying along with him these words, and this intention of Cæsar, as a sepulchral monument. Some there were indeed who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad, and were preserved out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews; and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them; and at length they all fell down dead.

At last a young man among them, whose name was Longus, became a decoration to this sad affair; and while every one of them that perished were worthy of a memorial, this man appeared to deserve it beyond all the rest. The Jews admired this man for his courage, and were farther desirous of having him slain. So they persuaded him to come down to them, upon security given him for his life. But Cornelius his brother persuaded him, on the contrary, not to tarnish their own glory, nor that of the Roman army. He complied with this last advice; and lifting up his sword before both armies, he slew himself. Yet was there one Artorius among those surrounded by the fire, who escaped by his subtility. For he with a loud voice called to him Lucius, one of his fellow soldiers, that lay with him in the same tent, and said to him, "I will leave thee heir of all I have, if thou wilt come, and receive me." Upon this the man came running to receive him readily. Artorius then threw himself down upon him, and saved his own life: while he that received him was dashed so vehemently against the stone pavement by the other's weight, that he died immediately. This melancholy accident made the Romans sad for a while; but still it made them more upon their guard for the future; and was of advantage to them against the delusions of the Jews: by which they were greatly damaged, through their ignorance of the places, and of the nature of the inhabitants. Now this cloister was burnt down as far as John's tower, which he built, in the war he made against Simon, over the gates that led to the Xystus. The Jews also cut off the rest of that cloister from the temple, after they had destroyed those that got up to it. But the next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely, as far as the east cloister; whose common angle joined to the valley of Cedron; and was built over it. On which account the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

Now of those that perished by famine in the city the number was prodigious; and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable. For if so much as the shadow of any kind of food did any where appear, a war was presently commenced; and the dearest friends began fighting about it: snatching from each other the most miserable supports of life. Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food; but the robbers would search them when they were expiring; lest any one should have concealed food in their bosoms and counterfeited dying. Nay, these robbers gaped for want, and ran about stumbling and staggering along, like mad dogs; and reeling against the doors of the houses, like drunken men. They would also, in the great distress they were in, rush into the very same houses, two or three times in the same day. Moreover their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing; while they gathered and ate such things as the most sordid animals would not touch: nor did they at length abstain from girdles, and shoes; and the very leather which belonged to their shields they pulled off and gnawed. Even whisps of old hay became food to some, and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for *four Attic drachmæ. But why do I describe the shameless impudence that the famine brought on men in their eating inanimate things? While I am going to relate a fact, which has no parallel in history,† either among the

* One shekel.

† What Josephus observes here, that no parallel examples had been recorded before his time of such sieges, wherein mothers were forced, by extremity of famine, to eat their own children, as had been threatened to the Jews, in the law of Moses, upon obstinate disobedience, and more than once fulfilled; is by Dr. Hudson supposed to have had two or three

Greeks or Barbarians. I had, indeed, willingly omitted this calamity of ours, that I might not seem to deliver what is so portentous to posterity: but that I have innumerable witnesses to it in my own age. And besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me, for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

There was a certain woman named Mary, that dwelt beyond Jordan; her father was Eleazar, of the village Bethezob; which signifies the house of Hyssop. She was eminent for her family, and her wealth; and had fled away to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, and was with them besieged therein at this time. The other effects of this woman had been already seized upon; such I mean as she had brought with her out of Perea, and removed to the city. What she had treasured up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running into her house for that purpose. This put the poor woman into a very great passion; and by the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious villains, she had provoked them to anger against her. But none of them, either out of the indignation she had raised against herself, or out of commiseration of her case, would take away her life. And if she found any food she perceived her labours were for others, and not for herself: and it was now become impossible for her any way to find any more food, while the famine pierced through her very bowels and marrow. When also her passion was fired to a degree beyond the famine itself, she consulted with nothing but with her passion, and the necessity she was in. She then attempted a most unnatural thing: and snatching up her son, which was sucking at her breast, she said, "O thou miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee, in this war, this famine, and this sedition? As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves. This famine also will destroy us, even before that slavery comes upon us. Yet are these seditious rogues more terrible than both the other. Therefore, be thou my food; and be thou a fury to these seditious varlets, and a by-word to the world; which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews." As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and roasted him, and ate the one half of him, and kept the other half concealed. Upon this the seditious came in presently; and smelling the scent of this food, they threatened that they would cut her throat immediately, if she did not shew them what food she had gotten ready. She replied, that she had saved a very fine portion of it for them: and at the same time uncovered what was left of her son. Hereupon they were seized with horror, and amazement; and stood astonished at the sight: when she said to them, "This is my own son: and what hath been done was my own doing. Come, eat of this food; for I have eaten of it myself. Do not you pretend to be either more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother. But if you be so scrupulous, and abominate this my sacrifice; as I have eaten one half, let the rest be reserved for me also." At these words the men went out trembling; being never so much affrighted at any thing as they were at this; and with some difficulty they left the rest of that meat to the mother. Upon which the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately; and while every body laid this miserable case before their own eyes, they trembled, as if this unheard-of action had been done by themselves. So those that were thus distressed by the famine, were very desirous to die: and those already dead were esteemed happy; because they had not lived long enough either to hear, or to see such miseries.

This sad story was quickly told to the Romans, some of whom could not believe it; and others pitied the distress the Jews were under. But there were many of them who were hereby induced to a more bitter hatred than ordinary against our nation. But for Cæsar he excused himself before God, as to this matter, and said, "I have proposed peace and liberty to the Jews, as well as an oblivion of all their former insolent practices: but they, instead of concord, have chosen sedition; instead of peace, war; and before satiety and abundance, a famine. They have begun with their own hands to burn down that temple which I have preserved hitherto: and, therefore, they have deserved to eat such food as this was. However, this horrid action of eating an own child ought to be covered with the overthrow of their country itself; and men ought not to leave such a city upon the habitable earth, to be seen by the sun, wherein mothers are thus fed, although such food be fitter for the fathers than for the mothers to eat of; since it is they that continue still in a state of war against us, after they have undergone such miseries as these." And at the same time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in. Nor could he expect that such men could be recovered to sobriety of mind, after they had endured those very sufferings, for the avoiding of which it only was probable they might have repented.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOLY HOUSE BY FIRE.

NOW two of the legions had completed their banks, on the eighth day of the month Lous or Ab. Whereupon Titus gave orders that the battering rams should be brought, and set over against the western edifice of the inner temple. For before these were brought, the firmest of all the other engines had battered the wall* for six days together, without making any impression upon it. But the vast largeness and strong connection of the stones were superior to that

parallel examples in later ages. He might have had more examples, I suppose, of persons on ship-board, or in a desert island, casting lots for each other's bodies. But all this was only in cases where they knew of no possible way to avoid death themselves, but by killing and eating others. Whether such examples come up to the present case may be doubted. The Romans were not only willing, but very desirous, to grant these Jews in Jerusalem, both their lives, and their liberties, and to save both their city, and their temple. But the zealots, the robbers, and the seditious, would hearken to no terms of submission. They voluntarily chose to reduce the citizens to that extremity, as to force mothers to this unnatural barbarity; which, in all its circumstances, has not, I still suppose, been hitherto paralleled among the rest of mankind.

* Machines or engines were constructed for this purpose. Some in the form of a ram's head, from which circumstance they were called battering rams, were used to make breaches in the walls of fortified places. B.

engine, and to the other battering rams also. Other Romans did, indeed, undermine the foundations of the northern gate: and, after immense pains, removed the outermost stones; yet was the gate still upheld by the inner stones, and stood still unhurt: till the workmen despairing of all such attempts by engines and crows, brought their ladders to the cloisters. Now the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing: but when they were gotten up, they fell upon them, and fought with them. Some of them they thrust down, and threw them backwards headlong. Others of them they met, and slew. They also beat many of those that went down the ladders again, and slew them with their swords, before they could bring their shields to protect them. Nay, some of the ladders they threw down from above, when they were full of armed men. A great slaughter was made of the Jews also at the same time: while those that bore the ensigns fought hard for them: as deeming it a terrible thing, and what would tend to their great shame, if they permitted them to be stolen away. Yet did the Jews, at length get possession of these engines; and destroyed those that had gone up the ladders: while the rest were so intimidated by what those suffered who were slain, that they retired. Although none of the Romans died without having done good service before their death. Of the seditious, those that had fought bravely in the former battles did the like now: as besides them did Eleazar, the brother's son of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus perceived that his endeavours to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his own soldiers, and made them be killed, he gave order to set the gates on fire.

In the mean time there deserted to him Ananus, who came from Emmaus, the most sanguinary of all Simon's guards; and Archelaus, the son of Magadatus; they hoping to be still forgiven, because they left the Jews at a time when they were the conquerors. Titus objected this to these men, as a cunning trick of theirs. And as he had been informed of their other barbarities towards the Jews, he was going, in all haste, to have them both slain. He told them, that "They were only driven to this desertion because of the extreme distress they were in: and did not come away of their own good disposition. And that those did not deserve to be preserved, by whom their own city was already set on fire: out of which fire they now hurried themselves away." However, the security he had promised deserters overcame his resentment; and he dismissed them accordingly; though he did not give them the same privileges that he had afforded to others. And now the soldiers had already put fires to the gates; and the silver that was over them quickly carried the flames to the wood that was within it: whence it spread itself all on the sudden, and caught hold of the cloisters. Upon seeing this fire all about them, the spirits of the Jews sunk, together with their bodies: and they were under such astonishment, that not one of them made any haste either to defend himself, or to quench the fire: but they stood as mute spectators. However, they did not so grieve at the loss of what was now burning, as to grow wiser thereby for the time to come. But as though the holy house itself had been on fire already, they whetted their passions against the Romans. This fire prevailed during that day, and the next also. For the soldiers were not able to burn all the cloisters that were round about, together at one time, but only by parts.

On the next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions: while he himself gathered the commanders together. Of those were assembled the six principal persons, Tiberius Alexander, the commander, under the general of the whole army, with Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion; Larcius Lepidus, the commander of the tenth legion; and Titus Frigius, the commander of the fifteenth legion. There was also with them Eternius, the leader of the two legions that came from Alexandria, and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judea. After these came together also the rest of the procurators, and tribunes. Titus proposed to these, that they should give him their advice what should be done about the holy house. Now some of these thought, it would be the best way to act according to the rules of war, and demolish it: because the Jews would never leave off rebelling, while that house was standing: at which house it was that they used to assemble together. Others were of opinion, that in case the Jews would leave it, and none of them would lay their arms up in it, he might save it: but that in case they got upon it, and fought any more, he might burn it; because it must then be looked upon not as a holy house, but as a citadel; and that the impiety of burning it would then belong to those that forced this to be done, and not to them. But Titus said, "Although the Jews should get upon that holy house, and fight us thence, yet ought we not to revenge ourselves on things that are inanimate, instead of the men themselves." And he added, that he was not in any case for burning down so vast a work as that was: because this would be a mischief to the Romans themselves: as it would be an ornament to their government while it continued. So Fronto, Alexander, and Cerealis, grew bold upon that declaration; and agreed to the opinion of Titus. Then was this assembly dissolved; when Titus had given order to the commanders, that the rest of their forces should lie still; but that they should make use of such as were most courageous in this attack. So he commanded that the chosen men taken out of the cohorts should make their way through the ruins, and quench the fire.

On this day the Jews were so weary, and under such consternation, that they refrained from any attacks. But on the next day they gathered their whole force together, and ran upon those that guarded the outward court of the temple, very boldly, through the east gate; and this about the second hour of the day. These guards received their attack with great bravery; and by covering themselves with their shields before, as if it were with a wall, they drew their squadron close together. Yet was it evident that they could not abide there very long; but would be overborne by the multitude of those that sallied out upon them, and by the heat of their passion. However, Cæsar seeing, from the tower of Antonia, that this squadron was likely to give way, sent some chosen horsemen to support them. Hereupon the Jews found themselves unable to sustain their onset: and upon the slaughter of those in the forefront, many of the rest were put to flight. But as the

Romans were going off, the Jews turned upon them, and fought them. And as those Romans came back upon them, they retreated again, until about the fifth hour of the day they were overborne, and shut themselves up in the inner court of the temple.

So Titus retired into the tower of Antonia: and resolved to storm the temple, the next morning, with his whole army: and to encamp round about the holy house. But as for that house, God had, for certain, long ago doomed it to fire. And now that fatal day was come according to the revolution of ages; it was the *tenth day of the month Lous, or Ab: upon which it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon. Although these flames took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them. For upon Titus's retiring, the seditious lay still for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again; when those that guarded the holy house fought with those that quenched the fire that was burning the inner court of the temple. But these Romans put the Jews to flight; and proceeded as far as the holy house itself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread upon him at so great an undertaking, and being hurried on by a certain divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire; and being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames went upward, the Jews made a great clamour, such as so mighty an affliction required; and ran together to prevent it. And now they spared not their lives any longer; nor suffered any thing to restrain their force, since that holy house was perishing, for whose sake it was that they kept such a guard about it.

Now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was reposing in his tent, after the last battle: upon which he arose in great haste, and ran to the holy house; in order to have a stop put to the fire. After him went all his commanders, and after them followed the several legions, in great astonishment. So there was a great clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army. Then did Cæsar, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting, with a loud voice; and by giving a signal to them with his right hand, order them to quench the fire. But they did not hear what he said; though he spake so loud: having their ears already dinned by a greater noise another way. Nor did they attend to the signal he made with his hand: some of them being distracted with fighting, and others with passion. But as for the legions that came running thither, neither any persuasion, nor threatenings could restrain their violence: but each one's own passion was his commander at this time. And as they were crowding into the temple together, many of them were trampled on by one another: while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters which were still hot, and smoking; and were destroyed in the same miserable way with those whom they had conquered. And when they were come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Cæsar's orders to the contrary: but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditious, they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance towards quenching the fire. They were every where slain, and every where beaten. And as for a great part of the people, they were weak, and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were caught. Now round about the altar lay dead bodies, heaped one upon another: as at the †steps going up to it, ran a great quantity of their blood: whither also the dead bodies that were slain above on the altar fell down.

Now, since Cæsar was no way able to restrain the enthusiastical fury of the soldiers, and the fire proceeded on more and more, he went into the holy place of the temple, with his commanders; and saw it, with what was in it: which he found to be far superior to what had been related by foreigners; and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted of, and believed about it. But as the flame had not as yet reached to its inward parts, but was still consuming the rooms that were about the holy house only; and Titus supposing, that the house itself might yet be saved, he came up in haste, and endeavoured to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire; and gave order to Liberalius the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, to beat the soldiers that were refractory with their staves, and to restrain them. Yet were their passions too strong for the regards they had for Cæsar, and the dread they had of him, who forbade them: as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight them too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on; as supposing that all the places within were full of money: and as seeing that all round about it was made of gold. And besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Cæsar, when he ran so hastily out to restrain the soldiers: and threw the fire upon the hinges of the gate, in the dark. The flame now burst out from within the holy house itself: when the commanders retired, and Cæsar with them: and when nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to it. And thus was the holy house burnt down, without Cæsar's approbation.

Now, although any one would justly lament the destruction of such an edifice as this was; since it was the most admirable of all the buildings that we have seen, or heard; both for its curious structure, and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the glorious reputation it had for its holiness: yet might such an one comfort himself with this thought, that it was ‡fate that so decreed it to be: which is inevitable, both as to living creatures, and as to works and places also. However, one cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating. For the §same month and day were now observed, as I said before, wherein the holy house was burnt former-

* See Antiquities, X. 8, and Constitut. Apost. V. 20.

† These steps to the altar of burnt-offering, seems here either an improper and inaccurate expression of Josephus's; since it was unlawful to make ladder steps, (see Description of the Temple, chap. xiii. and note on Antiq. IV. 8.) or else those steps, or stairs we now use, were invented before the days of Herod the Great; and had been here built by him. Though the later Jews always deny it; and say, that even Herod's altar was ascended to by an acclivity only.

‡ Or, Providence.

§ The 10th of the month Ab, A. D. 70.

ly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that elapsed from its first foundation by king Solomon, till this destruction, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are computed to be one thousand, one hundred and thirty; besides seven months, and fifteen days. And from the second building of it, which was performed by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus, the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred and thirty-nine years, and forty-five days.

CHAP. V.

OF THE GREAT DISTRESS THE JEWS WERE IN UPON THE CONFLAGRATION OF THEIR HOLY HOUSE.—ALSO CONCERNING A FALSE PROPHET; AND THE SIGNS THAT PRECEDED THIS DESTRUCTION.

WHILE the holy house was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand; and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain. Nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity: but children and old men, priests and profane persons, were all slain in the same manner. So that this war affected all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction: as well those that made supplication for their lives, as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain. And because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great, one would have thought the whole city had been on fire. Nor can one imagine any thing either greater or more terrible, than this noise. For there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together; and a sad clamour of the seditious, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great consternation; and made sad moans at the calamity they were under. The multitude that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill. And besides, many of those that were worn away by the famine, and their mouths almost closed, when they saw the fire of the holy house, exerted their utmost strength, and brake out into groans and outcries again. *Perea did also return the echo: as well as the mountains round about the city: and augmented the force of the general noise. Yet was the misery itself more terrible than this disorder. For one would have thought that the very hill, on which the temple stood, was red hot; as full of fire on every part of it, that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew them. For the ground did no where appear visible, for the dead bodies that lay on it; but the soldiers went over heaps of those bodies, as they ran upon such as fled from them. And now it was that the multitude of the robbers were thrust out of the inner court of the temple by the Romans; and had much ado to get into the outer court, and from thence into the city. While the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister of that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy house the spikes† that were upon it; with their bases, which were made of lead; and shot them at the Romans, instead of darts. But then, as they gained nothing by so doing; and as the fire burst out upon them; they retired to the ‡wall, that was eight cubits broad; and there they tarried. Yet did two of those of eminence among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage, and taken their fortune with the others, throw themselves into the fire, and were burnt, together with the holy house. Their names were Meirus, the son of Belgas; and Joseph the son of Daleus.

Now the Romans, judging that it was in vain to spare what was round about the holy house, burnt all those places; as also the remains of the cloisters, and the gates; two excepted: the one on the east side, and the other on the south. Both of which, however, they burnt afterward. They also burnt down the treasury chambers: in which was an immense quantity of money, and a great number of garments, and other precious goods. And, in a word, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together; while the rich people had there built themselves chambers to contain such furniture. The soldiers also came to the rest of the cloisters that were in the outer court of the temple: whither the women, and children, and a mixed multitude of the people fled, in number about six thousand. But before Cæsar had determined any thing about these people, or given the commanders any orders relating to them, the soldiers were in such a rage, that they set that cloister on fire. By which means some of these were destroyed by throwing themselves down headlong: and some were burnt in the cloisters themselves. Nor did any of them escape with their lives. A false prophet was the occasion §of these people's destruction: who had made a public proclamation in the city, that very day, that "God commanded them to get up upon the temple; and that there they should receive miraculous signs of their deliverance." Now there was then a great number, of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose, on the people: who told them, that they should wait for deliverance from God; and this was in order to keep them from deserting; and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now a man that is in adversity does easily comply with such promises. For when such a seducer makes him believe that he shall be delivered from those miseries which oppress him, then is it that the patient is full of hopes of such a deliverance.

Thus were the miserable people persuaded by these deceivers, and such as belied God himself. While they did

* This Perea, if the word be not mistaken in the copies, cannot well be that Perea which was beyond Jordan; whose mountains were at a considerable distance from Jordan, and much too remote from Jerusalem, to join in this echo at the conflagration of the temple: but Perea must be rather some mountain beyond the brook Cedron; as was the mount of Olives, or some others, about such a distance from Jerusalem: which observation is so obvious, that it is a wonder our commentators here take no notice of it.

† Reland, I think, here judges well; when he interprets these spikes, of those that stood on the top of the holy house, with sharp points: they were fixed into lead, to prevent the birds from sitting there, and defiling the holy house. For such spikes there were now upon it; as Josephus himself has already assured us: V. 5.

‡ See Chap. 3.

§ Reland here justly takes notice, that those Jews, who had despised the true Prophet, were deservedly abused and deluded by their false ones.

not attend, nor give credit to the signs that were so evident, and which plainly foretold their future desolation. But like men infatuated, without either eyes to see, or minds to consider, they did not regard the denunciations that God made to them. Thus there was a *star, resembling a sword, which stood over the city: and a comet that continued a whole year. Thus also before the Jews' rebellion, and before those commotions which preceded the war, when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of unleavened bread, on the †eighth day of the month Xanthicus, Nisan, and the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar, and the holy house, that it appeared to be bright day, for the space of half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskilful; but was so interpreted by the sacred scribes, as to portend those events that followed immediately upon it. At the same festival also a heifer, as she was led by the high-priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb, in the midst of the temple. Moreover the eastern gate of the ‡inner court of the temple, which was of brass, and vastly heavy, and had been with difficulty shut by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with iron, and had bolts fastened very deep into the firm floor; which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to open of its own accord, about the sixth hour of the night. Now those that kept watch in the temple came hereupon running to the captain of the temple, and told him of it: who then came up thither: and, not without great difficulty, was able to shut the gate again. This also appeared to the vulgar to be a very happy prodigy: as if God did thereby open them the gate of happiness. But the men of learning understood it, that the security of their holy house was dissolved of its own accord: and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. So these publicly declared that this signal foreshewed the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after that feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Artemisius, or Jyar, a certain prodigious and incredible phenomenon appeared: I suppose the account of it would seem incredible, were it not related by those that saw it; and were not the events that followed of so considerable a nature as to deserve such signals. For before sun-setting, chariots, and troops of soldiers in their armour, were seen running about among the clouds, and surrounding of cities. Moreover, at that feast which we call Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the inner court of the temple, as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said, that in the first place they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise; and after that they heard a sound, as of a multitude, saying, "Let us remove hence." But what is still more terrible; there was one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plebeian, and a husbandman, who, four years before the war began, and at a time when the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast whereon it is our custom for every one to make tabernacles to God §in the temple; and began on a sudden to cry aloud "A voice from the east; a voice from the west; a voice from the four winds; a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house; a voice against the bridegrooms, and the brides; and a voice against this whole people." This was his cry, as he went about by day and by night in all the lanes of the city. However, certain of the most eminent among the populace had great indignation at this cry of his; and took up the man, and gave him a great number of severe stripes. Yet did not he either say any thing for himself, or any thing peculiar to those that chastised him: but still went on with the same words he had uttered before. Hereupon our rulers, supposing that this was a sort of divine fury in the man, brought him to the Roman procurator, where he was whipped till his bones were laid bare. Yet did not he make any supplication for himself, nor shed any tears; but turning his voice to the most lamentable tone possible, at every stroke of the whip his answer was, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem." And when Albinus, (for he was then our procurator;) asked him, who he was, whence he came, and why he uttered such words? he made no manner of reply to what he said; but still continued his exclamations; till Albinus took him to be a madman, and dismissed him. Now during all the time that passed before the war began, this man did not go near any of the citizens; nor was seen by them while he said so. But he every day uttered these lamentable words, as if it were his premeditated vow: "Wo, wo to Jerusalem." Nor did he give ill words to any of those that beat him every day, nor good words to those that gave him food: but this was his reply to all men; and, indeed, no other than a melancholy presage of what was to come. This cry of his was the loudest at the festivals; and he continued this practice for seven years, and five months; without growing hoarse, or being tired. Until the very time that he saw his presage in earnest fulfilled in our siege; when it ceased. For as he was going round upon the wall, he cried out with his utmost force, "Wo, wo, to the city again, and to the people, and to the holy house." And just as he added at the last, "Wo, wo to myself also," there came a stone out of one of the engines, and smote him, and killed him immediately. And as he was uttering the very same presages he expired.

Now if any one consider these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind; and by all ways possible foreshews to our race what is for their preservation; but that men perish by those miseries which they madly and volun-

* Whether Josephus means that this star was different from that comet which lasted a whole year, I cannot certainly determine. His words most favour their being different one from another.

† Since Josephus still uses the Syro-Macedonian month Xanthicus, for the Jewish month Nisan, this 8th, or, as Nicephorus reads it, this 9th of Xanthicus, or Nisan, was almost a week before the Passover, on the 14th. About which time we learn, from St. John, that many used to go "out of the country to Jerusalem, to purify themselves," John xi. 55, with xii. 1, in agreement with Josephus also: V. 3. And it might well be, that in the sight of these this extraordinary light might appear.

‡ The court of Israel.

§ Both Reland and Havercamp, in this place, alter the natural punctuation and sense of Josephus; and this contrary to the opinion of Valesius, and Dr. Hudson: lest Josephus should say, that the Jews built booths or tents within the temple, at the feast of Tabernacles: which the later Rabbins will not allow to have been the ancient practice. But then, since it is expressly told us in Nehemiah, viii. 16, that in still elder times, "the Jews made booths in the courts of the house of God," at that festival; Josephus may well be permitted to say the same. And, indeed, the modern Rabbins are of very small authority in all such matters of remote antiquity.

tarily bring upon themselves. For the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their temple four square: while at the same time they had it written in their sacred oracles, that then should their city be taken, as well as their holy house, when once their temple should become four square. But now what did the most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle, that was also found in their sacred writings; importing that about this time one, from their country, should become governor of the habitable earth. The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular: and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea. However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate: although they see it beforehand. But these men interpreted some of these signals according to their own pleasure, and some of them they utterly despised: until their madness was demonstrated, both by the taking of their city, and their own destruction.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE ACCLAMATIONS OF THE SOLDIERY TO TITUS, ON THEIR SUCCESS.—THE SPEECH THAT TITUS MADE TO THE JEWS, WHEN THEY SUPPLICATED HIS MERCY; AND THEIR REPLY.

NOW the Romans, upon the flight of the seditious into the city, and upon the burning of the holy house itself, and of all the buildings round about it, brought their *ensigns to the temple, and set them over against its eastern gate. And there did they offer sacrifices to them; and there did they make Titus imperator,† with the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had such vast quantities of the spoils, which they had gotten by plunder, that in Syria a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value. But as for those priests that kept themselves still upon the ‡wall of the holy house, there was a boy that, out of the thirst he was in, desired some of the Roman guards to give him their right hands, as a security for his life; and confessed he was very thirsty. These guards commiserated his age, and the distress he was in: and gave him their right hands accordingly. So he came down himself, and drank some water: and filled the vessel he had with him when he came to them with water, and then went off, and fled away to his own friends. Nor could any of those guards overtake him: but still they reproached him, for his perfidiousness. To which he made this answer, "I have not broken the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in order to my staying with you, but only in order to my coming down safely, and taking up some water: both which things I have performed, and thereupon think myself to have been faithful to my engagement." Hereupon those whom the child had imposed upon admired his cunning; and that on account of his age. On the fifth day after, the priests that were pined with the famine came down; and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives. But he replied, "that the time of pardon was over, as to them: and that this very holy house, on whose account only they could justly hope to be preserved, was destroyed; and that it was agreeable to their office that priests should perish with the house to which they belonged." So he ordered them to be put to death.

But as for the tyrants, and those that were with them, when they found that they were encompassed on every side; and, as it were, walled round, without any method of escaping, they desired to treat with Titus by word of mouth. Accordingly, such was the kindness of his nature, and his desire of preserving the city from destruction, joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were come to a temper, that he placed himself on the western side of the outer court of the temple. For there were gates on that side, above the Xystus; and a bridge that connected the upper city to the temple. This bridge it was that lay between the tyrants, and Cæsar, and parted them. While the multitude stood on each side: those of the Jewish nation about Simon and John, with hopes of pardon; and the Romans about Cæsar, in great expectation how Titus would receive their supplication. So Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone: and appointed an interpreter between them, which was a sign that he was the conqueror: and first began the discourse, and said, "I hope you, Sirs, are now satiated with the miseries of your country; who have not had any just notions either of our great power, or of your own weakness; but have, like madmen, after a violent and inconsiderate manner, made such attempts, as have brought your people, your city, and your holy house, to destruction. You have been the men that have never left off rebelling since Pompey first conquered you. And have since that time made open war with the Romans. Have you depended on your multitude, while a very small part of the Roman soldiery have been strong enough for you? Have you relied on the fidelity of your confederates? And what nations are there, out of the limits of our dominion, that would choose to assist the Jews before the Romans? Are your bodies stronger than ours? Nay, you know that the strong Germans themselves are our servants. Have you stronger walls than we have? What greater obstacle is there than the wall of the ocean, with which the Britons are encompassed? and yet they venerate the arms of the Romans. Do you exceed us in courage of soul, and in the sagacity of your commanders? Nay, indeed, you cannot but know, that the very Carthaginians have been conquered by us. It can, therefore, be nothing certainly but the kindness of us Romans which hath excited you against us. We in the first place have given you this land to possess; in the next place we have set over you kings of your nation;

* Take Havercamp's note here. "This," says he, "is a remarkable place." And Tertullian truly says in his Apologetic. chap. xvi. p. 162, that "The entire religion of the Roman camp almost consisted in worshipping the ensigns; in swearing by the ensigns; and in preferring the ensigns before all the other gods." See what Havercamp says upon that place of Tertullian.

† This declaring Titus imperator by the soldiers, upon such signal success, and the slaughter of such a vast number of enemies, was according to the usual practice of the Romans in like cases, as Reland assures us on this place.

‡ The Jews of later times agree with Josephus, that there were hiding places, or secret chambers about the holy house, as Reland here informs us; where he thinks he has found these very walls described by them.

and in the third place we have preserved the laws of your forefathers to you; and have withal permitted you to live either by yourselves, or among others, as it should please you. And, what is our chief favour of all, we have given you leave to gather up that *tribute which is paid to God; with such other gifts that are dedicated to him. Nor have we called those that carried these donations to account; nor prohibited them. Till at length you became richer than ourselves, even when you were our enemies: and you made preparations for war against us with our own money. Nay, after all, when you were in the enjoyment of all these advantages, you turned your too great plenty against those that gave it you; and, like merciless serpents, have thrown out your poison against those that treated you kindly. I suppose, therefore, that you might despise the slothfulness of Nero, and, like limbs of the body that are broken or dislocated, you did then lie quiet, waiting for some other time; though still with a malicious intention: and have now shewed your distemper to be greater than ever, and have extended your desires as far as your impudent and immense hopes would enable you to do it. At this time my father came into this country; not with a design to punish you for what you had done under Cestius, but to admonish you. For had he come to overthrow your nation, he had hastened directly to your fountain head; and had immediately laid this city waste. Whereas he went and burnt Galilee, and the neighbouring parts; and thereby gave you time for repentance: but this instance of humanity you took for an argument of his weakness; and nourished up your impudence by our mildness. On the decease of Nero you did, as the wickedest wretches would have done, and encouraged yourselves to act against us by our civil dissensions: and abused that time when both I and my father were gone away for Egypt, to make preparations for this war. Nor were you ashamed to raise disturbances against us when we were made emperors: and this while you had experienced how mild we had been, when we were no more than generals of the army. But when the government had devolved upon us, and all other people did thereupon lie quiet; and even foreign nations sent embassies, and congratulated our access to the government, then did you shew yourselves to be our enemies. You sent embassies to those of your nation that are beyond Euphrates, to assist you in raising disturbances. New walls were built round your city; seditions arose; one tyrant contended against another; and a civil war brake out among you: such, indeed, as became none but so wicked a people as you are. I then came to this city, as unwillingly sent by my father, and received melancholy injunctions from him. When I heard that the people were disposed to peace, I rejoiced at it. I exhorted you to leave off your proceedings before I began this war. I spared you, even when you had fought against me a great while. I gave my right hand, as security to the deserters. I observed what I had promised faithfully. When they fled to me, I had compassion on many of those I had taken captive. I tortured those that were eager for war, in order to restrain them. It was unwillingly that I brought my engines of war against your walls. I always prohibited my soldiers when they were set upon your slaughter, from their severity against you. After every victory I persuaded you to peace, as though I had been myself conquered. When I came near your temple, I again departed from the laws of war, and exhorted you to spare your own sanctuary, and to preserve your holy house to yourselves. I allowed you a quiet exit out of it; and security for your preservation. Nay, if you had a mind, I gave you leave to fight in another place. Yet have you still despised every one of my proposals; and have set fire to your holy house with your own hands. And now, vile wretches, do you desire to treat with me by word of mouth? To what purpose is it, that you would save such a holy house as this was, which is now destroyed? What preservation can you now desire after the destruction of your temple? Yet do you stand still at this very time in your armour. Nor can you bring yourselves so much as to pretend to be supplicants, even in this your utmost extremity. O miserable creatures! what is it you depend on? Are not your people dead? Is not your holy house gone? Is not your city in my power? And are not your own lives in my hands? And do you still deem it a part of valour to die? However, I will not imitate your madness. If you will throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to me, I grant you your lives. And I will act like a mild master of a family: what cannot be healed shall be punished; and the rest I will preserve for my own use."

To this offer of Titus's they replied, that they could not accept of it, because they had sworn never to do so. But they desired they might have leave to go through the wall that had been made about them, with their wives and children. For that they would go into the desert, and leave the city to him. At this Titus had great indignation: that when they were in the case of men already taken captives, they should pretend to make their own terms as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered proclamation to be made to them: that they should no more come out to him as deserters; nor hope for any farther security. For that he would henceforth spare nobody; but fight them with his whole army: and that they must save themselves as well as they could. For that he would from henceforth treat them according to the laws of war.†

Accordingly he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn, and to plunder the city: and on the next day, set fire to the repository of the archives, to Acra, to the council house, and to the place called Ophlas: at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the middle of Acra. The lanes also were burnt down; as were also those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by famine.

On the same day the sons and brethren of Izates the king, together with many others of the eminent men of the populace, got together; and besought Cæsar to give them

* Spanheim notes here, that the Romans used to permit the Jews to collect their sacred tribute, and send it to Jerusalem. Of which we have had abundant evidence in Josephus already, on other occasions.

† The laws of war have, at least in modern times, been made to vary too much according to the circumstances of the hostile parties. But when such principles and regulations as are common to all are respected, even the rigour of war may be softened. E.

his right hand for their security. Upon which, though he was very angry at all that were now remaining, yet did he not lay aside his old moderation; but received these men. At that time, indeed, he kept them all in custody: but still bound the king's sons, and kinsmen; and led them with him to Rome, in order to make them hostages for their countrymen's fidelity to the Romans.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE SUBSEQUENT MISFORTUNES OF THE SEDITIOUS; AND THEIR RETREAT TO THE UPPER CITY.

NOW the seditious rushed into the royal palace, into which many had put their effects; because it was so strong; and drove the Romans away from it. They also slew all the people that had crowded into it; who were in number about eight thousand four hundred; and plundered them of what they had. They also took two of the Romans alive: the one was a horseman, and the other a footman. They then cut the throat of the foot soldier, and immediately had him drawn through the whole city: as revenging themselves upon the whole body of the Romans by this one instance. But the horseman said he had somewhat to suggest to them, in order to their preservation. Hereupon he was brought before Simon; but having nothing to say when he was there, he was delivered to Ardalas, one of the commanders, who bound his hands behind him, put a riband over his eyes, and then brought him out over against the Romans; as intending to cut off his head. But the man prevented that execution; and ran away to the Romans; while the Jewish executioner was drawing out his sword. Now when he was gotten away from the enemy, Titus could not think of putting him to death: but because he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any longer, on account that he had been taken alive by the enemy, he took away his arms, and ejected him out of the legion whereto he had belonged: which to one that had a sense of shame was a penalty severer than death itself.

On the next day the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city, and set all on fire as far as *Siloam. These soldiers were, indeed, glad to see the city destroyed. But they missed the plunder; because the seditious had carried off all their effects, and were retired into the upper city. For they did not yet repent of the mischiefs they had done; but were insolent, as if they had done well. For as they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on joyful countenances, in expectation, as they said, of death to end their miseries.

Accordingly, as the people were now slain, the holy house was burnt down: and the city was on fire: there was nothing father left for the enemy to do. Yet did not Josephus grow weary, even in this utmost extremity, to beg of them to spare what was left of the city: he spake largely to them about their barbarity and impiety; and gave them his advice in order to their escape: though he gained nothing thereby more than to be laughed at by them. And as they could not think of surrendering themselves up, because of the oath they had taken: nor were strong enough to fight with the Romans any longer upon the square: as being surrounded on all sides, and a kind of prisoners already; yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they could not restrain their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves before the city, and laid themselves in ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans. Accordingly many such deserters were caught by them, and were all slain. For these were too weak, by reason of their want of food, to flee away from them. So their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every other sort of death was thought more tolerable than the famine. Insomuch, that though the Jews despaired now of mercy, yet would they flee to the Romans, and would even of their own accord, fall among the murderous rebels also. Nor was there any place in the city but what was entirely covered with those that were killed, either by the famine, or the rebellion: and all was full of the dead bodies of such as had perished, either by that sedition, or by that famine.

So now the last hope which supported the tyrants, and that crew of robbers which were with them was in the caves and caverns under ground: whither, if they could once flee, they did not expect to be searched for: but hoped, that after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This, however, was no better than a dream of theirs. For they were not able to lie hid either from God, or from the Romans. However, they depended on these subterraneous retreats, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves. And those that fled out of their houses, thus set on fire, into the ditches, they pillaged and killed without mercy. And if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it, and swallowed it down, together with their blood also. Nay, they were now come to fight one with another about their plunder. And I cannot but think that had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste of even the dead bodies themselves.

CHAP. VIII.

CÆSAR CAUSES BANKS TO BE RAISED ROUND ABOUT THE UPPER CITY; AND BY THE AID OF HIS MACHINES MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF THE WHOLE PLACE.

WHEN Cæsar perceived that the upper †city was so steep, that it could not possibly be taken without raising banks against it, he distributed the several parts of that work among his army: and this on the twentieth day of the month Lous, or Ab. Now the carriage of the materials was a difficult task: since all the trees that were about the city, within the distance of a hundred furlongs, had their branches cut off already, in order to make the former banks. The works that belonged to the four legions were erected on the west side of the city; over against the royal palace. But the whole body of the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the multitude that were with them, erected

* See Book V. chap. 4.

† Mount Sion.

their banks at the Xystus: whence they reached to the bridge, and that tower of Simon which he had built, as a citadel for himself, against John, when they were at war one with another.

It was at this time that the commanders of the Idumeans got together privately, and took counsel about surrendering up themselves to the Romans. Accordingly they sent five men to Titus; and entreated him to give them his right hand for their security. So Titus thinking that the tyrants would yield, if the Idumeans, upon whom a great part of the war depended, were once withdrawn, after some reluctancy and delay, complied with them: and gave them security for their lives; and sent the five men back. But as these Idumeans were preparing to march out, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus; and took their commanders, and put them in prison: of whom the most eminent was Jacob, the son of Sosas. But as for the multitude of the Idumeans, who did not know what to do, now their commanders were taken, he had them watched; and secured the walls by a more numerous garrison. Yet could not that garrison resist those that were deserting. For although a great number of them were slain, yet were the deserters many more in number. These were all received by the Romans; because Titus himself grew negligent as to his former orders, and because the very soldiers grew weary of killing them: and because they hoped to get some money by sparing them. For they left only the populace: and *sold the rest of the multitude, with their wives and children; and every one of them for a very low price: and that because such as were sold were very numerous, and the buyers very few. And although Titus had previously made proclamation that no deserter should come by himself; that so they might bring out their families with them; yet did he receive such as these also. However, he set over them such as were to distinguish some from others: in order to see if any of them deserved to be punished. And indeed the number of those that were sold was immense. But of the populace above forty thousand were saved; whom Cæsar permitted to go whither every one of them pleased.

At this time it was, that one of the priests, the son of Thebuthus, whose name was Jesus; upon having security given him by the oath of Cæsar that he should be preserved, upon condition that he should deliver to him certain of the †precious things that had been deposited in the temple, came out of it, and delivered him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks; like to those that lay in the holy house: with tables, cisterns, and vials, all made of solid gold, and very heavy. He also delivered to him the veils, and the garments; with the precious stones, and a great number of other precious vessels that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was Phineas, was seized on, and shewed Titus the coats, and girdles of the priests: with a great quantity of purple, and scarlet, which were there deposited for the uses of the veil: as also a great quantity of ‡cinnamon, cassia, and other sweet spices, which used to be mixed together, and offered as incense to God every day. A great many other treasures were also delivered to him; with sacred ornaments of the temple, not a few. Which things thus delivered to Titus, obtained of him for this man the same pardon that he had allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.

Now the banks were finished, on the seventh day of the month Gorpieus, or Elul, in eighteen days' time: when the Romans brought their machines against the wall. But for the seditious, some of them, as despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; and others went down into the subterranean vaults: though still a great many defended themselves against those that brought the engines for the battery. Yet did the Romans overcome them, by their number, and by their strength: and, what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were quite dejected, and become weak. Now as soon as a part of the wall was battered down, and certain of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering rams, those that opposed themselves fled away; and such a terror fell upon the tyrants, as was much greater than the occasion required. For before the enemy got over the breach they were quite stunned, and were immediately for fleeing away. And now one might see these men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, to be cast down, and to tremble: insomuch that it was affecting to observe the change that was made in those vile persons. Accordingly they ran with great violence upon the §Roman wall that encompassed them; in order to force away those that guarded it; and to break through it, and get away. But when they saw that those who had formerly been faithful to them were gone away: (as, indeed, they were fled whithersoever the great distress they were in persuaded them to flee:) as also when those that came running before the rest told them, that the western wall was entirely overthrown: while others said the Romans were gotten in; and others that they were near, and looking out for them; which were only the dictates of their fear, which imposed upon their sight: they fell upon their face, and greatly lamented their own mad conduct: and their nerves were so terribly loosened, that they could not flee away. And here one may reflect on the power of God exercised upon these wicked wretches; and on the good for-

* This innumerable multitude of Jews that were sold by the Romans, were an eminent completion of God's ancient threatening by Moses; that if they apostatized from their obedience to his laws, they should be sold unto their enemies for bondmen and bondwomen: Deut. xxviii. 68. See more especially the note on chap. 9. But one thing is here peculiarly remarkable, that Moses adds, though they should be sold for slaves, yet no man should buy them: i. e. either they should have none to redeem them from this sale into slavery: or rather that the slaves to be sold should be more than were the purchasers for them: and so they should be sold for little or nothing. Which is what Josephus here affirms to have been the case at this time.

† What became of these spoils of the temple, that escaped the fire, see Josephus himself hereafter, VII. 5, and Reland, De Spoliis Templi, page 129—138

‡ These various sorts of spices, even more than those four which, Moses prescribed, Exod. xxxi. 34. we see were used in the public worship under Herod's temple, particularly cinnamon, and cassia; which Reland takes particular notice of, as agreeing with the later testimony of the Talmudists.

§ See Book V. chap. 12.

tune of the Romans. For these tyrants did now wholly deprive themselves of the security they had in their own power; and came down from those very towers of their own accord, wherein they could have never been taken by force; nor, indeed, any other way than by famine. And thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have gotten by their engines. For three of these towers were too strong for all mechanical engines whatever.

So they now left these towers of themselves, or rather they were ejected out of them by God himself, and fled immediately to that valley which was under Siloam. Where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side. But as their courage was too much depressed to make their attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction; they were repulsed by the guards; and dispersing themselves at distances from each other, went down into the subterranean caverns. So the Romans being now become masters of the walls, they both placed their ensigns upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained: as having found the end of this war much lighter than its beginning. For when they had gotten upon the last wall, without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. But when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city, with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they overtook without mercy; and set fire to the houses whither the Jews were fled, and burnt every person in them, and laid waste a great many of the rest: and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men; and the upper rooms full of corpses, of such as died by the famine. They then stood in horror at this sight; and went out, without touching any thing. But although they had this commiseration for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were still alive: but they ran every one through whom they met with; and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies; and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a degree, indeed, that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood. And so it happened, that though the slayers left off at the evening: yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night. And as all was burning, came that eighth day of the month Gorpieus, or Elul,* upon Jerusalem; a city that had been liable to so many miseries during this siege, that had it always enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasions of this its overthrow.

CHAP. IX.

OF CÆSAR'S CONDUCT ON THE REDUCTION OF THE CITY; THE NUMBER OF THE CAPTIVES, AND OF THOSE THAT PERISHED IN THE SIEGE; ALSO CONCERNING THOSE THAT HAD ESCAPED INTO THE SUBTERRANEAN CAVERNS; AMONG WHOM WERE THE TYRANTS, SIMON AND JOHN.

NOW when Titus was come into the upper city, he admired several places of strength in it, and particularly those strong towers which the tyrants, in their mad conduct, had relinquished. For when he saw their †solid altitude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of their joints; as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their length, he expressed himself after the manner following: "We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war: and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications. For what could the hands of men, or any machines, do towards overthrowing these towers?" At which time he had many such discourses to his friends. He also let such go free, as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in prison. To conclude, when he entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its walls, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune; which had proved his auxiliaries; and enabled him to take what could not otherwise have been taken by him.

And now, since the soldiers were already tired with killing men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive; Cæsar gave orders, that they should kill none but those that were in arms, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged, and the infirm. But for those that were in their flourishing age; and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple; and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women. Over which Cæsar set one of his freed-men; as also Fronto, one of his own friends; which last was to determine every one's fate according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditious, and robbers, who were impeached one by another. But of the young men he chose out the tallest, and most beautiful; and reserved them for the triumph. And as for the rest of the multitude, that were above seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the ‡Egyptian mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces; as a present to them: that they might be destroyed upon their theatres by the sword, and by the wild beasts. But those that were under seventeen years of age, were sold for slaves. Now during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men, there perished for want of food, eleven thousand. Some of whom did not taste any food through the hatred their guards bore to them: and others would not take any when it was given them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

* A. D. 70. Thirty-seven years and a half after the crucifixion of the Messiah.

† See Book V. Chap. 4.

‡ See the several predictions, that the Jews, if they became obstinate in their idolatry and wickedness, should be sent again, or sold into Egypt, for their punishment; Deut. xxviii. 68; Jer. xliv. 7; Hos. viii. 13; ix. 3; xi. 5; Esd. xv 10—13, with Authentic Records, Part I. page 49, 121, and Reland, Palestina, Tom. II. page 715.

Now the *number of those that were carried captive, during this whole war, was computed to be ninety-seven thousand: as was the number of those that perished during the whole seige eleven hundred thousand. The greater part of whom were, indeed, of the same nation with the citizens of Jerusalem: but not belonging to the city itself. For they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread; and were on a sudden shut up by an army; which at the very first occasioned so great a straitness among them, that there came a pestilential destruction upon them; and soon afterward such a famine as destroyed them more suddenly. And that this city could contain so many people in it, is manifest by that number of them, which was taken under Cestius. Who being desirous of informing Nero of the flower of the city, who otherwise was disposed to contemn that nation, entreated the high-priests if the thing were possible, to take the number of their whole multitude. So these high-priests, did so upon the coming of that feast which is called the Passover, when they slay their sacrifices, from the ninth hour till the eleventh; but so that a company not less than †ten belonging to every sacrifice: (for it is not lawful for them to feast singly by themselves.) And many of us are twenty in a company. Now, the number of sacrifices was two hundred and fifty-six thousand, and five hundred: which, upon the allowance of no more than ten that feasted together, amounts to ‡two millions, seven hundred thousand, and two hundred persons that were pure and holy. For as to those that have the leprosy, or the gonorrhœa; or such as are otherwise polluted, it is not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice. Nor, indeed, for any foreigners who come hither to worship.

Now this vast multitude is, indeed, collected out of remote places. But the entire nation was now shut up by fate, as in a prison; and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly the multitude of those that therein perished exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world. For, to speak only of what was publicly known, the Romans slew some of them; some they carried captives; and others they made a search for under ground: and when they found where they were they broke up the ground, and slew all they met with. There were also found slain there above two thousand persons: partly by their own hands, and partly by one another: but chiefly destroyed by the famine. But then, the stench of the dead bodies was so offensive to those that found them, that some were obliged to get away immediately: while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in among the corpses that lay on heaps, and tread upon them. For a great deal of treasure was found in these caverns: and the hope of gain made every way of getting it to be esteemed lawful. Many also of those that had been put in prison by the tyrants were now brought out. For they did not leave off their barbarous cruelty at the very last. Yet did God avenge himself upon them both, in a manner agreeable to justice. As for John, he wanted food, together with his brethren, in these caverns; and begged that the Romans would now give him their right hand for his security, which he had often proudly rejected before. But as for Simon, he struggled hard with the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter. So he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain: as was John condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and entirely demolished its walls.

CHAP. X.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY OF JERUSALEM.

THUS was Jerusalem taken, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpieus, or Elul.§ It had been taken ‖five times before: though this was the second time of its desolation. For Shishak, king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after them Sosius and Herod, took the city: but still preserved it. But before all these, the king of Babylon conquered it, and made it desolate: one thousand, four hundred, sixty-eight years, and six months, after it was first built. But he who ¶first built it was a potent man among the Canaanites; and is in our own tongue called Melchisedeck, the Righteous King. For such he really was. On which account he was there the first priest of God; and first built a temple there, and called the city Jerusalem: which was formerly called Salem. However, David, king of the Jews, ejected the Canaanites, and settled

* The whole multitude of Jews that were destroyed during the entire seven years before this time, in all the countries of, and bordering on, Judea, is summed up by archbishop Usher, from Lypsius, out of Josephus, at the year of Christ 70, and amounts to 1,337,390. Nor could there have been that number of Jews in Jerusalem to be destroyed in this siege, as will be presently set down by Josephus, but that both Jews and proselytes of justice were just then come up out of the other countries of Galilee, Samaria, Judea, and Perea, and other remoter regions to the Passover, in vast numbers: and therein cooped up, as in prison, by the Roman army: as Josephus himself well observes elsewhere, V. 3.

† This number of a company for one paschal lamb, between 10 and 20, agrees exactly with the number 13, at our Saviour's last Passover. As to the whole number of the Jews, that used to come up to the Passover, and eat of it at Jerusalem, see the note on II. 14. This number ought to be here, indeed, just ten times the number of the lambs, or just 2,565,000, by Josephus's own reasoning. Whereas it is, in his present copies, no less than 2,700,000, which last number, is however, nearest the other number in the place now cited, which is 3,000,000. But what is here chiefly remarkable is this, that no foreign nation ever came thus to destroy the Jews at any of their solemn festivals, from the days of Moses till this time: but came now upon their apostacy from God, and from obedience to him. See the note on II. 19. Nor is it possible, in the nature of things, that in any other nation such vast numbers should be gotten together, and perish in the siege of any one city whatsoever, as now happened in Jerusalem.

‡ Two millions, five hundred and sixty-five thousand.

§ A. D. 70.

‖ Besides these five here enumerated, who had taken Jerusalem of old, Josephus, upon farther recollection, reckons a sixth, Antiq. XII. 1, who should have been here inserted in the second place: I mean Ptolemy, the son of Lagus.

¶ Why the great Bochart should say, De Pœnic. Colon. II. 4, that "There are in this clause of Josephus as many mistakes as words," I by no means understand. Josephus thought Melchisedeck first built, or rebuilt, and adorned this city, and that it was then called Salem: as Psal. lxxvi. 2, that it afterward came to be called Jerusalem; and that Melchisedeck, being a priest, as well as a king, built to the true God therein a temple, or place for public divine worship and sacrifice. All which things may be very true, for aught we know to the contrary. And for the word ἱερὸν, or temple, as if it must needs belong to the great temple built by Solomon long afterward; Josephus himself uses ναὸς for the small tabernacle of Moses, Antiq. III. 6. He also here presently uses ἱερὸν for a large splendid synagogue of the Jews at Antioch only, VII. 3.

his own people therein. It was demolished entirely by the Babylonians, four hundred, seventy-seven years, and six months after him. And from king David, who was the first of the *Jews who reigned therein, to this destruction under Titus, were one thousand, one hundred, and seventy-nine years. But from its first building till this last destruction, were two thousand, one hundred, and seventy-seven years. Yet hath not its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the diffusion of its †nation over all the habitable earth; nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on a religious account, been sufficient to preserve it from being destroyed. And thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

* Of the tribe of Judah. † Or, Glory.

N. B. This is the proper place for such as have closely attended to these latter books of the war, to peruse, and that with equal attention, those distinct and plain predictions of Jesus of Nazareth, in the Gospels thereto relating, as compared with their exact completions in Josephus's History. Upon which completions, as Dr. Whitby well observes, Annot. on Matt. xxiv. 2, no small part of the evidence for the truth of the Christian religion depends.

BOOK VII.

Containing an Interval of about three Years.

FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, TO THE SEDITION OF THE JEWS AT CYRENE.

CHAP. I.

OF THE DEMOLITION OF THE ENTIRE CITY OF JERUSALEM EXCEPTING THREE TOWERS.—ALSO OF THE COMMENDATIONS WHICH TITUS BESTOWED ON HIS SOLDIERS, AND HIS LIBERAL DISTRIBUTION OF REWARDS.

NOW as soon as the army had no more people to slay, or to plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury; (for they would not have spared any, had there remained any other such work to be done:) Cæsar gave orders that they should demolish the entire city and temple: but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency, viz. Phasaelus, Hippicus, and Mariamne: and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the west side. This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison: as were the towers also spared in order to denominate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued. But for all the rest of the wall, it was so completely levelled with the ground, by those that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those who came thither believe it had ever been inhabited. This was the end which Jerusalem come to, by the madness of those that were for innovations: *a city otherwise of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind.

Cæsar now resolved to leave there, as a guard, the tenth legion; with certain troops of horsemen, and companies of footmen. So having entirely completed this war, he was desirous to commend his whole army, on account of the great exploits they had performed; and to bestow proper rewards on such as had signalized themselves therein. He had, therefore an elevated tribunal made for him in the midst of the place where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with his principal commanders about him; and spake so as to be heard by the whole army in the manner following: "That he returned them abundance of thanks for their good will, which they had shewed to him. He commended them for that ready obedience they had exhibited in this whole war: which obedience had appeared in the many and great dangers which they had undergone; as also for that courage they had shewn, and had thereby

* This was the immediate cause of the ruin of the Jewish capital. But it was only the effect of their long existing and provoking obduracy. God punished them by rendering their stubbornness the principal instrument of their destruction. B.

augmented of themselves their country's power; and had made it evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, the strength of their places, the largeness of their cities, nor their rash boldness and brutish rage, were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valour: although some of them might have fortune in many respects on their side. He said farther, that it was but reasonable for them to put an end to this war, now it had lasted so long: for that they had nothing better to wish for when they entered into it. And that this happened more favourably for them, and more for their glory, that all the Romans had willingly accepted of those for their governors, and the curators of their dominions, whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their own country for that purpose; which still continued under the management of those whom they had chosen, and were thankful to them for electing them. That accordingly, although he did both admire, and tenderly regard them all, because he knew that every one of them had gone as cheerfully about their work, as their abilities and opportunities would give them leave; yet he said he would immediately bestow rewards and dignities on those that fought the most bravely and with greater force, and had signalized their conduct in the most glorious manner, and had made his army more famous by their noble exploits: and that no one who had been willing to take more pains than another, should miss of a just retribution for the same. For that he had been exceeding careful about this matter: and that the more, because he had much rather reward the virtues of his fellow soldiers, than punish such as offended."

Hereupon Titus ordered those, whose business it was, to read the list of all that had performed great exploits in this war. He then called them to him by their names, and commended them before the company; and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their heads crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and ensigns that were made of silver, and removed every one of them to a higher rank. And besides this, he plentifully distributed among them, out of the spoils and the other prey they had taken, silver and gold, and garments. So when they had all these honours bestowed on them, according to his own appointment made to every one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army, he came down, among the great acclamations which were made to him: and then betook himself to offer thank-offerings to the gods, and at once sacrificed a vast number of oxen, that stood ready at the altars; and distributed them among the army to feast on. And when he had staid three days among the principal commanders, and so long feasted with them, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be every one best situate: but permitted the tenth legion to remain, as a guard at Jerusalem; and did not send them away beyond Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the twelfth legion had given way to the Jews, under Cestius their general he expected them out of all Syria: for they had lain formerly at *Raphanea: and sent them away to a place called Meletine, near Euphrates; which is in the limits of Armenia and Cappadocia. He also thought fit that two of the legions should stay with him, till he should go into Egypt. He then went down with his army to that Cæsarea which lay by the sea-side; and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities; and gave order that the captives should be kept there: for the winter season hindered him then from sailing into Italy.

* See Chap. 5.

CHAP. II.

TITUS EXHIBITS ALL SORTS OF SHOWS AT CÆSAREA PHILIPPI.—ALSO CONCERNING THE SEIZURE OF SIMON THE TYRANT.

NOW at the same time that Titus Cæsar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, Vespasian went on board a merchant ship, and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes. Whence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars; and as he touched at several cities that lay in his road, he was joyfully received by them all; and so passed over from Ionia into Greece. He then set sail from Corcyra, to the promontory of Iapyx; whence he took his journey by land. But as for Titus, he marched from that Cæsarea which lay by the sea-side, and came to that which is named Cæsarea Philippi, and staid there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shows there. And here a great number of the captives were destroyed: some being thrown to wild beasts; and others in multitudes forced to kill one another, as if they were their enemies. And here it was that Titus was informed of the seizure of Simon, the son of Gioras: which was made after the following manner:

This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the †upper city. But when the Roman army was gotten within the walls, and were laying the city waste, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them some that were stone-cutters, with those iron tools which belonged to their occupation; and as great a quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a long time, and let himself and all of them down into a certain subterraneous cavern, that was not visible above ground. Now so far as had been dug of old, they went onward along it, without disturbance; but where they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground: and this in hopes that they should be able to proceed so far, as to rise from underground in a safe place, and by that means escape. But when they came to make the experiment, they were disappointed of their hope. For the miners could make but small progress, and that with difficulty also. Insomuch that their provisions, though they distributed them by measure, began to fail. And now Simon thinking he might be able to astonish and delude the Romans, put on a white frock, and buttoned upon him a purple cloak, and appeared out of the ground, in the place where the temple had formerly been. At the first indeed, those that saw him were greatly astonished, and stood still where they were. But afterward they came nearer to him, and asked who he

† Mount Sion.

was? Now Simon would not tell them, but bade them call for their captain. And when they ran to call him, *Terentius Rufus, who was left to command the army there, came to Simon, and learned of him the whole truth, and kept him in bonds: and let Cæsar know that he was taken. Thus did God bring this man to be punished, for what bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his countrymen, by those who were his worst enemies; and this while he was not subdued by violence, but voluntarily delivered himself up to them to be punished; and that on the very same account that he had lain false accusations against many Jews, as if they were falling away to the Romans, and had barbarously slain them. For wicked actions do not escape the divine anger, nor is justice too weak to punish offenders; but in time overtakes those that transgress its laws, and inflicts its punishments upon the wicked in a manner so much more severe, as they expected to escape it, on account of their †not being punished immediately. Simon was made sensible of this, by falling under the indignation of the Romans. This rise of his out of the ground did also occasion the discovery of a great number of others of the seditious at that time, who had hidden themselves under ground. But Simon was brought to Cæsar in bonds, when he was come back to that Cæsarea which was on the sea-side; who gave order that he should be kept against that triumph which he was to celebrate at Rome upon this occasion.

CHAP. III.

OF THE DESTRUCTION OF MANY OF THE JEWS UPON THE CELEBRATION OF DOMITIAN'S AND VESPASIAN'S BIRTH-DAYS.—ALSO CONCERNING THE DANGER THE JEWS WERE IN AT ANTIOCH, BY MEANS OF THE TRANSGRESSIONS AND IMPIETY OF ONE ANTIOCHUS.

WHILE Titus was at Cæsarea he solemnized the ‡birth-day of his brother Domitian, after a splendid manner; and inflicted a great deal of the punishment intended for the Jews in honor of him: for the number of those that were now slain in fighting with the beasts, and were burnt, and fought with one another, exceeded two thousand five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans, when they were thus destroyed ten thousand several ways, to be a punishment beneath their deserts. After this Cæsar came to §Berytus, which is a city of Phœnicia, and a Roman colony; and staid there a longer time, and exhibited a still more pompous solemnity about his father's ‖birth-day, both in the magnificence of the shows, and in the other vast expenses he was at in his devices thereto belonging. So that a great multitude of the captives were here destroyed after the same manner as before.

It happened also about this time, that the Jews who remained at Antioch were under accusations, and in danger of perishing, from the disturbances that were raised against them by the Antiochians; and this both on account of the slanders spread abroad at this time against them; and on account of what pranks they had played not long before: which I am obliged to describe without fail, though briefly: that I may the better connect my narration of future actions with those that went before.

For as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the habitable earth, among its inhabitants; so is it very much intermingled with Syria, by reason of its neighbourhood; and had the greatest multitudes in Antioch, by reason of the largeness of the city; wherein the kings, after Antiochus had afforded them a habitation, with the most undisturbed tranquillity. For though Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, laid Jerusalem waste, and spoiled the temple; yet did those that succeeded him in the kingdom restore all the donations that were made of brass to the Jews of Antioch, and dedicated them to their synagogue, and granted them the enjoyment of equal privileges of citizens with the Greeks themselves. And as the succeeding kings treated them after the same manner, they both multiplied to a great number, and adorned their ¶temple gloriously by fine ornaments, and with great magnificence, in the use of what had been given them. They also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually; and thereby, after a sort, brought them to be a portion of their own body. But about this time when the present war began, and Vespasian was recently sailed to Syria, and all men had taken up a great hatred against the Jews; then it was that a certain person, whose name was Antiochus, being one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected on account of his father, who was **governor of the Jews at Antioch, came upon the theatre at a time when the people of Antioch were assembled together; and became an informer against his father, and accused both him and others, that they had resolved to burn the whole city in one night: he also delivered up to them some Jews that were foreigners, as partners in their resolutions. When the people heard this, they could not restrain their passion, but commanded that those who were

* This Terentius Rufus, as Reland in part observes here, is the same person whom the Talmudists call Turnus Rufus; of whom they relate, that "He ploughed up Sion as a field; and made Jerusalem become as heaps; and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest." Which was long before foretold by the prophet Micah, iii. 12, and quoted from him in the prophecies of Jeremiah xxvi. 18.

† See Eccles. viii. 11.

‡ This birth-day of Domitian fell upon December 30, as says Archbishop Usher at A. D. 70, and from him Dr. Hudson. How the archbishop and the doctor came to think so I cannot devise: since Suetonius says he was born on the 9th of the calends of November, i. e. on October 24.

§ This Berytus was certainly a Roman colony: and has coins extant that witness the same: as Hudson and Spanheim inform us. See the note on Antiq. XVI. 11.

‖ This birth-day of Vespasian's is here changed out of Archbishop Usher, on the year 71, from his real birth-day, which Suetonius says fell on the 16th of the calends of December, i. e. the 17th of November, to the day of his proclamation or inauguration: which indeed both Tacitus and Suetonius place on the calends of July. So I suppose that the doctor and the archbishop mean no more by this birth-day of Vespasian, than that of his government, or inauguration. Though in the former case about Domitian this interpretation can have no place: because he was not now inaugurated into any government, nor in several years afterward.

¶ Their synagogue. See the note on VI. 10.

** The Jews at Antioch and Alexandria, the two principal cities in all the east, had allowed them, both by the Macedonians, and afterwards by the Romans, a governor of their own; who was exempt from the jurisdiction of the other civil governors. He was called sometimes barely governor, sometimes ethnarch, and at Alexandria alabarch: as Dr. Hudson takes notice on this place, out of Fuller's Miscellanies. They had the like governor or governors allowed them at Babylon, under their captivity there: as the history of Susanna implies.

delivered up to them should have fire brought to burn them: who were accordingly all burnt upon the theatre immediately. They also fell violently upon the multitude of the Jews; as supposing that by punishing them suddenly they should save their own city. As for Antiochus, he aggravated the rage they were in; and thought to give them a demonstration of his own conversion, and of his hatred of the Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks. He persuaded the rest also to compel them to do the same; because they would by that means discover who they were that had plotted against them; since they would not do so. And when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some few complied; but those that would not do so were slain. As for Antiochus himself, he obtained soldiers from the Roman commander, and became a severe master over his own citizens; not permitting them to rest on the seventh day; but forcing them to do all that they usually did on other days. And to that degree of distress did he reduce them in this matter, that the rest of the seventh day was dissolved, not only at Antioch; but the same thing, which took thence its rise, was done in other cities also for some small time.

Now after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews of Antioch, a second calamity befell them: for upon this accident, whereby the four-square market-place was burnt down, as well as the archives, and the place where the public records were preserved, and the royal palaces; and it was not without difficulty that the fire was then put a stop to, which was likely, by the fury wherewith it was carried along, to have gone over the whole city; Antiochus accused the Jews, as the occasion of all the mischief that was done. Now this induced the people of Antioch, who were under the immediate persuasion, by reason of the disorder they were in, that this calumny was true; and would have been under the same persuasion, even though they had not borne an ill will at the Jews before, to believe this man's accusation: especially when they considered what had been done before; and this to such a degree, that they all fell violently upon those that were accused; and this, like madmen, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city. Nor was it without difficulty that one Cneus Collegas, the legate, could prevail with them to permit the affairs to be laid before Cæsar. For as to *Cesennius Petus, the president of Syria, Vespasian had already sent him away. And so it happened that he was not yet come back thither. But when Collegas had made a careful inquiry into the matter, he found out the truth: and that not one of those Jews that were accused by Antiochus had any hand in it: but that all was done by some vile persons greatly in debt; who supposed, that if they could once set fire to the market-place, and burn the public records, they should have no farther demands made upon them. So the Jews were under great disorder, and terror, in the uncertain expectations of what would be the result of these accusations against them.

* There is a coin still preserved of this Cesennius Petus, when he was pro-consul: as Spanheim here informs us.

CHAP. IV.

OF VESPASIAN'S RECEPTION AT ROME: THE REVOLT AND SUBJUGATION OF THE GERMANS; AND THE IRRUPTION OF THE SARMATIANS INTO MYSIA.

NOW Titus Cæsar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his coming was much desired by all the Italian cities; and that Rome especially received him with great alacrity and splendour, betook himself to rejoicing and pleasures, to a great degree; as being happily freed from his solicitude. For all men that were in Italy shewed their respect to him in their minds, before he came thither; as if he were already come; as esteeming the very expectation they had of him to be his real presence, on account of the great desire they had to see him; and because the good will they bore him was entirely free and unconstrained. For it was a desirable thing to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late changes of their governors, to receive a governor who was adorned with the gravity of old age, and with the highest skill in the actions of war, whose advancement would tend, as they knew, to the preservation of those that were to be governed. Moreover, the people had been so harassed by their civil miseries, that they were still more earnest for his coming immediately: as supposing they should then be firmly delivered from their calamities, and believing they should recover their secure tranquillity and prosperity. And for the soldiery, they had the principal regard to him; for they were chiefly apprised of his military exploits. And since they had experienced the want of skill and courage in other commanders, they were very desirous to be freed from that great shame they had undergone by their means; and heartily wished to receive such a prince as might be a security and an ornament to them. And as this good will to Vespasian was universal, those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not have patience enough to stay in Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it. Nay, indeed, none of the rest could endure the delay of seeing him; but did all pour out of the city in such crowds, and were so universally possessed with the opinion that it was easier and better for them to go out than to stay there, that this was the very first time that the city joyfully perceived itself almost emptied of its citizens. For those that staid within were fewer than those that went out. But as soon as the news was come that he was in the vicinity, and those that had met him at first related with what good humour he received every one that came to him; then it was that the whole multitude that had remained in the city, with their wives and children, came into the road, and waited for him there. And those whom he passed made all sorts of acclamations, on account of the joy they had to see him, and the pleasantness of his countenance; and styled him their benefactor, and saviour; and the only person who was worthy to be a ruler of the city of Rome. And now the city was like a temple, full of garlands, and sweet odours. Nor was it easy for him on account of the multitude, to come to the royal palace, where yet at last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods,

for his safe return. The multitude did also betake themselves to feasting: which feasts, and drink-offerings they celebrated by their tribes, their families, and their neighbourhoods; and still prayed God to grant, that Vespasian, his sons, and all their posterity, might continue in the Roman government for a very long time: and that his dominion might be preserved from all opposition. And this was the manner in which Rome so joyfully received Vespasian; and thence grew immediately into a state of great prosperity.

But before this time, and while Vespasian was about Alexandria, and Titus was lying at the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the Germans were in commotion, and tended to rebellion. And as the Gauls in their neighbourhood joined with them, they conspired together, and had thereby great hopes that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Romans. The motives that induced the Germans to this attempt for a revolt, and for beginning the war, were these: in the first place the nature of the people, which was destitute of just reasonings, and ready to throw themselves rashly into danger upon small hopes. In the next place the hatred they bore to those that were their governors: while their nation had never been conscious of subjection to any, but to the Romans; and that by compulsion also. Besides these motives, it was the opportunity that now offered itself, which above all the rest prevailed with them so to do. For when they saw the Roman government in a great internal disorder, by the continual changes of its rulers; and understood that every part of the habitable earth under them was in an unsettled and tottering condition, they thought this the best opportunity they could offer for themselves to make a sedition, when the state of the Romans was so ill. *Classicus also, and Vitellius, two of their commanders, puffed them up with such hopes. These had, for a long time, been openly desirous of such an innovation; and were induced by the present opportunity to venture upon the declaration of their sentiments. The multitude was also ready; and when these men told them of what they intended to attempt, that news was gladly received by them. So when a great part of the Germans had agreed to rebel, and the rest were no better disposed; Vespasian, as guided by divine providence, sent letters to Petilius Cerealis, who had formerly had the command of Germany: whereby he declared him to have the dignity of consul, and commanded him to take upon him the government of Britain. So he went whither he was ordered to go: and when he was informed of the revolt of the Germans, he fell upon them, as soon as they were gotten together, and put his army in battle array, and slew a great multitude of them in the fight, and forced them to leave off their madness, and to grow wiser. Nay, had he not fallen thus suddenly upon them on the place, it had not been long ere they would however have been brought to punishment. For as soon as the news of their revolt was come to Rome, and Cæsar Domitian was made acquainted with it, he made no delay, though he was exceeding young; but undertook this weighty affair. He had a courageous mind from his father, and had made greater improvements than belonged to such an age. Accordingly he marched against the Barbarians immediately. Whereupon their hearts failed them at the very rumour of his approach; and they submitted themselves to him with fear; and thought it a happy thing that they were brought under their old yoke again without suffering any farther mischiefs. When, therefore, Domitian had settled all the affairs of Gaul in such good order, that it would not be easily put into disorder any more, he returned to Rome, with honour and glory: as having performed such exploits as were above his own age, but worthy of so great a father.

At the same time with the forementioned revolt of the Germans, did the bold attempt of the Scythians against the Romans occur. For those Scythians who are called Sarmatians, being a very numerous people, transported themselves over the Danube into Mysia, without being perceived. After which, by their violence, and unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers: and as the consular legate Fonteius Agrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then overran all the region that had been subject to him; tearing and rending every thing that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what had happened, and how Mysia was laid waste; he sent away Rubrius Gallus to punish these Sarmatians. By whose means many of them perished in the battles he fought against them; and that part which escaped fled with fear to their own country. So when this general had put an end to the war, he provided for the future security of the country. For he placed more and more numerous garrisons in the place; till he made it altogether impossible for the Barbarians to pass over the river any more. And thus had this war in Mysia a sudden conclusion.

CHAP. V.

OF THE SABBATIC RIVER, WHICH TITUS SAW, AS HE WAS JOURNEYING THROUGH SYRIA; AND HIS REJECTION OF THE PETITION PREFERRED AGAINST THE JEWS OF ANTIOCH.—ALSO CONCERNING TITUS'S AND VESPASIAN'S TRIUMPH.

TITUS Cæsar, having tarried some time at Berytus, removed thence, and exhibited magnificent shows in all those cities of Syria through which he went; and made use of the captive Jews as public instances of the destruction of that nation. He then saw a river, as he went along, of such a nature as deserves to be recorded in history. It runs in the middle between Arcea, belonging to Agrippa's

* This Classicus, and Civilis, and Cerealis, are names well known in Tacitus. The two former, as moving sedition against the Romans; and the last as sent to repress them by Vespasian: just as they are here described in Josephus. Which is the case also of Fonteius Agrippa, and Rubrius Gallus in the next page. But as to the very favourable account presently given of Domitian; particularly as to his designs in this his Gallic and German expedition; it is not a little contrary to that in Suetonius, Vespas. § 7. Nor are the reasons unobvious that might occasion this great diversity. Domitian was one of Josephus's patrons: and, when he published these books of the Jewish war, was very young, and had hardly begun those wicked practices, which rendered him so infamous afterward. While Suetonius seems to have been too young, and too low in life, to receive any remarkable favours from him. As Domitian was certainly very lewd, and cruel, and generally hated when Suetonius wrote about him.

kingdom, and Raphanea. It hath somewhat very peculiar in it: for when it runs, its current is strong, and has plenty of water; after which its springs fail for six days together, and leave its channel dry, as any one may see. After these days, it runs on the seventh day as it did before, and as though it had undergone no change at all: it hath also been observed to keep this order perpetually, and exactly. Whence it is that they call it the *Sabbatic River: that name being taken from the sacred seventh day among the Jews.

When the people of Antioch were informed that Titus was approaching, they were so rejoiced that they could not keep within their walls; but hastened to give him the meeting: nay, they proceeded as far as thirty furlongs, and more, with that intention. These were not the men only; but a multitude of women also, with their children, did the same. And when they saw him coming up to them, they stood on both sides of the way, and stretched out their right hands, saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamations, and turned back together with him. They also, among all the acclamations they made to him, besought him all the way he went to eject the Jews out of their city. Yet did not Titus at all yield to this petition; but gave them the bare hearing of it quietly. However, the Jews were in a great deal of fear, under the uncertainty they were in, what his opinion was, and what he would do to them. For Titus did not stay at Antioch, but continued his progress immediately to Zeugma, which lies upon Euphrates; whither came to him messengers from Vologeses king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold, upon the victory he had gained over the Jews: which he accepted of, and feasted the king's messengers, and then came back to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch earnestly entreated him to come upon their theatre, where their whole multitude was assembled, and expected him, he complied with great humanity. But when they pressed him, with much earnestness, and continually begged of him that he would eject the Jews out of their city, he gave them this very pertinent answer: "How can this be done, since that country of theirs, whither the Jews must then be obliged to retire, is destroyed, and no place will receive them besides?" Hereupon the people of Antioch, when they had failed of success in this their first request, made him a second. For they desired that he would order those tables of brass to be removed, on which the Jews' privileges were engraven. However, Titus would not grant that neither: but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the same privileges in that city which they had before: and then departed for Egypt. And as he came to Jerusalem in his progress, and compared the melancholy condition he saw it then in, with the ancient glory of the city; and called to mind the greatness of its present ruins, as well as its ancient splendour, he could not but lament its destruction: so far was he from boasting, that so great and goodly a city as that was, had been by him taken by force. Nay he frequently cursed those that had been the authors of their revolt; and had brought such a punishment upon the city. Insomuch that it openly appeared that he did not desire that such a calamity, as this punishment of theirs amounted to, should be a demonstration of his courage. Yet was there no small quantity of the riches that had been in that city still found among its ruins; a great deal of which the Romans dug up: but the greatest part was discovered by those who were captives, and so they carried it away. I mean the gold, and the silver, and the rest of that most precious furniture which the Jews had, and which the owners had treasured up under ground,† against the uncertain fortunes of war.

So Titus took the journey he intended to Egypt; and passed over the desert very suddenly, and came to Alexandria, and took up a resolution to go to Rome by sea. And as he was accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them again to the places whence they had before come. The fifth he sent to Mysia, and the fifteenth to Pannonia. As for the leaders of the captives, Simon and John, with the other seven hundred men, whom he had selected out of the rest, as being eminently tall, and handsome of body, he gave order that they should soon be carried to Italy; as resolving to produce them in his triumph. So when he had had a prosperous voyage, to his mind, the city of Rome behaved itself in his reception, and their meeting him at a distance, as it did in the case of his father. But what made the most splendid appearance in Titus's opinion was, when his father met him, and received him. But still the multitude of the citizens conceived the greatest joy, when they saw them all ‡three together: as they did at this time. Nor were many days past, when they determined to have but one triumph that should be common to §both of them; on account of the glorious exploits they had performed; although the senate had decreed each of them a separate triumph by himself. So when notice had been previously given of the day appointed for this pompous solemnity on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city; but every body went out so far as to gain only a station where they might stand; and left only such a passage as was necessary for those that were to be seen to go along it.

Now all the soldiery marched out by companies, and in their several ranks, under their respective commanders, in the night time: and were about the gates, not of the upper palaces, but those near the temple of Isis. For there it was that the emperors had rested the preceding night. And as soon as it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out, crowned with laurel, and clothed in those ancient purple habits

* Since in these latter ages this Sabbatic river, once so famous, which, by Josephus's account here, ran every seventh day, and rested six: but according to Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxi. 11, ran perpetually on six days, and rested every seventh: (though it no way appears by either of their accounts that the seventh day of this river was the Jewish seventh day, or sabbath; is quite vanished, I shall add no more about it; only see Dr. Hudson's note. In Varenius's Geography, I. 17, the reader will find several instances of such periodical fountains and rivers; though none of their periods were that of a just week; as of old this appears to have been.

† The Eastern people appear to have considered this as the most secure method of preserving their property. It was accordingly very generally practised; and hence is an opinion now generally prevalent in those countries that great treasures lie hid in the earth. This is the reason why it is so dangerous for travellers to dig, or open the ground, because it is supposed they are influenced by covetousness, and are searching for wealth. B.

‡ Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian.

§ Vespasian and Titus.

which were proper to their family: and then went as far as Octavian's walks. For there it was that the senate, the principal rulers, and those that had been recorded as of the equestrian order, waited for them. Now a tribunal had been erected before the cloisters, and ivory chairs had been set upon it. And when they came and sat down upon them, the soldiery made an acclamation of joy, and all gave them attestations of their valour. While they were themselves without their arms, and only in their silk garments, and crowned with laurel. Vespasian accepted of these shouts of theirs. But while they were still disposed to go on in such acclamations, he gave them a signal of silence: and when every body held their peace, he stood up; and covering the greatest part of his head with his cloak, he put up the accustomed solemn prayers. The like prayers did Titus put up also. After which prayers Vespasian made a short speech to the people; and then sent away the soldiers to a dinner prepared for them by the emperors. Then did he retire to that gate which was called the gate of the pomp: because pompous shows always go through it. There it was that they took some refreshment; and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods that were placed at the gate, they sent the triumph forward, and marched through the theatres; that they might be the more easily seen by the multitudes.

Now it is impossible to describe the multitude of the shows, as they deserve; and the magnificence of them: such indeed as a man could not easily think of, as performed either by the labour of workmen, the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature. For almost all such curiosities as the most happy men ever get by degrees were here heaped on one another; and those both admirable, and costly in their nature: and as all brought together on that day, demonstrated the vastness of the dominions of the Romans. For here was to be seen a prodigious quantity of silver, gold and ivory, contrived into all sorts of things: and did not appear as carried along in pompous show only, but, as a man may say, running along like a river. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple hangings, and so carried along: and others accurately represented what was embroidered by the art of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones that were transparent, some set in crowns of gold, and some in other ouches, as the workmen pleased. And of these such a vast number were brought, that we could not but thence learn how vainly we imagined any of them to be rarities. The images of the gods were also carried, being as well wonderful for their largeness, as made very artificially, and with great skill of the workmen. Nor were any of these images of any other than very costly materials. And many species of animals were brought, every one in their own natural ornaments. The men also who brought every one of these shows were great multitudes, and adorned with purple garments, interwoven with gold. Those that were chosen for carrying these pompous shows having also about them such magnificent ornaments, as were both extraordinary and surprising. Besides these, one might see that even the great number of the captives was not unadorned: while the variety that was in their garments, and their fine texture, concealed from the sight the deformity of their bodies. But what afforded the greatest surprise of all was the structure of the pageants that were borne along. For indeed he that met them could not but be afraid that the bearers would not be able firmly to support them; such was their magnitude. For many of them were so made, that they were on three, or even four stories, one above another. The magnificence also of their structure excited both pleasure and surprise. For upon many of them were laid carpets of gold. There were also wrought gold, and ivory, fastened about them all. And many resemblances of the war, and those in several ways, and variety of contrivances, affording a most lively portraiture of it. For there was to be seen a happy country laid waste, and entire squadrons of enemies slain; while some of them ran away, and some were carried into captivity: with walls of great altitude and magnitude overthrown, and ruined by machines; with the strongest fortifications taken; and the walls of most populous cities upon the tops of hills seized on; and an army pouring itself within the walls as also every place full of slaughter; and supplications of the enemies, when they were no longer able to lift up their hands in way of opposition. Fire also sent upon temples was here represented: and houses overthrown, and falling upon their owners: rivers also, after they came out of a large and melancholy desert, ran down, not into a land cultivated, nor as drink for men, or for cattle, but through a land still on fire upon every side. For the Jews related that they had undergone such a thing during this war. Now the workmanship of these representations was so magnificent and lively, in the construction of the things, that it exhibited what had been done to such as did not see it, as if they had been there really present. On the top of every one of these pageants was placed the commander of the city that was taken, and the manner wherein he was taken. Moreover there followed those pageants a great number of ships. And for the other spoils they were carried in great plenty. But those that were taken in the temple of Jerusalem, made the greatest figure of them all. That is the golden table, of the weight of many talents. The candlestick also, that was made of gold: though its construction were now changed from that which we made use of. For its middle shaft was fixed upon a basis: and the small branches were produced out of it to a great length: having the likeness of a trident in their position, and had every one a socket made of brass for a lamp at the tops of them. These lamps were in number seven; and represented the dignity of the number seven among the Jews. And the last of all the spoils was carried the law of the Jews. After these spoils passed by a great many men, carrying the images of victory: whose structure was entirely of ivory, or of gold. After which Vespasian marched in the first place, and Titus followed him. Domitian also rode along with them; and made a magnificent appearance, and rode on a horse that was worthy of admiration.

Now the last part of this pompous show was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; whither, when they were come, they stood still. For it was the Romans' ancient custom to stay till somebody brought the news, that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon, the son of Gioras: who had then been led in this triumph among the captives. A rope had also been put upon his head, and he had been drawn to a proper place in the forum; and he had

been tormented by those that drew him along. And the law of the Romans required, that malefactors condemned to die should be slain there. Accordingly when it was related that there was an end of him, and all the people had set up a joyful shout, they began to offer those sacrifices which they had consecrated, in the prayers used in such solemnities: and when they had finished, they went away to the palace. And as for some of the spectators, the emperors entertained them at their own feast: and for all the rest there were noble preparations made for their feasting at home. For this was a festival day to the city of Rome: as celebrated for the victory obtained by their army over their enemies; for the end that was now put to their civil miseries; and for the commencement of their hopes of future prosperity and happiness.

After these triumphs were over, and the affairs of the Romans were settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace. Which was finished in so short a time, and so glorious a manner, as was beyond all human expectation. For, having now by Providence a vast quantity of wealth; besides what he had formerly gained in his other exploits; he had this temple adorned with pictures and statues. For in this temple were collected and deposited all such rarities as men formerly used to wander all over the habitable world to see, when they had a desire to see one of them after another. He also laid up therein those golden vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glory. But still he gave order that they should lay up their law, and the purple veils of the holy place, in the royal palace; and keep them there.

CHAP. VI.

LUCILIUS BASSUS BEING SENT INTO JUDEA, REDUCES THE CITADEL OF MACHERUS, AND OTHER PLACES.

NOW *Lucilius Bassus was sent as legate into Judea: and there he received the army from Cerealis Vitellianus; and took that citadel which was in Herodium, together with the garrison that was in it. After this he got together all the soldiery that was there, (which was a large body, but dispersed into several parties;) with the tenth legion, and resolved to make war upon Macherus. For it was highly necessary that this citadel should be demolished; lest it might be a means of drawing many into a rebellion, by reason of its strength. For the nature of the place was very capable of affording the surest hopes of safety to those that possessed it; as well as delay and fear to those that should attack it. For what was walled in was itself a very rocky hill, elevated to a great height: which circumstance alone made it very hard to be subdued. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily ascended. For it is, as it were, ditched about with such valleys on all sides, and to such a depth, that the eye cannot reach their bottoms; and such as are not easily to be passed over; and even such as it is impossible to fill up with earth. For that valley which cuts it on the west, extends to sixty furlongs, and did not end till it came to the lake Asphaltites. On the same side it was also, that Macherus had the tallest top of its hill elevated above the rest. But then for the valleys that lay on the north and south sides, although they be not so large as that already described, yet is it in like manner an impracticable thing to think of getting over them. And for the valley that lies on the east, its depth is not less than a hundred cubits. It extends as far as a mountain that lies over against Macherus, with which it is bounded.

Now when Alexander Janneus, the king of the Jews, observed the nature of this place, he was the first who built a citadel here: which afterward was demolished by †Gabinius, when he made war against Aristobulus. But when Herod came to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being built up in the firmest manner; and this especially, because it lay so near to Arabia. For it is seated in a convenient place on that account; and hath a prospect toward that country. He therefore surrounded a large space of ground with walls, and towers; and built a city there. Out of which city there was a way that led up to the citadel itself, on the top of the mountain. Nay, more than this, he built a wall round that top of the hill; and erected towers at the corners, of a hundred and sixty cubits high. In the middle of which place he built a palace, after a magnificent manner: wherein were large and beautiful edifices. He also made a great many reservoirs, for the reception of water; that there might be plenty of it ready for all uses; and those in the properest places. Thus did he, as it were, contend with the nature of the place, that he might exceed its natural strength and security by those fortifications which were made by the hands of men. Moreover, he put a large quantity of darts, and other machines of war, into it: and contrived to get every thing thither that might any way contribute to the security of its inhabitants, under the longest siege possible.

Now within this palace there grew a sort of ‡rue, that deserves our notice on account of its largeness. For it was no way inferior to any fig-tree, either in height or thickness. And the report is, that it had lasted ever since the times of Herod: and would probably have lasted much longer had it not been cut down by those Jews, who took possession of the place afterward. But still in that valley, which encompasses the city on the north side, there is a certain place called Baaras; which produces a §root of the same name with itself. Its colour is like that of flame; and, towards the evening, it sends out a certain ray like lightning. It is not easily taken by such as would do it, but recedes from their hands. Nay, it is certain death to those that touch it, unless any one take and hang the root itself down from his hand, and so carry it away. The usual mode of taking it is

* This Lucilius Bassus is mentioned by Tacitus more than once.

† See Book I. chap. 8.

‡ Spanheim observes here, that in Græcia Major and Sicily they had rue prodigiously great, and durable; like this rue at Macherus.

§ This strange account of the place and root Baaras, seems to have been taken from the magicians; and the root to have been made use of in the days of Josephus, in that superstitious way of casting out demons, supposed, by him, to have been derived from king Solomon. Of which we have already seen he had a great opinion, Antiq. VIII 2. We also may hence learn the true notion Josephus had of demons and demoniacs; exactly like that of the Jews and Christians in the New Testament, and the first four centuries. See Antiquities, VI. 8; XI. 2.

this. They dig a trench quite round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small. They then tie a dog to it: and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up; but the dog dies immediately: as if it were instead of the man that would take the plant away. Nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands. Yet after all this pains in getting, it is only valuable on account of one virtue it hath, that, if it be only brought to the sick persons, it quickly drives away those called demons, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked, that enter into men that are alive, and kill them; unless they can obtain some help against them. Here are also fountains of hot water, that flow out of this place, which have a very different taste one from the other: for some of them are bitter, and others sweet. Here are also many eruptions of cold waters: and this not only in the places that lie lower, and have their fountains near one another; but, what is still more wonderful, here is to be seen a certain cave, hard by, whose cavity is not deep; but it is covered over by a rock that is prominent: above this rock there stand up two hills or breasts, as it were, but a little distant one from another: the one of which sends out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot. These waters, when they ere mingled together, compose a most pleasant bath; they are medicinal indeed for other maladies; but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place has in it also mines of sulphur, and alum.

Now when Bassus had taken a full view of this place, he resolved to besiege it, by filling up the valley that lay on the east side: so he fell to work, and took great pains to raise his banks as soon as possible; and by that means to render the siege easy. As for the Jews that were caught in the place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them; and they forced those strangers, as an otherwise useless multitude, to stay in the lower part of the city, and undergo the principal dangers. While they themselves seized on the upper citadel, and held it; and this both on account of its strength, and to provide for their own safety. They also supposed they might obtain their pardon, in case they should at last surrender the citadel. However, they were willing to make trial in the first place, whether the hopes they had of avoiding a siege would come to any thing: with which intention they made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them. In these conflicts there were many of them slain; as they therein slew many of the Romans: but still it was the opportunities that presented themselves, which chiefly gained both sides their victories. These were gained by the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans as they were off their guard; but by the Romans when upon the others' sallies against their banks, they foresaw their coming, and were upon their guard when they received them. But the conclusion of this siege did not depend upon these bickerings. But a certain surprising accident, relating to what was done in this siege, forced the Jews to surrender the citadel. There was a certain young man among the besieged, of great boldness, and very active of his hand. His name was Eleazar. He greatly signalized himself in those sallies, and encouraged the Jews to go out in great numbers, in order to hinder the raising of the banks: and did the Romans a vast deal of mischief, when they came to fighting. He so managed matters, that those who sallied out, made their attacks easily, and returned back without danger; and this by still bringing up the rear himself. Now it happened that on a certain time, when the fight was over, and both sides were parted, and retired home, he, in way of contempt of the enemy, and thinking that none of them would begin the fight again at that time, staid without the gates, and talked with those that were upon the wall. And his mind was wholly intent upon what they said. Now a certain person, belonging to the Roman camp, whose name was Rufus, by birth an Egyptian, ran upon him unexpectedly and carried him off, with his armour, while those that saw it from the wall were under such an amazement, that Rufus prevented their assistance, and carried Eleazar to the Roman camp. So the general of the Romans ordered, that he should be taken up naked, set before the city to be seen, and severely whipped before their eyes. Upon this sad accident that befell the young man, the Jews were terribly confounded; and the city, with one voice, sorely lamented him: and the mourning proved greater than could well be supposed upon the calamity of a single person. When Bassus perceived that, he began to think of using a stratagem against the enemy: and was desirous to aggravate their grief, in order to prevail with them to surrender the city, for the preservation of that man. Accordingly he commanded them to set up a cross, as if he were going to hang Eleazar upon it immediately. The sight of this occasioned a sore grief among those that were in the citadel: and they groaned vehemently; and cried out, that they could not bear to see him thus destroyed. Whereupon Eleazar besought them not to disregard him, for he was going to suffer a most miserable death; and exhorted them to save themselves, by yielding to the Roman power, and good fortune: since all other people were now conquered by them. These men were greatly moved with what he said: there being also many within the city that interceded for him, because he was of an eminent and very numerous family. So they yielded to their passion of commiseration, contrary to their usual custom. Accordingly they sent out certain messengers, and treated with the Romans, in order to a surrender of the citadel, and desired that they might be permitted to go away, and take Eleazar along with them. Then did the Romans, and their general, accept of these terms. While that multitude of strangers that were in the lower part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, resolved to flee away privately in the night-time. But as soon as they had opened their gates, those that had come to terms with Bassus told him of it: whether it were that they envied the others' deliverance; or whether it were done out of fear, lest an occasion should be taken against them upon their escape, is uncertain. The most courageous, therefore, of those men that went out prevented the enemy, and got away. But for those men that were caught within, they were slain, to the number of one thousand seven hundred, as were the women and the children made slaves. But as Bassus thought he must perform the covenant he had made with those that had surrendered the citadel, he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

When Bassus had settled these affairs, he marched hastily to the forest of Jarden, as it is called. For he had heard that a great many of those that had fled from Jerusalem and Macherus formerly were there gotten together. When he was therefore come to the place, and understood that the former news was no mistake; he surrounded the whole place with his cavalry: that such of the Jews as had boldness enough to try to break through, might have no way possible for escaping, by reason of the situation of these horsemen. And for the footmen, he ordered them to cut down the trees that were in the wood whither they were fled. So the Jews were under a necessity of performing some glorious exploit, and of greatly exposing themselves in a battle; since they might perhaps thereby escape. So they made a general attack: and with a great shout fell upon those that surrounded them. These, however, received them with great courage; and while the one side fought desperately, and the others would not yield, the fight was prolonged on that account. But the event of the battle did not answer the expectation of the assailants. For it happened, that no more than twelve fell on the Roman side, with a few that were wounded. But not one of the Jews escaped out of this battle, but they were all killed; being in the whole not fewer in number than three thousand: together with Judas, the son of Jairus, their general; who had been a captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem; and, by going down into a certain vault under ground, had privately made his escape.

About the same time Cæsar sent a letter to Bassus, and to Liberius Maximus, who was the procurator of Judea, and gave order that all Judea should be *exposed to sale. For he did not found any city there, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation. It is called †Emmaus, and is distant from Jernsalem ‡threescore furlongs: he also laid a tribute upon the Jews wheresoever they were, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmæ every year into the capitol, as they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

CHAP. VII.

CONCERNING THE CALAMITY THAT BEFELL ANTIOCHUS, KING OF COMMAGENE.—ALSO CONCERNING THE ALANS; AND THE INJURY THEY DID TO THE MEDES AND ARMENIANS.

NOW, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass, that Antiochus, king of Commagene, with all his family, fell into very great calamities, on the following occasion. Cesennius Petus, who was president of Syria at this time, either out of regard to truth, or out of hatred to Antiochus; (for which was the real motive, was never thoroughly discovered;) sent an epistle to Cæsar, and therein told him, that Antiochus, with his son Epiphanes, had resolved to rebel against the Romans; and had made a league with the king of Parthia to that purpose. That it was therefore fit to prevent them; lest they should begin such a war as might cause a general disturbance in the Roman empire. Now Cæsar was disposed to take some care about the matter, since this discovery was made. For the neighbourhood of the kingdoms made this affair worthy of a greater regard. For §Samosata, the capital of Commagene, lies upon Euphrates: and upon any such design could afford an easy passage over to the Parthians: and could also afford them a secure reception. Petus was accordingly believed; and had authority given him of doing what he should think proper in the case. So he set about it without delay: and fell upon Commagene, before Antiochus and his people had the least expectation of his coming. He had with him the tenth legion; as also some cohorts, and troops of horsemen. These kings also came to his assistance: Aristobulus, king of the country called Chalcidene; and Sohemus, who was called king of Emesa. Nor was there any opposition made to his forces when they entered the kingdom. For no one of that country would so much as lift up his hand against them. When Antiochus heard this unexpected news, he could not think of making war with the Romans; but determined to leave his kingdom in the state wherein it now was, and to retire privately, with his wife and children: as thinking thereby to demonstrate himself to the Romans to be innocent as to the accusation laid against him. So he went away from that city, as far as a hundred and twenty furlongs, into a plain; and there pitched his tents.

Petus then sent some of his men to seize upon Samosata; and by their means took possession of that city: while he went himself to attack Antiochus, with the rest of his army. However, the king was not prevailed upon by the distress he was in to do any thing in the way of war against the Romans: but bemoaned his own hard fate: and endured with patience what he was not able to prevent. But his sons, who were young, and unexperienced in war, but of strong bodies, were not easily induced to bear this calamity without fighting. Epiphanes, therefore, and Callinicus, betook themselves to military force. And as the battle was an obstinate one, and lasted all the day, they shewed their own valour in a remarkable manner: and nothing but the approach of night put a period thereto; and that without any diminution of their forces. Yet would not Antiochus,

* It is very remarkable that Titus did not people this now desolate country of Judea, but ordered it to be all sold. Nor indeed is it properly peopled at this day: but lies ready for its old inhabitants, the Jews, at their future restoration.

† That the city Emmaus, or Ammaus, in Josephus and others, which was the place of the government of Julias Africanus, in the beginning of the third century, and which he then procured to be rebuilt; and after which rebuilding it was called Nicopolis, is entirely different from that Emmaus which is mentioned by St. Luke, xxiv. 17. See Reland's Palestina, Lib. II. page 429, and under the name Ammaus also. Bnt he justly thinks that that in St. Luke may well be the same with this Ammaus before us. Especially since the Greek copies here usually make it 60 furlongs distant from Jerusalem; as does St. Luke: though the Latin copies say 30. The place also allotted for these 800 soldiers, as for a Roman garrison, in this place, would most naturally be not so remote from Jerusalem, as was the other Emmaus or Nicopolis.

‡ Or thirty.

§ There are coins of this city Samosata, the capital of Commagene, still in being; as Spanheim informs us.

upon this conclusion of the fight continue there by any means; but took his wife, and his daughters, and fled away with them to Cilicia, and by so doing quite discouraged the minds of his own soldiers. Accordingly they revolted, and went over to the Romans, out of the despair they were in of his keeping the kingdom: and his case was looked upon by all, as quite desperate. It was therefore necessary that Epiphanes and his soldiers should get clear of their enemies, before they became entirely destitute of any confederates. Nor were there any more than ten horsemen with him who passed with him over Euphrates. Whence they went undisturbed to Vologeses, the king of Parthia; where they were not disregarded as fugitives; but had the same respect paid them, as if they had retained their ancient prosperity.

Now when Antiochus was come to Tarsus, in Cilicia, Petus ordered a centurion to go to him, and send him in bonds to Rome. However, Vespasian could not endure to have a king brought to him in that manner: but thought it fit rather to have a regard to the ancient friendship that had been between them, than to preserve an inexorable anger upon pretence of this war. Accordingly he gave orders that they should take off his bonds, while he was still upon the road; and that he should not come to Rome, but should now go and live at Lacedæmon. He also gave him large revenues; that he might live not only in plenty, but like a king also. When Epiphanes, who before was in great fear for his father, was informed of this, their minds were freed from that great, and almost incurable concern they had been under. He also hoped that Cæsar would be reconciled to them, upon the intercession of Vologeses. For although he lived in plenty, he knew not how to bear living out of the Roman empire.* So Cæsar gave him leave, after an obliging manner; and he came to Rome; and as his father came quickly to him from Lacedæmon, he had all sorts of respects paid him there, and there he remained.

Now there was a nation of the Alans, which were Scythians, and resided near the lake Meotis. This nation, about this time, laid a design of falling upon Media, and the parts beyond it; in order to plunder them. With which intention they treated with the king of Hyrcania. For he was master of that passage, which Alexander the Great shut up with iron gates. This king gave them leave to come through them. So they came in great multitudes, and fell upon the Medes unexpectedly, and plundered their country, which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle. While nobody durst make any resistance against them. For Pacorus, the king of the country, had fled away for fear, into places where they could not easily come at him; and had yielded up every thing he had to them; and had only saved his wife, and his concubines, from them, and that with great difficulty also, after they had been made captives, by giving them a hundred talents for their ransom. These Alans, therefore, plundered the country, without opposition, and with great ease: and proceeded as far as Armenia: laying all waste before them. Now Tiridates was king of that country; who met them, and fought them; but had like to have been taken alive in the battle. For a certain man threw a net over him, from a great distance; and had soon drawn him to him, unless he had immediately cut the cord with his sword, and ran away, and prevented it. So the Alans, being still more provoked by this fight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of the other prey they had gotten out of both kingdoms, along with them, and then retired to their own country.

* Local attachments operate powerfully. The great Creator has wisely implanted them in the human breast, to induce men to attach themselves to places which in general appear to have but little that is desirable. B.

CHAP. VIII.

CONCERNING MASADA, AND THOSE SICARII WHO KEPT IT.—THE SIEGE OF THAT CITADEL BY SILVA; AND ELEAZAR'S SPEECHES TO THE BESIEGED.

WHEN Bassus was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him,† as procurator there. Who, when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but one strong hold that was still in rebellion, he got all his army together that lay in different places, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called Masada. It was one Eleazar, a potent man, and the commander of these Sicarii, that had seized upon it. He was a descendant of that Judas, who had persuaded abundance of the Jews, as we have ‡formerly related, not to submit to the taxation, when Cyrenius was sent into Judea to make one. For then it was that the Sicarii got together against those that were willing to submit to the Romans; and treated them, in all respects, as if they had been their enemies: both by plundering them of what they had; by driving away their cattle; and by setting fire to their houses. For they said, that they differed not at all from foreigners, by betraying, in so cowardly a manner, that freedom which Jews thought worthy to be contended for to the utmost: and by owning that they preferred slavery under the Romans, before such a contention. Now this was, in reality, no better than a pretence, and a cloak for the barbarity which was made use of by them, and to colour over their own avarice: which they afterward made evident by their actions. For those that were partners with them in their rebellion, joined also in the war against the Romans: and went farther lengths with them in their impudent undertakings against them. And when they were again convicted of dissembling in their pretences, they still more abused those that justly reproached them for their wickedness. And indeed that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices: insomuch that no kinds of evil deeds were then left undone. Nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing that was new; so deeply were they all infected, and strove with one another in their single capacity, and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbours; the men of power oppress-

† About A. D. 73.

‡ See Book II. chap. 8. Antiq. XVIII. 1.

ing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly labouring to destroy the men of power. The one part were desirous of tyrannizing over others; and the rest of offering violence to others, and of plundering such as were richer than themselves. They were the Sicarii who first began these transgressions; and first became barbarous towards those allied to them; and left no words of reproach unsaid, and no works of perdition untried; in order to destroy those whom their contrivances affected. Yet did John* demonstrate by his actions, that these Sicarii were more moderate than he was himself. For he not only slew all such as gave him good counsel to do what was right; but treated them worst of all; as the most bitter enemies that he had among all the citizens. Nay, he filled his entire country with ten thousand instances of wickedness: such as a man, who was already hardened sufficiently in his impiety towards God, would naturally do. For the food was unlawful that was set upon his table; and he rejected those purifications that the law of his country had ordained. So that it was no longer a wonder if he, who was so mad in his impiety towards God, did not observe any rules of gentleness and common affection towards men. Again, therefore, what mischief was there which Simon, the son of Gioras, did not do? Or what kind of abuses did he abstain from as to those very free men who had set him up for a tyrant? What friendship or kindred were there that did not make him more bold in his daily murders? For they looked upon the doing of mischief to strangers only, as a work beneath their courage: but thought that their barbarity towards their nearest relations would be a glorious demonstration thereof. The Idumeans also strove with these men, which should be guilty of the greatest madness. For they all, vile wretches as they were, cut the throats of the high-priests: that so no part of a religious regard to God might be preserved. They thence proceeded to destroy utterly the least remains of a political government; and introduced the most complete scene of iniquity, in all instances that were practicable. Under which scene that sort of people that were called zealots grew up: and who indeed corresponded to their name. For they imitated every wicked work. Nor, if their memory suggested any evil thing that had formerly been done, did they avoid zealously to pursue the same. And although they gave themselves that name from their zeal for what was good, yet did it agree to them only by way of irony: on account of those they had unjustly treated by their wild and brutish disposition; or as thinking the greatest mischiefs to be the greatest good. Accordingly they all met with such ends as God deservedly brought upon them, in way of punishment. For all such miseries have been sent upon them as man's nature is capable of undergoing, till the utmost period of their lives; and till death came upon them in various ways of torment. Yet might one say justly, that they suffered less than they had done: because it was impossible they could be punished according to their deserving. But to make a lamentation according to the deserts of those who fell under these men's barbarity, this is not a proper place for it. I therefore return to the remaining part of the present narration.

* John of Gischala, Book IV. chap. 3.

It was now that the Roman general came, and led his army against Eleazar, and those Sicarii who held the fortress †Masada together with him. And for the whole country adjoining he presently gained it, and put garrisons into the most proper places. He also built a wall quite round the fortress; that none of the besieged might easily escape: and set his men to guard the several parts of it. He also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place as he had chosen for the siege; and at which place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest approach to the neighbouring mountain: which yet was a place of difficulty for getting plenty of provisions. For it was not only food that was to be brought from a great distance to the army, and this with a great deal of pain to those Jews who were appointed for that purpose; but water was also to be brought to the camp: because the place afforded no fountain that was near it. When, therefore, Silva had ordered these affairs, he began besieging the place. Which siege was likely to stand in need of a great deal of skill and pains, by reason of the strength of the fortress: the nature of which I will now describe.

There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high. It was encompassed with valleys of such vast depth downward, that the eye could not reach their bottoms. They were abrupt; and such as no animal could walk upon; excepting at two places of the rock where it subsides, in order to afford a passage for ascent; though not without difficulty. Now of the ways that led to it, one is that from the lake Asphaltites, towards sun-rising; and another on the west, where the ascent is easier. The one of these ways is called the serpent; as resembling that animal in its narrowness, and its perpetual windings. For it is broken off at the prominent precipices of the rock, and returns frequently into itself, and lengthening again by little and little, proceeds forward. And he that would walk along it must first go on one leg, and then on the other. There is also nothing but destruction in case the feet slip. For on each side there is a vastly deep chasm, and precipice; sufficient to quell the courage of every body, by the terror it infuses into the mind. When, therefore, a man hath gone along this way for thirty furlongs, the rest is the top of the hill; not ending at a small point; but a plain upon the highest part of the mountain. Upon this top of the hill Jonathan the high-priest first of all built a fortress, and called it Masada. After which the rebuilding of this place employed the care of king Herod to a great degree. He also built a wall round about the entire top of the hill, seven furlongs long. It was composed of white stone. Its height was twelve, and its breadth eight, cubits: there were also erected upon that wall thirty-eight towers, each of them fifty cubits high. Out of which you might pass into lesser edifices, which were built on the inside, round the entire wall. For the king reserved the top of the hill, which was of a rich soil, and better mould than any valley, for agriculture: that such as committed themselves to this fortress for their preservation might not even there be quite destitute of food, in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad. Moreover, he built a palace therein, at the western

† See Book I. chap. 12. Antiq. XIV. 11.

ascent. It was within, and beneath, the walls of the citadel; but inclined to its north side. Now the wall of this palace was very high, and strong; and had at its four corners towers sixty cubits high. The furniture also of the edifices, and of the cloisters, and of the baths, was of great variety, and very costly: and these buildings were supported by pillars of single stones on every side. The walls also, and the floors of the edifices were paved with stones of several colours. He also had cut many and great pits, as reservoirs for water, out of the rocks, at every one of the places that were inhabited, both above, and round about the palace, and before the wall: and by this contrivance he endeavoured to have water for several uses, as if there had been fountains there. Here was also a road dug from the palace, and leading to the very top of the mountain: which yet could not be seen by such as were without the walls. Nor, indeed, could enemies easily make use of the plain roads. For the road on the east side, as we have already taken notice, could not be walked upon, by reason of its nature. And for the western road he built a large tower at its narrowest place; at no less a distance from the top of the hill than a thousand cubits. Which tower could not possibly be passed by; nor could it be easily taken. Nor, indeed, could those that walked along it without any fear, (such was its contrivance,) easily get to the end of it. And after such a manner was this citadel fortified, both by nature, and by the hands of men: in order to frustrate the attacks of enemies.

As for the furniture that was within this fortress, it was still more wonderful on account of its splendour, and long continuance. For here was laid up corn in large quantities, and such as would subsist men for a long time. Here were also wine and oil in abundance; with all kinds of pulse and dates heaped up together. All which Eleazar found there, when he and his Sicarii got possession of the fortress by treachery. These fruits were also fresh and ripe; and no way inferior to such fruits newly laid in: although they were little short of *a hundred years from the laying in of these provisions, by Herod, till the place was taken by the Romans. Nay, indeed, when the Romans got possession of those fruits that were left, they found them not corrupted all that while. Nor should we be mistaken if we supposed, that the air was here the cause of their enduring so long. This fortress being so high, and so free from the mixture of all terrene and muddy particles of matter. There was also found here a large quantity of all sorts of weapons of war; which had been treasured up by that king; and were sufficient for ten thousand men. There were cast iron, and brass, and tin. Which shew that he had taken much pains to have all things here ready for the greatest occasions. For it is reported that Herod thus prepared this fortress on his own account, as a refuge against two kinds of danger. The one for fear of the multitude of the Jews; lest they should depose him, and restore their former kings to the government. The other danger was greater and more terrible; which arose from †Cleopatra, queen of Egypt: who did not conceal her intentions; but spake often to Antony, and desired him to cut off Herod; and entreated him to bestow the kingdom of Judea upon her. And certainly it is a great wonder that Antony did never comply with her commands in this point: as he was so miserably enslaved by his passion for her. Nor should any one have been surprised if she had been gratified in such her request. So the fear of these dangers made Herod rebuild Masada; and thereby leave it for the finishing stroke of the Romans, in this Jewish war.

Since, therefore, the Roman commander, Silva, had now built a wall on the outside, round about this whole place, as we have said already; and had thereby made a most accurate provision to prevent any one of the besieged running away; he undertook the siege itself; though he found but one single place that would admit of the banks he was to raise. For behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the top of the hill, from the west, there was a certain eminency of the rock; very broad, and very prominent: but three hundred cubits beneath the highest part of Masada. It was called the White Promontory. Accordingly he got upon that part of the rock, and ordered the army to bring earth. And when they fell to that work with alacrity, and abundance of them together, the bank was raised, and became solid, for two hundred cubits in height. Yet was not this bank thought sufficiently high for the use of the engines that were to be set upon it; but still another elevated work, of great stones, compacted together was raised upon that bank. This was fifty cubits both in breadth and height. The other machines that were now got ready, were like to those that had been first devised by Vespasian, and afterward by Titus, for sieges. There was also a tower made, of the height of sixty cubits; and all over plated with iron. Out of which the Romans threw darts, and stones from the engines; and soon made those that fought from the walls of the place to retire; and would not let them lift up their heads above the works. At the same time Silva ordered that great battering ram which he had made, to be brought thither, and to be set against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it. By this means he, with some difficulty, brake down a part of the wall, and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii presently built another wall within that, which should not be liable to the same misfortune from the machines with the other. It was made soft and yielding: and so was capable of avoiding the terrible blows that affected the other. It was framed after the following manner: they laid together great beams of wood, lengthways: one close to the end of another: and the same way in which they were cut. There were two of these rows parallel to one another: and laid at such a distance from each other, as the breadth of the wall required; and earth was put into the space between those rows. Now that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height; they farther laid other beams over across them; and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice. And when the machines were applied, the blows were weakened by its yielding: and as the

* Pliny, and others, confirm this strange paradox; that some provisions, laid up against sieges, will continue good a hundred years: as Spanheim notes upon this place.

† See Book I. chap. 19.

materials, by such concussion, were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to destroy this wall by setting fire to it. So he gave order that the soldiers should throw a great number of burning torches upon it. Accordingly, as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire: and its hollowness made the fire spread to a mighty flame. Now at the very beginning of this fire, a north wind that then blew proved terrible to the Romans. For by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them: and they were almost in despair of success: as fearing their machines would be burnt. But after this, the wind changed suddenly into the south; as if it were done by divine providence: and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried the flame against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy; and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day. On which occasion they set their watch more carefully that night lest any of the Jews should run away from them, without being discovered.

Eleazar, however, neither thought of flying away, nor would he permit any one else to do so. But when he saw their wall burned down by the fire, and could devise no other way of escaping, or room for their farther courage: and setting before their eyes what the Romans would do to them, and their children, and their wives, if they got them into their power: he consulted about having them all slain. Now, as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their present circumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together, and encouraged them to take that course, by a speech which he made to the following effect: "Since* we long ago, my generous friends, resolved never to be servants to the Romans, nor to any other than to God himself, who alone is the true and just Lord of mankind; the time is now come that obliges us to put that resolution in practice. And let us not at this time bring a reproach upon ourselves for self-contradiction; while we formerly would not undergo slavery, though it were then without danger; but must now, together with slavery, submit to such punishments also as are intolerable. I mean this upon the supposition that the Romans once reduce us under their power while we are alive. We were the very first that revolted from them; and we are the last that fight against them. And I cannot but esteem it as a favour, that God hath granted us, that it is still in our power to die bravely, and in a state of freedom; which hath not been the case of others, who were conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we shall be taken within a day's time: but it is still an eligible thing to die, after a glorious manner, together with our dearest friends. This is what our enemies themselves cannot by any means hinder: although they be very desirous to take us alive. Nor can we propose to ourselves any more to fight them, and beat them. It had been proper, indeed, for us to have conjectured the purpose of God much sooner; and at the very first; when we were so desirous of defending our liberty; and when we received such sore treatment from one another, and worse treatment from our enemies: and to have been sensible that the same God, who had of old took the Jewish nation into his favour, had now condemned them to destruction. For had he either continued favourable, or been but in a lesser degree displeased with us, he had not overlooked the destruction of so many men, or delivered his most holy city to be burnt, and demolished by our enemies. To be sure we weakly hoped to have preserved ourselves, and ourselves alone, still in a state of freedom; as if we had been guilty of no sins against God; nor been partners with those of others. We also taught other men to preserve their liberty. Wherefore, consider how God hath convinced us that our hopes were in vain, by bringing such distress upon us, in the desperate state we are now in, and which is beyond all our expectations. For the nature of this fortress, which was in itself unconquerable, hath not proved a means of our deliverance. And even while we have still great abundance of food, and a great quantity of arms, and other necessaries more than we want, we are openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance. For that fire which was driven upon our enemies, did not, of its own accord, turn back upon the wall which he had built. This was the effect of God's anger against us, for our manifold sins which we have been guilty of in a most insolent and extravagant manner, with regard to our own countrymen. Let us not, therefore, receive our punishment from the Romans, but from God himself, as executed by our own hands. For this will be more moderate than the other. Let our wives die before they are abused; and our children before they have tasted of slavery. And after we have slain them, let us bestow that glorious benefit upon one another mutually; and preserve ourselves in freedom as an excellent funeral monument for us. But first let us destroy our money, and the fortress by fire. For I am well assured that this will be a grief to the Romans; that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodies, and shall also fail of our wealth. And let us spare nothing but our provisions. For they will be a testimonial, when we are dead, that we were not subdued for want of necessaries; but that, according to our original resolution, we have preferred death before slavery."

This was Eleazar's speech to them. Yet did not the opinions of all the auditors acquiesce therein: but although some of them were very zealous to put his advice in practice, and were in a manner filled with pleasure at it, and thought death to be a good thing; yet had those that were most effeminate a commiseration for their wives and families. And when these men were especially moved by the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another; and by the tears that were in their eyes declared their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw these people in such fear; and that their souls were

* This and the following speech, as introduced under the person of Eleazar, are exceedingly remarkable, and on the noblest subjects; the contempt of death, and the dignity and immortality of the soul: and that not only among the Jews, but among the Indians themselves also: and are well deserving the perusal of all the curious. It seems as if that philosophic lady who survived, Chap. 9, remembered the substance of these discourses, as spoken by Eleazar; and so Josephus clothed them in his own words. At the lowest they contain the Jewish notions on these heads, as understood then by our historians: and cannot but deserve a suitable regard from us.

dismayed at so prodigious a proposal; he was afraid lest perhaps, these effeminate persons should, by their lamentations and tears, enfeeble those that were more courageous. So he did not leave off exhorting them; but stirred up himself; and, recollecting proper arguments for raising their courage, he undertook to speak more briskly and fully to them, and that concerning the immortality of the soul. So he uttered a lamentable groan; and fixing his eyes attentively on those that wept, he spake thus: "Truly I was greatly mistaken, when I thought to be assisting to brave men, who struggled hard for their liberty, and to such as were resolved either to live with honour, or else to die. But I find that you are such people as are no better than others, either in virtue, or in courage: and are afraid of dying; though you be delivered thereby from the greatest miseries. While you ought to make no delay in this matter, nor to await any one to give you good advice. For the laws of our country, and of God himself, have from ancient times, and as soon as ever we could use our reason, continually taught us, and our forefathers have corroborated the same doctrine by their actions, and by their bravery of mind; that it is life that is a calamity to men, and not death. For this last affords our souls their liberty, and sends them by a removal into their own place of purity; where they are to be insensible of all sorts of misery. For while souls are tied down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries; and, to speak the truth, they are themselves dead. For the union of what is divine to what is mortal, is disagreeable. It is true, the power of the soul is great, even when it is imprisoned in a mortal body. For by moving it, after a way that is invisible, it makes the body a sensible instrument; and causes it to advance farther in its actions than mortal nature could otherwise do. However, when it is freed from that weight which draws it down to the earth, and is connected with it, it obtains its own proper place, and does then become a partaker of that blessed power, and those abilities which are then every way incapable of being hindered in their operations. It continues invisible, indeed, to the eyes of men, as does God himself. For certainly it is not itself seen, while it is in the body: for it is there after an invisible manner; and when it is freed from it, it is still not seen. It is this soul which hath one nature, and that an incorruptible one. But yet is it the cause of the change that is made in the body: for whatsoever it be which the soul touches, that lives, and flourishes; and from whatsoever it is removed, that withers away, and dies. Such a degree is there in it of immortality. Let me produce the state of sleep, as a most evident demonstration of the truth of what I say: wherein souls, when the body does not distract them, have the sweetest rest depending on themselves, and conversing with God, by their alliance to him. They then go every where; and foretell many futurities beforehand. And why are we afraid of death, while we are pleased with the rest that we have in sleep? And how absurd a thing is it to pursue after liberty while we are alive; and yet to envy it to ourselves where it will be eternal! We, therefore, who have been brought up in a discipline of our own, ought to become an example to others of our readiness to die. Yet if we do stand in need of foreigners to support us in this matter, let us regard those Indians who profess the exercise of philosophy. For these good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and look upon it as a necessary servitude; and make haste to let their souls loose from their bodies. Nay, when no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, these have such a desire of a life of immortality, that they tell other men beforehand that they are about to depart. And nobody hinders them: but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends that are dead: so firmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with one another in the other world. So when these men have heard all such commands that were to be given them, they deliver their body to the fire: and, in order to their getting their soul a separation from the body in the greatest purity, they die in the midst of hymns of commendations made to them. For their dearest friends conduct them to their death, more readily than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their fellow citizens when they are going a very long journey. Who at the same time weep on their own account; but look upon the others as happy persons: as so soon to be made partakers of the immortal order of beings. Are not we, therefore, ashamed to have lower notions than the Indians? and by our own cowardice to lay a base reproach upon the laws of our country, which are so much desired and imitated by all mankind? But put the case that we had been brought up under another persuasion, and taught that life is the greatest good which men are capable of, and that death is a calamity: even then the circumstances we are now in ought to be an inducement to us to bear such calamity courageously: since it is by the will of God, and by necessity, that we are to die. For it now appears that God hath made such a decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we are to be deprived of this life which he knew we would not make a due use of. For do not you ascribe the occasion of our present condition to yourselves; nor think the Romans are the true occasion that this war we have had with them is become so destructive to us all. These things have not come to pass by their power; but a more powerful cause hath intervened, and made us afford them an occasion of their appearing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapons, I pray you, were those by which the *Jews of Cæsarea were slain? On the contrary, when they were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their seventh day festival, and did not so much as lift up their hands against the citizens of Cæsarea; yet did those citizens run upon them in great crowds, and cut their throats, and the throats of their wives and children: and this without any regard to the Romans themselves, who never took us for their enemies till we revolted from them. But some may be ready to say, that the people of Cæsarea had always a quarrel against those that lived among them; and that when an opportunity offered, they only satisfied the old rancour they had against them. What then shall we say to those of Scythopolis, who ventured to wage war with us on account of the Greeks? Nor did they do it by way of revenge upon the Romans, when they acted in concert with our countrymen. Wherefore, you

* See Book II. chap. 18.

see how little our good will and fidelity to them profited us, while they were slain, they and their whole families, after the most inhuman manner: which was all the requital that was made them for the assistance they had afforded the others. For that very same destruction which they had prevented from falling upon the others, did they suffer themselves from them: as if they had been ready to be the actors against them. It would be too long for me to speak at this time of every destruction brought upon us. For you cannot but know, that there was not any one *Syrian city, which did not slay their Jewish inhabitants; and were not more bitter enemies to us than were the Romans themselves. Nay, even those of Damascus, when they were able to allege no tolerable pretence against us, filled their city with the most barbarous slaughters of our people; and cut the throats of †eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and children. And as to the multitude of those that were slain in Egypt, and that with torments also, we have been informed they were more than sixty thousand. Those, indeed, being in a foreign country, and so naturally meeting with nothing to oppose against their enemies, were killed in the aforementioned manner. As for all those of us who have waged war against the Romans, in our own country; had we not sufficient reason to have sure hopes of victory? For we had arms, and walls, and fortresses, so prepared as not to be easily taken, and courage not to be moved by any dangers in the cause of liberty, which encouraged us all to revolt from the Romans. But then these advantages sufficed us but a short time; and only raised our hopes: while they really appeared to be the origin of our miseries. For all we had hath been taken from us, and all hath fallen under our enemies: as if these advantages were only to render their victory over us the more glorious; and were not disposed for the preservation of those by whom those preparations were made. And as for those that are already dead in the war, it is reasonable we should esteem them blessed, for they are dead in defending, and not in betraying, their liberty. But as to the multitude of those that are now under the Romans, who would not make haste to die, before he would suffer the same miseries with them? Some of them have been put upon the rack, and tortured with fire and whippings; and so died. Some have been half devoured by wild beasts, and yet have been reserved alive to be devoured by them a second time; in order to afford laughter and sport to our enemies. And such of those as are alive, still are to be looked on as the most miserable, who, being so desirous of death, could not come at it. And where is now that great city, the metropolis of the Jewish nation; which was fortified by so many walls round about; which had so many fortresses, and large towers to defend it; which could hardly contain the instruments prepared for the war; and which had so many thousands of men to fight for it? Where is this city that was believed to have God himself inhabiting therein? It is now demolished to the very foundations: and hath nothing but that monument of it preserved; I mean the camp of those that have destroyed it; which still stands upon its ruins. Some unfortunate old men also lie upon the ashes of the temple; and a few women are there preserved alive by the enemy, for our bitter shame and reproach. Now who is there that revolves these things in his mind, and yet is able to bear the sight of the sun, though he might live out of danger? Who is there so much his country's enemy, or so unmanly, and so desirous of living, as not to repent that he is still alive? And I cannot but wish that we had all died before we had seen that holy city demolished by the hands of our enemies; or the foundations of our holy temple dug up after so profane a manner. But since we had a generous hope that deluded us; as if we might perhaps have been able to avenge ourselves on our enemies on that account; though it be now become vanity, and hath left us alone in this distress, let us make haste to die bravely. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives, while it is in our power to shew pity to them. For ‡we were born to die; as well as those were whom we have begotten. Nor is it in the power of the most happy of our race to avoid it. But for abuses, and slavery, and the sight of our wives led away after an ignominious manner, with their children, these are not such evils as are natural and necessary among men. Although such as do not prefer death before those miseries, when it is in their power so to do, must undergo even them, on account of their own cowardice. We revolted from the Romans with great pretensions to courage: and when, at the very last, they invited us to preserve ourselves, we would not comply with them. Who will not, therefore, believe that they will certainly be enraged at us, in case they can take us alive? Miserable will then be the young men, who will be strong enough in their bodies to sustain many torments. Miserable also will be those of elder years, who will not be able to bear those calamities which young men might sustain. One man will be obliged to hear the voice of his son imploring help of his father, when his hands are bound. But certainly, our hands are still at liberty, and have a sword in them; let them then be subservient to us in our glorious design. Let us die before we become slaves under our enemies: and let us go out of the world, together with our children, and our wives, in a state of freedom. This it is that our laws command us to do. This it is that our wives and children crave at our hands. Nay, God himself has brought this necessity upon us. While the Romans desire the contrary; and are afraid lest any of us should die before we are taken. Let us, therefore, make haste; and instead of affording them so much pleasure, as they expect, in getting us under their power; let us leave them an example which shall at once cause their astonishment at our death, and their admiration of our fortitude."

* See Book II. chap. 18, where those of Antioch, Sidon, and Apamia, are excepted.

† See II. 20, where the number of the slain is but ten thousand.

‡ Reland here sets down a parallel aphorism of one of the Jewish Rabbins, "We are born that we may die; and die that we may live."

CHAP. IX.

THE PEOPLE OF MASADA ARE PREVAILED UPON BY THE ORATIONS OF ELEAZAR TO DESTROY EACH OTHER, TWO WOMEN AND FIVE CHILDREN ONLY EXCEPTED.

NOW as Eleazar was proceeding in his exhortation, his auditors cut him off short, and hastened to do the work; as full of an unconquerable ardour of mind, and moved with a demoniacal fury. So they went their ways, as one still endeavouring to be before another; and as thinking that this eagerness would be a demonstration of their courage and good conduct; if they could avoid appearing in the last class. So great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives, and children, and themselves also. Nor, indeed, when they came to the work itself, did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done: but they persisted in the same resolution, without wavering, which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech, while yet every one of them retained the natural passion of love to themselves, and their families: because the reasoning they went upon appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were dearest to them. For the husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms, and gave the longest parting kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. Yet at the same time did they complete what they had resolved on; as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers. And they had nothing else for their comfort, but the necessity they were in of doing this execution, to avoid that prospect they had of the miseries they were to suffer from their enemies. Nor was there at length any one of these men found that scrupled to act their part in this terrible execution: but every one of them despatched his dearest relations.* Miserable men, indeed, were they! whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of those evils that were before them. So they being not able to bear the grief they were under for what they had done any longer; and esteeming it an injury to those they had slain, to live even the shortest space of time after them, presently laid all they had upon a heap, and set fire to it. They then chose ten men by lot, out of them, to slay all the rest. Every one of which laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and they offered their necks to the stroke of those who by lot executed that melancholy office. And when these ten had, without fear, slain them all, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves; that he whose lot it was should first kill the other nine: and after all should kill himself. Accordingly, all these had courage sufficient to be no way behind one another in doing or suffering. So, for a conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the executioner; and he who was the last of all took a view of all the other dead bodies; lest perchance some or other among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite despatched: and when he perceived that they were all slain, he set fire to the palace, and with the great force of his hand ran his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near his own relations. So these people died with this intention, that they would leave not so much as one soul among them to be subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of kin to Eleazar, and superior to most women in prudence and learning, with five children, who had concealed themselves in caverns under ground; and had carried water thither for their drink; and were hidden there when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number; the women and children being included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus, or Nisan.†

Now the Romans expected that they should be fought in the morning. Accordingly they put on their armour, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from their banks, to make an assault on the fortress. But they saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, with a fire within the palace, as well as a perfect silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been at a blow given by the battering ram, to try whether they could bring any one out that was within. The women heard this noise, and came out of their subterraneous cavern: and informed the Romans of what had been done: and the second of them clearly described all both what was said, and what was done; and the manner of it. Yet did they not easily give attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said. They also attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting themselves a way through it, they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the slain: but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the immoveable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shewn when they perpetrated such an action.

CHAP. X.

OF THE FLIGHT OF THE SICARII TO ALEXANDRIA; AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPEE WHICH HAD FORMERLY BEEN BUILT BY ONIAS THE HIGH-PRIEST.

WHEN Masada was thus taken, the general left the garrison in the fortress to keep it: and he himself went away to Cæsarea. For there were now no enemies left in the country: but it was all overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very remote from Judea. For still it happened that many Jews were slain at Alexandria, in Egypt. For as many of the Sicarii as were able to flee thither, out of the seditious wars in Judea, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs undertake to make new disturbances; and persuaded many of those that

* Dreadful, indeed, must their situation have been to have reconciled them to such an action. But desperation produces the most unexpected catastrophes. Their destruction was completed by their own as well as by the sword of the enemy. B.

† A. D. 73.

entertained them to assert their liberty; to esteem the Romans to be no better than themselves; and to look upon God as their only Lord and Master. But when part of the Jews of reputation opposed them, they slew some of them; and with the others they were very pressing in their exhortations, to revolt from the Romans. But when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and accused the madness of the Sicarii; and demonstrated that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also that "These men now they have run away from Judea, having no sure hope of escaping, because as soon as ever they shall be known, they will be soon destroyed by the Romans; they come hither, and fill us full of those calamities which belong to them, while we have not been partakers with them in any of their sins." Accordingly, they exhorted the multitude to beware lest they should be brought to destruction by their means; and to make an apology to the Romans for what had been done, by delivering these men up to them. Accordingly, on being thus apprised of the greatness of the danger they were in, they complied with what was proposed; and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii, and seized upon six hundred of them immediately: but as for all those that fled into *Egypt, and to the Egyptian Thebes, it was not long ere they were caught also, and brought back. Now the courage of these men, or whether we ought to call it madness, or hardiness in their opinions, excited universal amazement. For when all sorts of torments and vexations of their bodies that could be devised were made use of to them, they could not get any one of them to comply so far as to confess, or seem to confess, that Cæsar was their lord: but they preserved their own opinion, in spite of all the distress they were brought to: as if they received those torments, and the fire itself, with bodies insensible of pain, and with a soul that in a manner rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the beholders, was the obstinacy of the children. For not one of these was so far overcome by these torments, as to name Cæsar for their lord. So far does the strength of the courage of the soul prevail over the weakness of the body.

Now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, sent an account of this commotion to Cæsar; who having in suspicion the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they should get together again, and persuade some others to join with them, gave orders to Lupus to demolish †that Jewish temple which was in the region called Onion, and was in Egypt, which was built, and had its denomination from the following occasion. Onias, the son of Simon, one of the Jewish high-priests, fled from Antiochus, king of Syria, when he made war with the Jews, and came to Alexandria. And as Ptolemy received him very kindly, on account of his hatred to Antiochus, he assured him, that if he would comply with his proposal, he would bring all the Jews to his assistance. And when the king agreed to do it, so far as he was able; he desired permission to build a temple somewhere in Egypt, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country. For that the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Antiochus, who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem; and that they would then come to him with greater good will: and that by granting them liberty of conscience, very many of them would come over to him.

So Ptolemy complied with his proposals; and gave him a ‡place one hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis. That nomos was called the nomos of Heliopolis: where Onias built a fortress, and a temple, not like to that at Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower. He built it of large stones to the height of §sixty cubits. He made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in our own country; and in like manner adorned with gifts: excepting the candlestick. For he did not make a candlestick: but had a single lamp hammered out of a piece of gold: which illuminated the place with its rays, and which he hung by a chain of gold. But the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large country for a revenue in money; that both the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, and that God might have great abundance of what things were necessary for his worship. Yet did not Onias do this out of a sober disposition. But he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem; and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished thence. Accordingly he thought, that by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself. There had been also a certain ancient prediction made by a prophet, whose name was Isaiah, about six hundred years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew in Egypt. And this is the history of the building of that temple.

Now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of Cæsar's ‖letter, came to the temple, and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple itself. And as Lupus died a little afterward, Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of these donations there: and threatened the priests severely, if

* Since Josephus here informs us, that some of these Sicarii, or ruffians, went from Alexandria, (which was itself in Egypt, in a large sense,) into Egypt, and Thebes, there situate; Reland well observes, from Vossius, that Egypt sometimes denotes proper or upper Egypt, as distinct from Delta, and the lower parts near Palestine. Accordingly, as he adds, those that say it never rains in Egypt must mean the proper or upper Egypt; because it does sometimes rain in the other parts. See the notes on Antiq. II. 7, and III. 1.

† Of this temple of Onias's building in Egypt, see the notes on Antiq. XIII. 3. But whereas it is elsewhere, both of the War, I. 1, and in the Antiquities as now quoted, said, that this temple was like to that at Jerusalem; and here that it was not like it, but like a tower; there is some reason to suspect the reading here; and that either the negative particle is here to be blotted out, or the word entirely added.

‡ We must observe, that Josephus here speaks of Antiochus, who profaned the temple, as now alive, when Onias had leave given him by Philometor to build his temple. Whereas it seems not to have been actually built till about fifteen years afterwards. Yet because it is said in the Antiquities, that Onias went to Philometer, XII. 9, during the life-time of that Antiochus, it is probable he petitioned, and perhaps obtained his leave then: though it were not actually built or finished till fifteen years afterward.

§ This was the height of Zorobabel's temple.

‖ About A. D. 75.

they did not bring them all out. Nor did he permit any who were desirous of worshipping God there, so much as to come near the place. But when he had shut up the gates, he made it entirely inaccessible: insomuch that there remained no longer the least vestiges of any divine worship that had been in that place. Now the duration of the time from the building of this temple, till it was shut up again, was *three hundred and forty-three years.

CHAP. XI.

CONCERNING JONATHAN, ONE OF THE SICARII, WHO STIRRED UP A SEDITION IN CYRENE; AND WAS A FALSE ACCUSER OF THE INNOCENT.

NOW did the madness of the Sicarii, like a disease, reach as far as the cities of Cyrene. For one Jonathan, a vile person, and by trade a weaver, came thither; and prevailed with no small number of the poorer sort to hearken to him. He also led them into the desert; upon promising them, that he would shew them signs, and apparitions. And as for the other Jews of Cyrene, he concealed his knavery from them, and put tricks upon them. But those of the greatest dignity among them informed Catullus, the governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, of his march into the desert, and of the preparations he had made for it. So he sent out after him both horsemen and footmen, and easily overcame them: because they were unarmed men. Of these many were slain in the fight; but some were taken alive, and brought to Catullus. As for Jonathan, the head of this plot, he fled away at that time: but upon a diligent search which was made all over the country for him, he was at last taken. And when he was brought to Catullus, he devised a way whereby he both escaped punishment himself, and afforded an occasion to Catullus of doing much mischief. For he falsely accused the richest men among the Jews; and said, that they had excited him to what he did.

Now Catullus easily admitted of these calumnies, and aggravated matters greatly, and made tragical exclamations; that he might also be supposed to have had a hand in the finishing of the Jewish war. But what was still harder, he did not only give a too easy belief to his stories: but he taught the Sicarii to accuse men falsely. He told this Jonathan, therefore, to name one Alexander, a Jew, with whom he had formerly had a quarrel, and openly professed that he hated him. He also got him to name his wife Bernice, as concerned with him. These two Catullus ordered to be slain in the first place. Nay, after them he caused all the rich and wealthy Jews to be slain: being no fewer in all than three thousand. This he thought he might do safely; because he confiscated their effects, and added them to Cæsar's revenues.

Nay, indeed, lest any Jews that lived elsewhere should convict him of this villany, he extended his false accusations farther; and persuaded Jonathan, and certain others that were caught with him, to bring an accusation of attempts for innovation against the Jews that were of the best character, both at Alexandria, and at Rome. One of these, against whom this treacherous accusation was laid, was Josephus, the writer of these books. However, this plot, thus contrived by Catullus, did not succeed according to his hopes. For though he came himself to Rome, and brought Jonathan and his companions along with him in bonds: and thought he should have had no farther inquisition made as to those lies that were forged under his government, or by his means; yet did Vespasian suspect the matter, and make an inquiry how far it was true. And when he understood that the accusation laid against the Jews was an unjust one, he cleared them of the crimes charged upon them; and this on account of Titus's concern about the matter: and brought a deserved punishment upon Jonathan. For he was first tormented, and then burnt alive.

But as to Catullus, the emperors were so gentle to him, that he underwent no severer condemnation at this time. Yet was it not long before he fell into a complicated and almost incurable distemper, and died miserably. He was not only afflicted in body; but the distemper in his mind was more heavy upon him than the other. For he was terribly disturbed; and continually cried out, that he saw the ghosts of those whom he had slain standing before him. Whereupon he was not able to contain himself; but leaped out of his bed, as if both torments and fire were brought to him. This distemper grew worse and worse continually; and his very entrails were so corroded, that they fell out of his body: and in that condition he died. Thus he became an awful instance of divine providence; and demonstrated that God severely punishes wicked men.

Here I shall put an end to this history: which I formerly promised to deliver with all accuracy, to such as should be desirous of understanding after what manner this war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. The merits of the work must be left to the determination of the reader. But as for its agreement with the facts, I shall not scruple to say, and that boldly, that I have alone aimed at truth through its entire composition.

‡ Rather 223.

END OF THE JEWISH WAR.

INDEX.

A.

ADAM and Ten Generations to the Deluge, i. 1.
Abram's Removal, i. 17.
„ Departure into Egypt, i. 18.
„ Rescues the Sodomite Prisoners, i. 19.
Abimelech, Conduct of, i. 22.
Amalekites, their Defeat, i. 70.
Ark sent back, and Manner of, i. 157.
Absalom's Insurrection, i. 211.
——— Death, i. 213.
Asa, King of Jerusalem, a good man, i. 255.
Ahab, King of Israel, Impiety of, i. 259.
Ahaziah King and Facts of Elijah, i. 269.
Athaliah's Reign for 6 Years, i. 280.
Amaziah's Wars against the Edomites and Amalekites and Defeat, i. 284.
Amon and Josiah's Reigns, i. 299.
Alexander Enters Jerusalem, i. 343.
———'s Government Divided, i. 344.
Areus King of Lacedæmonians, i. 359.
Antiochus' Anger and Want, i. 363
Antiochus Epiphanes' Death, i. 367.
Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus Quarrel, i. 393.
Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, succeeds his father, i. 395.
———'s Cruelty to his brother, i. 396.
Alexander Janneus, brother to Aristobulus, succeeds, i. 397.
———'s Wars with Ptolemy Lathyrus, i. 398.
———'s Reduction of Gaza, i. 399.
Affairs of Demetrius and Alexander, i. 401.
Antiochus and Aretas' Expedition against Judea, i. 401.
Aretas and Hyrcanus' Expedition against Aristobulus, i. 407.
Assistance given by the Jews to Cæsar, i. 414.
Antony's Love for Cleopatra, i. 427.
Aristobulus made High-Priest, i. 441.
Agrippa Confirms the Privileges of the Jews, ii. 4.
Antipater preferred by Herod, ii 8.
Alexander and Aristobulus accused, ii. 10.
Ambassage of the Jews, ii. 14.
Antipater hated by the Jews, ii. 30.
———'s Return from Rome and Trial, ii. 35.
Affliction of Herod with a strange disease, ii. 40.
Archelaus accused before Cæsar, ii. 54.
Aretas, King of Arabia, and Herod quarrel, ii. 63.
Agrippa's conduct on his return to Judea, ii. 101.
Alexander beaten by Gabinus, ii. 134.
Antipater appointed Procurator, ii. 136.
Antony's extreme love for Cleopatra, ii. 139.
Archelaus procures a reconciliation between Alexander, Pheroras and Herod, ii. 158.
Antipater hated by all men, ii. 161.
Antipater cuts off the hopes of his Brothers' Orphans, and becomes Intolerable, ii. 163.
———'s design to Poison his Father, ii. 164.
Antipater's Conviction before Varus, ii. 167.
Agrippa's Death, ii. 184.
Agrippa's Kingdom Enlarged, ii. 185.
Accident which Provoked Titus to press on the Siege, ii. 269.

B.

Barbarians, their Cattle all their Wealth, i. 57.
Burning Bush and Rod of Moses, i. 58.
Balaam's attempt to Curse Israel, i. 102.
Boaz and Ruth, Marriage of, i. 153.
Baasha, King of the Israelites, i. 256.
Bidkar, Jehu's Captain, i. 278.
Baladan, King of Babylon, sends Ambassadors, i. 297.
Bacchides, Demetrius' General, ill success, i. 370.
Banishment of Herod the Tetrarch, ii. 72.
Barzapharnes, Governor of Parthia, ii. 140.
Bernice begs Florus to leave off his Wicked Practices, but he would not, ii. 188.
Brief History of Jerusalem, ii. 303.

C.

Creation to the Death of Isaac, i. 1.
Claudius, Emperor of Rome, i. 93.
Canaanites, Engagement with, i. 94.
Conquest of Sihon and Og, Kings, i. 101.
Canaanites Defeated, i. 125.
Cyrus, King of Babylon, i. 319.
——— sends back the Jews, i. 320.
——— Epistle to Sisinnes, &c. i. 320.
——— Death of, i. 321.
Cambyses takes the kingdom, and Death of, i. 321.
Cyrus, the son of Xerxes, obtains the Government, i. 331.
Cleopatra, Ptolemy's Wife, i. 369.
——— sends and drives her son out of Egypt, i. 399.
Crassus Pillages the Temple, and perishes, i. 413.
Cleopatra's Avarice, i. 444.
Calamities in Herod's Family, ii. 23.
Cities built in honour of Cæsar, ii. 57.
Calamities of the Jews, ii. 77.
Claudius Governor, Uncle to Caius, and his Speech, ii. 92.
Caius's Murderers Slain, ii. 99.
Caspius Fadus appointed Procurator of Judea, ii. 105.
Claudius Cæsar's Death, ii. 115.
Cæsar and Antony slay Cassius, ii. 139.
Cleopatra's Avarice, ii. 148.
Caius Cæsar's great pride, ii. 181.

D.

Destruction of those who fomented a Sedition, i. 97.
Dathan ordered to come, i. 97.
Destruction of the Benjaminites, i. 138.
David appointed King, i. 172.
——'s Success and Marriage, i. 176.
——'s Flight to the Philistines, i. 180.
——'s Generosity, i. 181.
——'s Conduct on hearing of Saul's Death, i. 191.
——'s Accession to the whole of the Kingdom, i. 191.
——'s Siege and Reduction of Jerusalem, i. 196.
——'s further Success, i. 197.
——'s Success and League with Hamath, i. 199.
——'s Reinstatement, i. 215.
——'s great Actions against the Philistines, i. 219.
——'s Preparations for the House of God, i. 223.
——'s Charge to Solomon at the approach of Death, i. 227.
Daniel, and what befell him in Babylon, i. 310.
Darius Reigns over Persia, i. 321.
——'s Problems to his Body Guards, i. 322.
Danger of the Jews under the Government of Artaxerxes, i. 333.
Death of Judas Maccabeus, i. 372.
Demetrius's Death, i. 375.
Deaths of Alexander and Demetrius, i. 392.
Destruction of Jerusalem by Pompey, ii. 409.
Doctrines of the Jews, ii. 56.

E.

Egypt, account of Famine, i. 50.
Eleazar, the son of Aaron, i. 82.
Emancipation of the Israelites, i. 141.
Eli, Sons, and their Misfortunes, i. 155.
Enumeration of the people by David, i. 221.
Elijah comes to the King, i. 259.
Elisha, the son of Shaphat, i. 261.
Ezekiel's Prophecies, i. 304.
Esther Married, i. 333.
——'s dread at the King, i. 337.
Enumeration of the High-Priests, ii. 120.
Eleven thousand Jews perished by Famine, ii. 302.

F.

Forty days Moses fasts on Mount Sinai, i. 75.
Festivals, how each day to be observed, i. 87.
Fortification of Jerusalem by Solomon, i. 243.
False Prophet, in great esteem, i. 251.
Foundation of the Temple, opposition to, by Cutheans, i. 320.
Fruitless attempt to obstruct the Rebuilding of the Temple, i. 325.
Festival of the Restoration Celebrated, i. 365.
Famine in Judea and Syria, i. 458.
Fresh Disturbances in Herod's Family, ii. 18.
Felix appointed Procurator of Judea, ii. 114.
Festus' Death, and Albinus sent into Judea as Procurator, ii. 119.
Flight of Pompey and Senate, ii. 135.
Flight of Herod from his Enemies, ii. 141.
Farther Treachery of Antipater, ii. 165.
Funeral of Herod, ii. 170.
False Prophet, an Egyptian, ii. 185.
Festus succeeded Felix as Procurator, ii. 186.
Four misfortunes arose to bring Jerusalem to destruction, ii. 246.
Fountain Jerico Erruptive, ii. 248.
Foundation of the Tower of Antonia destroyed, ii. 288.

G.

God admits Moses into his presence and hears his voice, i. 74.
Garments of the Priesthood, i. 79.
Gideon rules the multitude and delivers them, i. 79.
Goliath slain by David, i. 142.
Going back of the shadow of the sun ten degrees, i. 297.
Gedaliah, Governor of the Jews, left in Judea, and his assassination, i. 308.
Glorious Actions of Antipater, i. 414.
Galilee given to Herod, i. 416.
Games Celebrated, ii. 12.
Generosity of Claudius, ii. 100.
Gessius Florus, successor to Albinus, provokes the Jews, ii. 122.
Golden Eagle demolished, ii. 168.
Glaphyrus, strange Dream, ii. 177.
Grecians too hard for the Jews, ii. 187.
Galilee, Samaria and Judea, ii. 209.
Gischala, surrender of, ii. 233.
Gaul, Commotions of, ii. 248.
Great Slaughters and Sacrilege in Jerusalem, ii. 281.

H.

Hebrews, Affliction in Egypt, during 400 years, i. 53.
———, Departure from Egypt, i. 62.
———, Journey to Mount Sinai, i. 67.
———, Victory over the Philistines, i. 158.
Hiram, King of Tyre, to Solomon, i. 233.
Hadad, King of Damascus, Expedition, i. 263.
Hazel's Expedition against Israel, i. 282.
Hephzibah, Manasseh's mother, i. 298.
Huldah, Shallum's wife, a Propheteſs, i. 299.
Haman, by birth an Amalekite, Worshipped, i. 333.
———'s Decree sent against the Jews, i. 335.
Honours and privileges bestowed on the Jews by the Kings of Asia, i. 353.
Hyrcanus, and his affairs, i. 357.
Honours conferred upon Jonathan, i. 379.
Hyrcanus, son of Simon, Sympathy, i. 390.
———'s Expedition against Syria, i. 391.
——— makes a League with Rome, i. 392.
Hyrcanus Demolishes Samaria, and joins himself to the Sadducees, his Death, i. 395.
Honours paid to the Jews, i. 420, 421.
Herod Ejects Antigonus, i. 425.
——'s successful Application, i. 431.
——'s Return from Italy, i. 432.
——'s success against his Enemies, i. 434.
——'s Marriage, takes Jerusalem, i. 436.
——'s Punishment of his Enemies, i. 438.
——— Apologizes to Antony, i. 442.
——— makes War with Arabian King, i. 445.
——'s Revolt from his Country's Laws, i. 456.
——'s Violation of David's Sepulcher, ii. 15.
——'s Accusation of Herod against his Sons, ii. 26.
——'s Attempt upon his own Life, ii. 42.
——'s Death, Will and Burial, ii. 43.
Herod finds the Arabians to be Enemies, ii. 142.
——— sent to fight the Arabians, and Victorious, ii. 148.
——— confirmed in his kingdom by Cæsar, ii. 150.
——'s Magnificence and Buildings, ii. 151.
——'s two Sons Strangled, ii. 161.
——'s Death, ii. 169.
——'s dominions distributed among his Sons, ii. 176.
Holy House destroyed by fire, ii. 295.

I.

Inhabitants, the first, i. 15.
Ishmael, son of Abraham, i. 22.
Isaac, Legitimate son of do. i. 23.
——'s Marriage, i. 25.
Ithamar, Aaron's son, i. 82.
Israelites desire a King, i. 161.
Imprisonment of Jeremiah, i. 305.
Integrity of the Jews, ii. 59.
Isis, Temple of, and wickedness of its Priests, ii. 60.
Izates, and Helena, his Mother's Conversion, ii. 107.
Izates' assistance to the Parthians, ii. 109.
Izates betrayed and deliverance, ii. 111.
Ishmael receives the High-Priesthood, ii. 117.
Investment of Jerusalem, ii. 200.
Inattention of the Idumeans to Jesus' Speech, ii. 240.
Idumeans and Zealots, of their Cruelty, ii. 241.

J.

Joseph's Continency, i. 40.
———'s Situation in Prison, i. 41.
———'s Conduct towards his Brethren, i. 44.
Jacob's Removal to Egypt, i. 50.
Jacob and Joseph's Death, i. 52.
Joshua's Death, i. 133.
Judges, who succeed Gideon, i. 144.
Jeroboam's Revolt with Ten Tribes, i. 250.
Jeroboam's Song, his Death, i. 253.
Jezebel, wife of Ahab, i. 261.
Jehoshaphat, King of Jerusalem, i. 265.
———'s Pious Conduct, and Victories over his Enemies, i. 268.
Joram and Jehoshaphat against the Moabites, i. 271.
Jehoram, also Joram, King of Israel, i. 272.
Jehoram's Wickedness, Defeat and Death, i. 276.
Jehu Anointed, i. 277.
Jehoiada, the High-Priest, and the Accession of Jehoash, son of Ahaziah, i. 281.
Jehoash, King of Judah, repairs the Temple, i 282.
Joash Enters Jerusalem, i. 285.
Jeroboam, son of Joash, reign, i. 285.
——— Ruled 40 years, and Died, i. 286.
Jotham's Death, i. 289.
Josiah's Death and Burial, i. 301.
Jehoahaz, son to Josiah, takes the Kingdom, i. 302.
John assassinates Jesus, his Brother, i. 341.
Joseph's Prudence Exemplified, i. 356.
Judas Maccabeus, his Success, i. 363.
Jonathan's Advantages, i. 375.
Josephus's Opinion of Jesus Christ, ii. 60.
Judas' Revolt, and the 3 Sects of the Jews, ii. 178.
Josephus, his Prudence Exemplified, ii. 202.
John's evil designs against Josephus defeated, ii. 203.
Josephus's Attempt of Sepphoris, ii. 209.
Jotapata taken by Vespasian, ii. 220.
Josephus surrenders himself, ii. 222.
Joppa and Tiberias Reduced, ii. 224.
John made the Zealots afraid, ii. 238.
Josephus's bands cut to pieces, ii. 255.
Jerusalem described, ii. 263.
Josephus discourses with his countrymen respecting Peace, ii. 273.
Jews inclined to desert to the Romans, ii. 276.
Josephus Wounded by his Countrymen, ii. 282.
Julian's Wonderful Prowess, ii. 287.
Josephus exhorts the Jews to surrender to Titus, ii. 289.

K.

Keturah delivers the Troglodytes, i. 25.
King appointed over Israel, i. 161.
King Hezekiah delivered, i. 296.
King Alexander's Letter, i. 376.
——— Alexander distempered by hard drinking, i. 402.
——, his Wife's Conduct and Death, i. 403.
King of Arabia's Ingratitude, i. 430.
King Agrippa's Troubles, ii. 65.
King Agrippa's Prosperity, ii. 71.

L.

Lot, Haran's son, brother to Abram, i. 17.
Leprosy and Gonorrhoea not admitted into the city, i. 88.
Laws Instituted by Moses, i. 89.
Laws of the Country Transgressed, i. 134.
Laws of the Jews Translated into the Greek Tongue, i. 345.
League between Anticlus and Ptolemy, i. 354.
League between the Jews and Romans, i. 419.
Laws Enacted by Herod against Thieves, ii. 3.
Last Actions and Death of Agrippa, ii. 104.
Laodicea taken by Cassius, ii. 138.
Lake Asphaltites, Remarkable, ii. 249.
Longinus, the Roman, and Caster, the Jew, ii. 271.
Last hope of the Tyrants, the Caves, ii. 300.

M.

Moses found, i. 55.
——— Named by the King's Daughter, i. 55.
——'s Flight out of Egypt, i. 55.
Melchisedec's Hospitality, i. 20.
Midianites, Punishment of, i. 107.
Moses' Departure from the Earth, i. 121.
Misfortunes of the Israelites, i. 139.
Mizpah, a Strong City, i. 257.
Manasseh's Impiety, i. 298.
———'s Penitence in Captivity, i. 298.
Magi, Slaughter of, i. 321.
Mordecai, an Ambassador, i. 327.
———, of the Tribe of Benjamin, i. 333.
Mordecai Honoured, i. 337.
Mattathias, his Exploits, Death and Succession of Judas, i. 361.

Maccabees continued Success, i. 367.
Marcus, President of Syria, i. 424.
Mariamne, Herod's Wife, i. 440.
Mariamne, Indiscretion and Death, i. 454.
Madness of Caius, and Assassination, ii. 83.
Masada Besieged by Antigonus, ii. 143.
Murder of the Priests, and also Mariamne, Herod's Wife, ii. 153.
Mount Tabor, ii. 231.
Miseries of Jerusalem, by means of Seditions, ii. 258.
Miseries of the Jews grow worse and worse, ii. 284.

N.

Nadab, the son of Aaron, i. 82.
Nahash, King of the Ammonites, i. 163.
Naphtali's Tribe, and Eminent Men of, i. 196.
Naboth said he would not do so, i. 261.
Nahum, the Prophet, tells of the overthrow of the Assyrians and Nineve, i. 288.
Nineve, the Lion, shall not go out, &c. i. 289.
Necho's desire to reign over Asia, i. 301.
Nebuchadnezzar governs the Babylonians, i. 302.
Nebuchadnezzar's Death, i. 313.
————'s Successors, and Dissolution of their Government, i. 314.
Nehemiah, Cup-Bearer to Xerxes, i. 330.
———— Rebuilds the Temple, i. 331.
Nicanor's Defeat and Death, i. 371.
Nabateans and Gabinius overcome, i. 412.
Nero's Reign and Cruelties, ii. 116.
Nicolaus' Defence of Archelaus at Rome, ii. 172.
Neopolitanus, sent to examine the state of the Jews, ii. 190.

O.

Offering of Sacrifices, i. 85.
Omri obtains the Government, i. 257.
Obadiah, Ahab's Steward, i. 272.
Onias, the High-Priest, i. 355.
Onias' Epistle to Ptolemy, i. 377.
Onias casts the sons of Tobias out of the City, ii. 125.
Of Jonathan, Simon and John, Successors to Judas, ii. 126.
Of the Commencement of the War between the Jews and Romans, ii. 193.
Otho Governs Rome, ii. 250.
One of the Towers fall down, ii. 270.
One of the Priests delivers to Titus the precious things of the Temple, ii. 301.

P.

Posterity of Noah, i. 15.
Plagues upon the Egyptians, i. 60.
Punishment threatened to the Israelites, i. 92.
Polity Settled by Moses, i. 109.
Philistines overpowered by the Hebrews, i. 167.
Prophet Slain by a Lion for Disobedience, i. 251.
Pekah's Death, and the Reign of Hoshea and Hezekiah, i. 290.
Philip, King of Macedon, Slain, i. 341.
Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, seizes Jerusalem and Judea, and carries them to Egypt, i. 344.
———— Sets Captives free, and Dedicates Gifts to God, i. 346.
Ptolemy's Danger, through Alexander, i. 380.
Pompey leads his army against Aristobulus, i. 408.
Pheroras and Herod's Enmity, ii. 33.
Pheroras's Wife Accused, ii. 34.
Pilate's attempt to Abolish the Jewish Laws, ii. 59.
Pharisees Administer Public Affairs, ii. 130.
Pompey enters Jerusalem, the taking and profanation of the Temple, ii. 133.
Pilate occasions great disturbances, ii. 180.
Pedanius, his wonderful skill in Horsemanship, and great Strength, ii. 291.
Perished in the Wars with the Romans, Eleven Hundred Thousand—97,000 carried Captive, ii. 303.

Q.

Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia visits Solomon, i. 245.
Queens entering the apartment of the King would be slain, i. 335.
Quarrels respecting the High-Priesthood, i. 359.
Quarrels between the Samaritans and Jews, ii. 113.
Quarrels between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, ii. 131.

R.

Reubel reproaches his Brethren, i. 45.
Raguel, a Priest of Midian, i. 57.
————'s reception on Mount Sinai by Moses, i. 72.
————'s Suggestions respecting Government, i. 72.
Removal from Mount Sinai, i. 90.
Rahab and her Family saved, i. 125.
Royal Palace erected by Solomon, i. 240.
Rehoboam's Conduct after Solomon's Death, i. 249.
————'s Impiety and Punishment, i. 252.
Reduction of Jerusalem, and Zedekiah and his subjects carried to Babylon, i. 306.
Rebuilding of the Temple by the Jews, i. 325.
Romans and Jews first League, i. 372.
Revolt of Trypho, i. 382.
Rebuilding the Temple, i. 465.
Reign of Alexander Janneus, 27 years, ii. 130.
Romans live in Plenty, and rest from War, ii. 144.
Robbers subdued by Herod, ii. 144.
Reduction of Jerusalem by Herod, ii. 147.
Reconciliation of Herod to his Children, ii. 155.
Roman Armies and Camps, ii. 211.
Reduction of Taricheae, ii. 225.
River Jordan described, ii. 226.
Remarkable Bravery of Placidus, ii. 247.
Romans get possession of the Wall, ii. 271.
———— Take the second Wall, ii. 272.
Romans make an assault upon the Tower of Antonia, ii. 287.

S.

Sodomites, Destruction of, i. 19.
,, nation destroyed, i. 21.
Sarah, Death of, i. 25.
Signs done on Mount Sinai, i. 59.
Sea becomes dry land, i. 65.
Spies sent to search, i. 91.
Sedition of Corah and the Multitude, i. 95.
Slavery of the Israelites and deliverance, i. 140.
Samson's Birth and Exploits, i. 149.
Samuel's Birth and Prediction, i. 155.
Saul's Conquest of the Amalekites, i. 169.
Sheba's Death, i. 217.
Solomon made King, i. 225.
Solomon's conduct after, i. 228.
————'s Marriage and Wisdom, i. 230.
———— Builds the Temple, i. 234.
————'s Supplication to God, and Sacrifices, i. 237.
————'s Solution of Hiram's Riddles, i. 242.
———— Subdues the remnant of the Canaanites, i. 243.
Solomon's Immense Riches, Love of Strange Women, and Death, i. 245.
Shalmaneser reduces Samaria, i. 292.
Sennacherib's Expedition, i. 294.
————'s Death, by his Sons, i. 296.
Sanballat and Manasseh, i. 341.
Simon and Jonathan's Wars with Bacchides, i. 374.
Simon succeeds Jonathan, and performs great actions, i. 387.
Simon's Alliance with Antiochus Pius, and Wars, i. 389.
Scaurus's Expedition, i. 411.
Sameas' Prediction, i. 417.
Sedition against Archelaus, ii. 44.
do. against Sabinus, ii. 47.
Spurious Alexander, ii. 52.
Silas, Agrippa's General, sent in bonds, ii. 102.
Sedition of the Philadelphians, ii. 106.
Silo corrupted by bribes, ii. 143.
Sons of Mariamne accused before Cæsar, ii. 154.
Sacarii desperadoes, ii. 185.
Slaughters of the Jews, ii. 196.
Siege and taking of Gamala, ii. 231.
Simon's March into Idumea, ii. 251.
———— gets possession of Jerusalem, ii. 252.
Stratagem of the Jews, ii. 262.
Stratagem of the Jews, ii. 292.
Star like a Sword, and Comet stood over Jerusalem one year, ii. 297.

T.

Tower of Babylon, and Confusion of Tongues, i. 14.
Thermuthis, Pharaoh's Daughter, i. 54.
Tabernacle in the Wilderness built by Moses, i. 76.
Tribe of Levi not to communicate with the People, i. 88.
Timnath, of the Tribe of Ephraim, i. 133.
Tamar, Violated by Ammon, her Brother, i. 207.
Tiglath Pileser, King of Assyria, i. 289.
Ten Tribes removed into Media, i. 293.
The Temple purified, i. 365.
Temple of Diana, at Elymais, i. 367.
Temple built in Egypt, by Onias, i. 378.
Treacherous Assassination of Jonathan, i. 386.
Trypho's Defeat and Death, i. 389.
Trachonites revolt, and Herod accused, ii. 21.
Taxation of Syria and Judea, ii. 55.
———— concluded by Cyrenius, ii. 57.
Tumults made by the Samaritans, ii. 61.
Tiberius writes to Vitellius at Jerusalem, ii. 62.
Tumults between the Jews and Greeks, ii. 73.
Theudas persuades the People to follow him with all they had, ii. 112.
Troubled state of Herod's Family, ii. 156.
Treacherous conduct of Eurycles, ii. 159.
The Jews fight with Sabinus' Soldiers, ii. 173.
Two thousand of Herod's Veteran Soldiers get together and fight against Archelaus, ii. 174.
Ten thousand Jews destroyed in two hours, ii. 201.
The Jews make ready for the War, ii. 206.
Titus' March across the Desert, ii. 257.
——— in great danger, ii. 260.
——— delivers an entire Legion twice, ii. 261.
Temple described, ii. 265.
Two thousand Deserters from the Jews dissected in one night, ii. 282.
Titus' desire to save the Temple, ii. 295.
——— finds the Holy House superior to his expectation, ii. 295.
Ten thousand Jews slain while the Temple is on fire, ii. 296.

Titus offers the Jews their lives if they throw down their arms, ii. 299.
Three Towers and part of the Wall of Jerusalem left standing, ii. 304.

U.

Ur, a city of the Chaldeans, i. 17.
Uriah's Murder through David, i. 203.
Ures, one of Solomon's Officers, i. 231.
Uzziah, a skilful master, i. 287.
Ungovernable Zeal of the Jews, ii. 208.

V.

Virgins, seven sisters, daughters of Raguel, i. 57.
Vashti, Queen of Persia, makes a Feast, i. 332.
——— refuses to attend on the King, i. 332.
Virgins, a great number collected, for the King of Persia to make choice, i. 333.
Varus settles the affairs of the Jews, ii. 51.
Vitellius comes to Jerusalem, ii. 61.
Voyage of Archelaus to Rome, ii. 171.
Varus crucifies two thousand Jews, ii. 175.
Vespasian sent by Nero against the Jews, ii. 207.
Vespasian and Titus go to Galilee, ii. 212.
Various parties in Jerusalem contend, ii. 244.
Vespasian's Wise Counsel, ii. 245.
Vespasian Fortifies all places round, ii. 249.
———'s Elevation to Imperial dignity, ii. 254.
Vitellius Slain, ii. 256.

W.

War made with the Ethiopians, by Moses, i. 56
Wilderness, what happened in, i. 99.
War carried on by Joshua, i. 123.
Witch of Endor, Saul visits, i. 186.
Wars after Saul's death, i. 192.
War against the Ammonites, i. 202.
Wonders performed by Elisha, i. 273.
Women and Wine—Truth the strongest, i. 323.
War between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, i. 406.
War between Cassius and Brutus, ii. 138.
Wonderful Preservation of Herod, ii. 146.
Woman, named Mary, who killed and roasted, and eat her own Child, ii. 293.

X.

Xanthicus, the month in which the Hebrews left Egypt, i. 63.
Xanthicus, the month wherein the Feast of Unleavened Bread is observed, i. 326.
Xerxes, son of Darius, reigns over Persia, i. 327.
Xylophory, the Festival of, and Custom, ii. 194.

Y.

Yet was Levius afraid to go out by himself, ii. 206.
Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken, ii. 208.

Z.

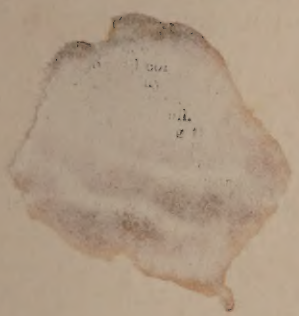
Zipporah, daughter of Jethro, Married to Moses, i. 59.
Zebedias, of the Tribe of Judah, i. 125.
Zachar, and his lot, i. 127.
Ziklag laid waste, i. 189.
Zadok, the High-Priest, i. 196.
Ziba, a servant of Mephibosheth, i. 210.
Zerah, King of Ethiopia, i. 255.
Zimri kills Elah, i. 257.
Zedekiah made Horns of Iron, i. 266.
Zachariah's Reign, i. 287.
Zedekiah succeeds to the Government, i. 303.
Zorobabel, Governor of the Jews, i. 320.
———'s Solution of Darius's Problems, i. 322.
Zenodorus, a famous Robber, i. 462.
Zamaris, the Babylonian Jew, ii. 31.
Zabulon, a City of Galilee, ii. 198.
Zealots and the Populace contend, ii. 237.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

Portrait of Josephus, to face Title Page.
Adam, Naming the Creation, ... to face page 8
Ark of Noah, ... 11
Deluge, ... 12
Noah's Sacrifice, ... 13
Tower of Babel, ... 15
Joseph cast into the Pit, ... 38
Moses Found, ... 55
Christ, before Pilate, Vol. 2, ... 60
John the Baptist's Head, Vol. 2, ... 64
Pharaoh's Host Drowned, ... 65
Rock Smitten, ... 70
Moses Delivers the Law, ... 74
Map of the Old World, ... 131
Death of Abimilech, ... 147
Jephtha's Rash Vow, ... 148
David, before Saul, ... 176
Solomon's Temple, ... 236
Map of Jerusalem, Vol. 2, ... 263
Triumph of Mordecai, ... 337

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER FOR PLACING THE EXTRA PLATES IN THE WORKS OF JOSEPHUS.

Geneological Tables, ... to face page 7
Adam and Eve, ... 9
Geographical Illustration, ... 17
Abraham Saluting the Three Angels, ... 21
——— Entertaining Three Angels, ... 21
Hagar and Ishmael in the Wilderness, ... 23
Abraham offering up Isaac, ... 24
———'s Servant meets Rebeka, ... 26
Jacob's Dream, ... 29
Map of the Journey of the Israelites to Egypt, ... 67
Map of the Country from Suez to Mount Sinai, ... 72
Leper Cleansed, ... 88
Samson Slays the Lion, ... 149
Boaz and Ruth, ... 153
Samuel and Eli, ... 155
My Son, Attend to my Wisdom, ... 246
Jonah Preaching to the Ninevites, ... 286
Judah Carried away Captive, ... 307
Daniel Interpreting the Hand Writing, ... 316
Daniel in the Lion's Den, ... 317
Daniel's Third Vision, ... 318
Zechariah's Vision, ... 326
Nehemiah Viewing the Ruins of Jerusalem, ... 330

Map of Palestine or Judea, Vol. 2. 209

DEC 28 1883